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COMEDIAS JUDAIZANTES: PERFORMING JUDAISM IN LOPE DE VEGA'S TOLEDAN PLAYS (1590-1615)

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Abstract

Comedias judaizantes: Performing Judaism in Lope de Vega's Toledan Plays (1590-1615) uses philosophical hermeneutics to explore multiple representations of Judaism in Lope de Vega's Toledan *comedias*. The study also examines how figures of Judaism interact with other myths shaping Early Modern Spanish national identity, namely the Mozarabic tradition, Spain's Gothic heritage and Pauline hermeneutics. Inspired by Paul Ricoeur's methodology of three-fold mimesis, it claims that certain dramas perform Judaism for sixteenth and seventeenth century Toledan audiences by inserting crypto-narrations, which are perceptible only to particular viewers. I also argue that Lope, by inserting these crypto-narrations, prizes Old Christian readings over Jewish ones in certain plays and Jewish ones in others. Furthermore, this dissertation analyzes to what degree we can analyze this Toledan corpus not only as a stepping stone toward the development of the *comedia nueva,* but also as a Judaizing chronicle which historiographically imitates the structure and the content of the historical forgeries about the history of Toledo being circulated throughout Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A central figure in this movement is the Jesuit priest Jerónimo Román de la Higuera whose *Historia ecclesiástica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (c. 1600) emphasized Toledo's multi-ethnic roots, promoting the city's importance in the providential history of Spain. While Higuera's audience was primarily Toledo's literary elite of which Lope formed a prominent part, *Performing Judaism* claims that Lope's dramatic historiography popularized the myths discussed in these chronicles for the audiences of the *corral*.

To prove these central arguments, *Performing Judaism* explores the kinds of crypto-narrations present and then how Lope uses these hidden messages to fashion differing and evolving representations of Toledo and of Judaism. Chapter 1 investigates the presence of

genealogical crypto-narrations in *La comedia de Bamba* (1597-1598) and *El Postrer Godo de España* (1599-1603), depicting Toledo as a foundational city. Chapter 2, which analyzes *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* (1598-1608) and *El Hamete de Toledo* (1606-1612), underlines the importance of iconographic crypto-narrations in fashioning Toledo as a city of tragedy. In Chapter 3, Toledo becomes a city of remembrance in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *La Hermosa Ester* (1610), as the Jewess becomes both a feared and revered figure through a series of Neo-Platonic crypto-narrations. Ultimately, this dissertation presents new approaches to exploring the Jewish question in Early Modern Spanish Literature and the intricate relationships between literature and historiography as genres in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain.

Acknowledgements

What follows is an examination of how Judaism was performed in Early Modern Spain. When I discuss my dissertation topic, I am often asked whether my identity as a Jewish man influences my scholarship. While I am still grappling with that question, I would hope that this dissertation is a reflection of three major tenets of Judaism *Torah* (understood here as study, hard work and scholarship), *avodah* (faith, energy and determination) and *gemilut hasadim* (acts of loving kindness). While I will let readers recognize and evaluate the presence of *Torah* and *Avodah* in this project, this dissertation would not have been completed without the acts of loving of loving kindness of a whole host of friends and family.

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Introduction: The Jew as a Dramatic Problem in the Toledan *Comedias* of Lope de Vega

Critics of the literature of the Spanish Golden Age, taking as their point of departure, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* of Sebastian de Covarrubias (1611) have been interested in describing the terminology used by many Spanish Golden Age authors to represent Jews in their works. On the one hand, the word *hebreo* was considered to be a socially and theologically accepted term in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries because it referred to God's chosen people. On the other hand, the denomination of *judío* was not a term that was socially and theologically accepted in Counter-Reformation Spain because it referred to those Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492, that is, those Jews who refused to convert to Christianity. The contrast between these two words appears most frequently in the *autos sacramentales* of Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, productions that make frequent allusions to Old Testament characters.[1]

The third denomination, *converso,* had a similar connotation since "También de modo en cierto sentido anacrónico, el distanciamiento respecto de la conversión se ve compensado en el ámbito literario por la creciente referencia al cristiano nuevo, hacia el cual se han desplazado las marcas funcionalmente degradantes que correspondían al judío" (Fine 440). Despite the different lexical distinctions that Fine mentions, it is also true that the *converso* was often depicted problematically in *comedias de honor* of the Spanish Golden Age. According to

[1] For more information about these lexical differences see Fine 2008 where the descriptions of the terminology used to describe Jews are incorporated into an argument examining to what degree Cervantes' last comedia *La gran sultana (*1615) responds to Lope's first biblical comedia *La Hermosa Ester* (1610).

Américo Castro: "era impensable que apareciese en escena un cristiano nuevo con cuidados de honra en la vida diaria, pero no en la vivida en las comedias. (Castro, *Edad Conflictiva* 232).[2]

Using the lexical distinctions outlined by Fine and Castro, Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, has explored to what degree Judaism is a central dramatic problem for these dramatists, claiming that when exploring this issue, it is often useful to divide the representations by subgenre as the audience expectations differed. For instance, in an entremés such as Cervantes' *El retablo de las maravillas* or *Los alcaldes econtrados* de Quiñones de Benavente, Jews and the purity of blood statutes are considered dramatic problems to be satirized. However, in the case of historical dramas and *autos sacramentales,*[3] the presence of Jewish figures takes on a more serious and theological tone.[4]

Beyond the lexical and generic distinctions offered by Fine, Castro and Pedraza Jiménez, in my opinion, the issues surrounding the representation of the Jew in the dramatic works of Lope de Vega are more complex given the quantity of *comedias* Lope wrote based on religious themes. *Comedias judaizantes: Performing Judaism in Lope de Vega's Toledan Plays (1590-1615)* aims to fill a gap in the criticism surrounding the representation of Judaism in the dramas of Lope de Vega. Beyond simply evaluating whether Lope de Vega was Anti-Jewish or not, this project will examine how figures of Judaism interact with other myths shaping Early Modern

[2] Take for example Lope de Vega's *El galan escarmentado* (1588-1598), a *comedia* that according to Joseph H Silverman, relates the status of the *converso* to questions of honor and honra. More particularly, Silverman proves this argument by examining the sonnet that Julio writes for Ricarda in the first act. For more information, see Joseph H. Silverman "Del otro teatro nacional de Lope de Vega: el caso insólito de *El galan escarmentado*." *Hispania* Vol. 67 No. 1 (Mar, 1984) pp. 23-27.

[3] As I will develop later on in this dissertation, I use historical in the Baroque sense, including all of the "comedias de leyenda antigua" "comedias de historia contemporanea" biblical comedias. For more information consult Florencia Calvo and Melchora Romanos *El gran teatro de la historia, Calderón y el drama barroco* Eudeba, 2002.

[4] Pedraza Jimenez in fact divides the various representations of Jews into various subgenres distinguishing between the entremés (or the *teatro menor*) and the *comedias de argumento historico y biblico* arguing that it is the topic of the play that drives the representation. For more information see "Judíos en el teatro español del Siglo XVII: La comedia y el entremés." *Judaiìsmo y criptojudaiìsmo en la comedia espanÞola : XXXV Jornadas de Teatro Claìsico, Almagro, 5, 6 y 7 de julio de 2012*. [Cuenca, Spain]: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2014. pp. 153-211.

national identity. Ultimately, the project will show the process by which Lope is able to dramatize Jewish questions on stage. As we will see, in *comedias* produced prior to the incorporation of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* in 1609, the dramatist tackles Jewish questions on stage through the lens of other myths, in particular Toledo's Gothic and Mozarabic heritages. We will also see to what degree the historical *comedias* produced during this period contributes to a chronicle attempting to remythologize the city of Toledo for lay audiences, or the *lector vulgo*.

Due to this strikingly religious quality of Lope´s drama, the criticism analyzing the relationship between Lope de Vega and Judaism has been extensive and has dealt with a series of questions. First, some critics have considered the question of whether Lope was a *cristiano nuevo* or had Jewish ancestors. For example, A. David Kossoff explains that Lope´s father was a "bordador" and "la familia movediza, característica bastante corriente entre los cristianos nuevos que querían escapar de los obstáculos que limitaban la vida de esta casta." (Kossoff 212) and how the nomadic nature of Lope´s family hints at possible Jewish roots.

Another question critics frequently discuss is whether we describe Lope de Vega as anti-Semitic as his contemporaries? The accepted position was established by Edward Glaser who in his 1955 article on *The Niño Inocente de la Guardia* writes: "…the *Niño Inocente* divides into two worlds: the Spanish anxious to purify itself at the very moment when it is about to realize the long-cherished dream of dominating completely the national territory, and the Jewish, contriving to preserve a vicious sect." (Glaser 152-153). Similarly, Castro has argued that Lope de Vega "encarna la voz de la casta cristiano vieja" (Castro 58) and more recently Juan Carlos Garrot has argued that Lope emblematized the following in his dramas: "Muerte para el décida, para el

asesino, para el judaizante; muerte social para su enriquecido successor; he aquí, resumido, el sueño cristianoviejo de Lope" (Garrot 157).

Another perspective is presented by Andrew Herskovits, who proposes that Lope depicted the Jews in a more favorable light than had been previously thought. He posits this argument through an analysis of two plays: *La Hermosa Ester* (1610) and *El Brasil restituido* (1625).[5] Similarly, Daniel L. Heiple, in his study of the *Sentimientos a los agravios de Christo nuestro bien por la nación hebrea*, concludes that Lope tended to represent *conversos* in a more positive light in dramatic works than in his poetry.

Elaborating on these perspectives, critics have also considered the image of the Jew in Lope de Vega´s dramatic works. For example, María Rosa Lida de Malkiel argues that while the dramatist does not emphasize the figure of the Jew in many of his works, Jews do appear in various dramas such as *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* (1598-1603) and *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* (1604-1612).[6] At the same time, David Gitlitz has recognized that while there are plays, which can be interpreted as virulently and openly Anti-Semitic, there are works which contain far more favorable representations of Jews, such as *El galán de la membrilla* (1615) a *comedia* where a Jewish *gracioso* Ramiro, acts like Jews would.[7]

Although I recognize and accept to a certain degree what critics have said about the relationship between Lope and Judaism, I believe critics has ignored two essential elements

[5] Please see Andrew Herskovits. "Towards a Positive Image of the Jew in the Comedia" *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 57:2 (2005) 251-282.
[6] Please see Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel "Lope de Vega y los judíos" *Bulletin Hispanique* LXXV, (1973) pp. 71-113.
[7] In addition to the published material, there have been two dissertations of note that have dealt with the representation of Judaism in Lope's *comedias*. The first, *The Black, the Moor and the Jew in the Comedias of Lope de Vega* focuses on the plays published between 1609 and 1625 in an effort to examine if there is a "detectable change in the attitude toward the three minority groups, Blacks, Moors and Jews, brought about as a result of their exodus" (vi). In the second, *The Jew and the Converso in the Dramatic Works of Lope de Vega* highlights various representations of the Jew in such dramas as *El niño inocente de La Guardia, Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *El brasil restituido*. For more information see Seminario 1974 and Lavine 1983.

which must be taken into account when considering the representation of the Jew in the dramatic production of Lope de Vega: the fact Lope lived in Toledo while he wrote the vast majority of his biblical and hagiographic *comedias* and also the pragmatic nature of theater linguistically and as a literary genre.

The first element is a sociological one and concerns the socio-religious conditions of Toledo during the Spanish Golden Age, the city where Lope lived while he wrote the vast majority of his biblical and hagiographic *comedias*. More specifically, according to recent biographers of Lope de Vega, José Florencio Martínez and Pedraza Jiménez, Lope first came to Toledo in 1590 to serve out his last years of exile from the Castilian Court. There, he was embroiled in a legal battle with the actor Jerónimo Velázquez and worked for the Toledan nobleman Francisco de Ribera Borroso. While he did write two *comedias* of note, *El Principe Inocente* (2 of June 1590) and *El Perseguido* (2 November 1590), Lope published more poetry than theater during his first stay in Toledo.

After brief stays in Alba of Tormes, Zaragoza and Madrid, Lope returned to Toledo in 1598 where he wrote and produced *comedias* for the *mesón de fruta,* the central corral de *comedias* at the time.[8] While he would make frequent trips to Seville and to Madrid, Martínez mentions that one of his primary theatrical producers at the time, Baltasar de Pinedo, was stationed in Toledo and had Lope produce 19 *comedias* for his company between 1599 and 1606 (Martínez 180). Additionally, Franscisco Borja de San Román has suggested that Lope often visited Toledo until he bought a home on the Calle de Francos in Madrid in September of 1610.

[8] Lope moved to Alba de Tormés after being asked to serve as the "gentilhombre de cámara" of the fifth Duke of Alba, Antonio Alvarez de Toledo. The dramatist then moved to Zaragoza after his central patron at the time, the Duke of Alba, was imprisoned by Philip II. Lope moved back to Madrid, then Spain´s capital, after his exile was concluded in 1595. For more information, see Florencio Martínez 105-114.

Between 1598 and 1610, his longest stay in Toledo, a variety of events transpired which will prove crucial to our study. First, as it relates to Lope´s literary career, these were the years where he established himself as Spain´s preeminent dramatist, as he began to compile his *comedias* in *Partes*, publishing the *Primera parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega* in 1604, the *Segunda parte* in 1609[9] and the *quinta* and *sexta partes* in 1615. Furthermore, Lope published his *quinta* and *sexta partes* of his comedias a year later in 1615.[10] Additionally, in 1609, Lope also traveled to Madrid to present his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, considered to be the dramatist's primary theoretical treatise on drama.[11] Lope also was a prolific writer of poetry and epic during this period, participating in the *Justas poéticas toledanas*[12] starting in 1608 and publishing *El peregrino en su patria* (1604)[13] and *Jerusalén Conquistada* (Madrid 1609).

While critics such as Borja de San Román have ended Lope's Toledan period in 1615 when the dramatist moved to Madrid and bought a house on the Calle de Francos, in this dissertation, we will be ending his Toledan period in 1616, the year of the last major poetry

[9] The first part of Lope´s *comedias* was published first in Zaragoza and then in Valladolid and contained 12 *comedias* (not including the additional set of *loas* and *entremeses*). For the purposes of this dissertation, the most noteworthy drama published in this set was *La vida y muerte del rey Bamba.*The second part of Lope´s *comedias* was published in Madrid and contained among other *comedias* most notably *La Quinta de Florencia* and *Los benavides* and *Las ferias de Madrid*.

[10] The *quinta parte* was printed in Madrid and Alcalá de Henares and contained 12 comedias, most notably *El ejemplo de casadas* y *prueba de la paciencia.* The *sexta parte*, also published in Madrid, also contained 12 *comedias*, most notably as it pertains to our study, *El secretario en sí mismo* and *El testigo contra si.*

[11] The *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* was published as part of the *Rimas* in 1609. For more information about the publication history of the *Arte Nuevo*, see for example, the critical introduction prepared by Enrique García Santo Tomás for the Catedra edition of the Arte Nuevo and also Jonathan Thacker´s study of the Arte Nuevo "Lope´s Dramatic Statement" found in *A Companion to Lope de Vega* edited by Jonathan Thacker and Alexander Samson.

[12] For more information about the these poetry competitions, see the studies prepared by Joaquin de Entrambasaguas, most notably *Lope de Vega en las Justas poéticas toledanas* and *Una guerra literaria en el Siglo de Oro.* It is also in this second volume where Entrambasaguas details the major aesthetic debates occurring during the period between Lope and the *precepistas* (the most noteworth*y* being Lopez de Pinciano and Miguel de Cervantes) over the rules of dramatic practice and also the fierce competition that waged between Lope, Luis de Góngora and Francisco de Quevedo as to who would become Spain´s preeminent lyric poet.

[13] It is in the *Peregrino en su patria,*that Lope relates to us the *comedias* that he has written up to this date.

competition won by his rival Luis de Góngora and also the year *El capellán de la Virgen* was produced, considered by critics such as Abraham Madroñal to be his farewell drama to Toledo.

But beyond simply noting his massive literary production–epic, poetic, dramatic– during his stay in Toledo, Lope was also highly influenced by the political and socioeconomic problems facing the city at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Taking into account the work of Spanish historian Fernando Martínez Gil, the history of Toledo during the early modern period, as it relates to Lope's dramas, can be divided into three periods.[14] The first is from 1561 to 1600, a period marked by two events causing a steady decline in Toledo's population and a general loss in the city's self-confidence. In 1561, Philip II moved his court from Toledo to Madrid, where it has remained, save for a brief stay in Valladolid from 1601-1606 (Martínez Gil 316). Now instead of being the cultural and linguistic center of Spain and a city frequently visited by Philip II, Toledo entered a period of steep demographic and economic decline. As Martínez Gil and Richard Kagan point out, despite the departure of Philip's court, the city's population continued to rise in the subsequent decade, beginning at 62,106 inhabitants in 1561 and peaking at 66,018 in 1569. However, as the years passed, the city was not able to support such an increase, due to the large-scale famines and sicknesses, which hit Toledo between 1556 and 1580. As a result of these harsh conditions, according to Kagan, Toledo's population ultimately dropped to 49,500 inhabitants by 1597.

As a result, by the time Lope de Vega arrived in Toledo in 1589, the city had already suffered mightily and diminished in prestige. According to Madroñal, Lope developed friendships with various historiographers whose mission was to reinvent Toledo, emphasizing its

[14] See for example, Martínez Gil's chapter dedicated to the history of Toledo in the Early Modern period found in *Historia de Toledo: de la Prehistoria al presente* 265-444. For more specific information on the departure of Philip II's court, consult Alfredo Alvar Esquerra's book on the subject *Felipe II, la corte y Madrid en 1561*.

roots as the ancient Arabic, Gothic and Christian capital of Spain.[15] For example, Pedro de Alcocer's *Historia o descripción de la Imperial ciudad de Toledo* (1554), chronicles the history of Toledo from its Roman roots up until the time of its publication focusing on Spain's Gothic roots. This chronicle would influence other historiographers such as the Father Jerónimo Román de la Higuera who in his seven-volume *Historia ecclesiastica de Toledo* (1604) and de Pisa in his *Descripción de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo* (1605) expanded on Alcocer's work. But as we shall see throughout this dissertation, while Lope used these chronicles at times as source material for his *comedias* (namely *El Hamete de Toledo* and *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia)*, Lope interacted with this material in more heterodox ways than has been previously suspected.

In addition to his association with the so-called "cisnes del Tajo"[16], Lope was highly involved in poetry competitions held during major events pertaining to the Habsburg court. According to Joaquin de Entrambasaguas, major poetry competitions took place after the death of Philip II in 1598, the birth of Philip IV in 1605 (a competition in which Lope participated and organized on behalf of the city) and in 1608, where Lope entered his poetry under the pseudonym Hernando Gandío (Entrambasaguas *Justas poéticas* 106). We can surmise that these competitions allowed Lope to refine his poetic craft, permitting him to publish his *Rimas sacras* in 1614 and later his *Rimas profanas* in 1634. As we will see in Chapter 2, these literary jousts allowed Lope to build his reputation not only as an admired poet, but also formed an essential part of the remythologization of Toledo, inasmuch as the poetry produced eulogized Toledo in one way or another and also represented Judaism in diverse ways.

[15] For more information, consult Abraham Madroñal, "Entre Cervantes y Lope: Toledo hacia 1604" *e-Humanista* Vol. 1 (2012).
[16] For more information about this nickname, see Madroñal, *Elisio de Medinilla y la poesía toledana de principios del Siglo XVII.* Madrid, Iberoamericana, 1999.

The final period that will be central to our study of Lope's Toledan *comedias* is between 1611 and 1616, years in which Lope frequently visited the city but did not maintain a permanent residence. These last five years were not only marked by Lope's entrance into the Franciscan Order in 1614, but also a moment when Toledo was reacting to the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609 and the incorporation of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* in that same year. As we shall see in Chapter 3, these issues would influence Lope's dramas significantly. Instead of representing Toledo through the lens of the Gothic tradition, as he would in earlier periods (see for example *La vida y muerte del Rey Bamba,* dated by J. Criswold Morley and Courtney Bruerton as being produced c. 1598), he would turn his attention to the *converso* problem and represent Hebrews and Jews on stage, first in *La Hermosa Ester* (produced in celebration of Good Friday 1610 and based on the Biblical figure of Esther) and then later in a play based on a series of medieval chronicles *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*. In Chapter 3, we will discuss to what degree these plays can be interpreted as both *converso* laments and also lamentations of the decline of Toledo as the Gothic *ciudad regia* or the Catholic *ciudad imperial*.

Taking into account the impact that the decline of Toledo had on Lope's dramatic production, this dissertation argues first that Lope de Vega participates in these efforts to remythologize Toledo by developing a dramatic historiography of the city in the historical and biblical *comedias* produced during his stay. He develops this dramatic chronicle by historiographically imitating the chroniclers (Alocer, Higuera, Pisa) with whom he came into contact during his years in the city. In that sense, he imitates the structure of the chronicles he uses as source material, exploring Toledo's Gothic, Mozarabic and Biblical heritages. Ultimately, we will see how Lope's Toledan plays represent Toledo in a variety of lights. In the case of *La comedia de Bamba* and *El postrer godo de España,* the focus of Chapter 1, audience

members see Toledo represented as a foundational city. In the *comedias* explored in Chapter 2, which incorporate Mozarabic elements, Toledo becomes a city of tragedy. In our concluding chapter, which focuses on *La Hermosa Ester and Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo,* Toledo ultimately will become a city of remembrance as Lope interacts with both the status of the *conversos* in Spain but also reacts to the expulsions of the *moriscos* in 1609. With that said, as distinct from the chronicles of Alocer, Mariana, Higuera and Pisa, which were written for the educated elite, I would claim that Lope's dramatic historiography popularizes the myths contained in in these chronicles and makes them accessible to the lay audience member, thus increasing the overall prestige of the city. In this sense, since these early plays of Lope were essential in the development of his dramatic craft, we will explore in the conclusion how Lope's *comedia nueva* is not simply monstrous in the generic sense (combining comedy, tragedy and a host of other dramatic forms) but in the historiographical sense as well.

Furthermore, analyzing Lope's historical dramas as a dramatic historiography, allows us to reconceive the role of Judaism in these plays. Beyond the lexical distinctions highlighted by Fine or the generic differences that Pedraza Jiménez develops, this new framework allows us to conceive of Judaism as a historiographical problem as well as a literary and dramatic one. In this sense, the project engages with historiography on the cultural significance of Jews and *conversos* in Early Modern Spain. The main question for these historians and literary critics was whether Jews actually existed in Spain after the 1492 Expulsion. Historians writing in Europe claim that all Jews were forced out. As a result, they explore the role the *converso*, or the Jew who converted to Christianity post 1492, played in the development of Early Modern Spanish identity. For critics such as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Ramón Menendez Pidal, the *converso's* role was negligible. Instead these critics emphasize how it was Post-Tridentine

Catholicism was the primary motor in creating a uniquely Spanish national identity. Others, such as Américo Castro, Marcel Bataillon and Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, believed Judaism did play a role, even if a problematic one. In contrast to the critics in Spain and France largely writing at the beginning of the twentieth century, there has also been a growing number of critics writing in Israel and the United States who do believe that Jews remained on the Iberian Peninsula after the Expulsion, As a result, critics such as Cecil Roth, Yitzchak Baer, Joseph Hayim Yerushalmi and David Gitlitz have explored the cultural practices of these Jews living in Spain. It is from these critics that the terms *marrano* and Crypto-Jew have been inserted into debates on the representation of Judaism in the Spanish Golden Age.

Engaging these historiographical debates surrounding Judaism and the *converso*, David Nirenberg, in his *Anti-Judaism and the Western Tradition* offers a different and I believe, unique approach to the question. Instead of focusing on "flesh and blood Jews" as the critics previously mentioned have done, he elects to consider Judaism as a figure of thought. By defining Judaism as a "a set of ideas and attributes which non-Jews can make sense of and criticize their world" (Nirenberg 3), the historian explores how ideas about Judaism interact dialectically with other monotheistic religions (namely Christianity and Islam). Through the lens of history of ideas, theology and epistemology, Nirenberg charts how Anti-Judaism has defined not only Spain but Western thought writ large.[17]

[17] In this sense, I would claim that Nirenberg's position, by exploring the problem of Anti-Judaism in the Western Tradition, does not differ so greatly from that of Jean Francois Lyotard who in *Heidegger and the jews*, makes similar distinctions between Jews with a capital J, that refers to flesh and blood Jews living after the Holocaust, and jews with a lower case J, or the ideas about Judaism that the West has opposed in order to define itself in the Modern era. The main difference to me in their arguments is one of audience and methodology. Whereby Nirenberg is writing for largely historians, Lyotard is writing for philosophers trying to deal with the philosophical vacuum left by the Holocaust.

Taking these critical stances into account, in order to explore the historiographical ramifications of Judaism in Lope's dramatic historiography, it is necessary for us to consider Judaism more so as a figure of thought. However, as distinct from the texts that Nirenberg analyzes, when examining Lope's dramatic historiography, it is also necessary to decipher another quality unique to theater as a literary genre. In contrast to other genres, theater emphasizes the pragmatic nature of narratives, highlighting the importance of the interaction between the dramatist and the heterogeneous audiences that viewed Baroque *comedias* collectively. Given the unique constraints, this dissertation claims Lope's dramatic historiography, in an effort to popularize a multi-ethnic vision of the history of Toledo allows moments for its characters to Judaize on stage.

When I use the term "Judaize" in this context, I recall how Paul uses the term to refer to Gentiles who continued to practice Jewish customs and follow Hebraic law. Paul writes in his Epistle to the Galatians: "But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, if thou, being a Jew, livest under the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (Gal 2:14). While Paul is addressing in his Epistle a series of actual flesh and blood Jews, the Patristic Fathers used this passage as their point of departure to develop the theological and sociological category of the Judaizer. The most well known example is Saint John Chrysostom who composed his *Discourses against Judaizing Christians* in the fourth century. For the Church Fathers, "Judaizer" was a theological category signifying those Christians who practiced Jewish customs, because they were still tempted by the teachings of Hebraic law. However, in Late Medieval and in Early Modern Spain, "Judaizer" was considered to be a sociological

category referring to those *conversos* who still performed Jewish rituals and observed Jewish laws out of the public eye.

By employing the word "Judaizer" or "Judaizing" instead of Anti-Judaism, I use Nirenberg's ideas as my point of departure but also disagreeing with him in important ways. I concur with Nirenberg (and Castro as well) when they claim that Judaism or Anti-Judaism explores the conflictive relationship between Judaism and the other major monotheistic religions. By my use of the word "Judaize" in lieu of Judaism permits us to examine a tool by which this conflict is performed. In other words, by utilizing Paul's definition of Judaize and Judaizer, this dissertation explores to what extent Lope's dramatic historiography not only incorporates Jewish figures of thought but also manipulates the theological desires and fears of its audience members. For implied in the word Judaize is this desire to either go back to Judaism and practice it openly (in the case of a *converso*) or a fear that Old Christians who do not exhibit true faith could revert back to following Hebraic law. In this sense, similar to Paul, the problem of Judaism becomes one of dissimulation and conversion as well as a historical and dramatic problem. This conflict will be central in Chapter 1 when we analyze how *El postrer godo de España* follows the Augustinian model of the Three Ages of Man in order to lead Toledo ultimately to the Age of Grace.

With that said, I distinguish myself from Nirenberg because by emphasizing the performative aspects of Paul's definition it allows us to explore those liminal spaces between Christianity and Judaism. In order to accomplish this goal, I would claim that in addition to using historiographical imitation in order to represent Toledo in distinct ways, Lope permits his characters to Judaize in order to create an equally diverse spectrum of representations of Judaism

in his Toledan corpus. Furthermore, viewers perceive this spectrum by hermeneutically uncovering the crypto-narrations hidden in the performance.

As with the word "Judaize", the term "hermeneutic" can be construed in a variety of ways and thus requires some additional explanation. When I utilize the word "hermeneutic", I am using it in the way Frank Kermode employs it in his study of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke. According to the British critic, the term etymologically relates to the Greek God Hermes, and emphasizes the thaumaturgic nature of texts. In other words, each text, whether it is written or performed on stage, contains within it numerous levels of meaning that only certain readers can decipher. Kermode also adds that part and parcel to this definition of hermeneutic is a strict hierarchy of meaning whereby there are two principal senses of interpretation; first, there is the carnal or human sense and then the latent or divine sense. Although Kermode applies these "senses" in his analysis of the parables found in the Synoptic Gospels, I believe we can find a similar hierarchy of meaning in the historical *comedias* discussed in this dissertation. These dramas follow to a certain degree the Catholic doctrine (taught by the Jesuits during the Counter-Reformation) that all biblical language possesses levels of meaning which the reader is obliged to uncover.[18] This hierarchy of meanings as proposed by Kermode also leads us to our definition of crypto-narrative, a term used to describe those narrations aimed not to illuminate, but rather obscure and hide their meanings, such that only certain readers can decipher them. To develop

[18] More specifically, I am referring to two distinct hermeneutical systems which the Jesuits used as their point of departure to teach drama's religious and moral dimensions. First, they used the hermeneutic developed by St. Augustine in his *On Christian Doctrine* and in his *Confessions* which proposed that there are three possible ways to interpret a Biblical passage: the literal sense, the *sensus*, or the figural sense, and the *sentencia* or the moral sense of the text. Then in 1321, In his "Letter to Can Grande della Escala" (a letter which makes up the Prologue of *Paraiso*), Dante Alighieri highlights four possible levels of biblical interpretation: the historical or literal sense, the allegorical sense, the spiritual or moral sense and finally the anagogic sense, a level of interpretation which aims to relate a Biblical passage to the personal life of the reader. We can see that in both the Augustinian and Dantean hermeneutical systems, a correct interpretation relies on *ruminatio,* a principle which relies on the dialogue between a text and a reader who is disposed toward a correct interpretation of that text. It is this presumed disposition of the reader which forms the basis of the hierarchy of readers mentioned in this dissertation.

this argument, Chapter 1 will analyze the presence of genealogical crypto-narrations within *La comedia de Bamba* and *El postrer godo de España* and examine to what degree they conflict with the Christian narrative being expressed through the representation of Toledo as a foundational city. As we will see in Chapter 1, the audience's ability to perceive crypto-narratives is rather limited, as characters often impose an interpretation for all audience members to absorb. Chapter 2, which analyzes the *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo*, examines how the existence of iconographic crypto-narrations in Lope's depiction of Toledo as a city of tragedy. While in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, I would claim a Christian metanarrative is privileged, by depicting Toledo as a city of remembrance, Lope de Vega also allows audience members, by considering Raquel's martyrdom in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and the influence of Esther over Ahasuerus in *La hermosa Ester,* to remember what Old Christians and *conversos* have lost by ignoring the Hebraic roots of the city of Toledo.

With these two related series of arguments in mind, an important counter-argument arises: How can Judaism be present in a play where there are no Jewish characters on stage? This argument is especially valid if we consider that save for *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*, Lope does not deal with Jewish or Hebraic themes until the release of *La hermosa Ester* on April 6, 1610. However, as I will show in the coming chapters, Lope de Vega, to appease his viewing public, not only privileges in the majority of cases an Old Christian reading of his *comedias* but also uses the Gothic and the Mozarabic traditions as masks to explore Jewish questions on stage. It is only after Philip III expels the *moriscos* in 1609 that Lope begins to favor expressing Jewish questions through Jewish eyes, as a way of not only reflecting upon Toledo's decline as the *ciudad imperial* but also on how efforts to rechristianize Toledo eradicate other national identities which should be considered.

If the chapters of the dissertation focus on the construction of a Judaizing dramatic historiography, the conclusion will consider the broader implications of the project and contemplate how reading these comedias historiographically allows us to examine other ways Lope's *comedia* is *nueva.* For example, in addition to considering as Lope's *comedia nueva* as monstrous in the generic sense, as many scholars would claim, we will consider to what degree history and myth can be included in that definition of monstruosity. Secondly, by incorporating Jewish questions into his *comedia nueva,* we could explore to what degree Lope's theory of drama is not only a new theory of drama but also offers a new definition of race through the term *engañar con la verdad* By exploring these and similar questions throughout the dissertation, this project postulates to what degree the *comedia nueva* is not just a new way of conceiving of drama but of history as well.

Chapter 1: Toledo as Foundational City: Genealogical Crypto-Narrations in *El Postrer Godo de España* and *La comedia de Bamba*

[…] Al fin Toledo insigne, ínclita, fuerte
Toledo la imperial, la ciudad noble,
La cabeza de España, aquella Antigua
Famosa corte de los godos
que como el corazón es en el cuerpo
el centro, y el principio de la vida
asi es Toledo corazón de España […]
Lope de Vega 20-21, ctd. Madroñal, Cervantes y Lope 320

Written originally in honor of the birth of Philip IV in 1605, the sentiments expressed in this poem cited above reflect Lope de Vega's desire to increase the political prestige of the city after the court departed for Valladolid in 1561. (Martínez Gil 316-317; Madroñal 319-320). These arguments are particularly appropriate if we consider how Lope emphasizes the political and geographic centrality of Toledo, calling it "la ciudad imperial, la ciudad noble" as well as the "corazón and cabeza de España." In addition to increasing the political prestige of the city, this poem is a central one for our study because it represents a shift in how both Christian and non-Christian cultures were perceived during Lope's Toledan period. Instead of focusing on the flesh and blood people who previously inhabited Toledo, these cultures are instead transformed into figures of thought. For example, in lieu of alluding to specific kings, Lope reminds listeners of Toledo's prestige and historical antiquity by recalling its status as the *ciudad regia* or the home of the "famosa corte de los godos" and by claiming that Toledo, as Spain's first Christian capital, gave birth to the Spain seventeenth century listeners revere.

More specifically, while this fragment of Lope's poem hearkens listeners back to the Gothic representation of Toledo as the *ciudad regia,* I believe the cultural and imitative work Lope performs in his *comedias* is more complex, incorporating not only Gothic, but also Jewish figures of thought. However, in contrast to "Al fin Toledo insigne", in his *comedias*, Lope constructs his dramatic historiography by using the Gothic and Mozarabic myths as theatrical masks to hide the problem of Judaism. As I mentioned in the introduction, similar to David Nirenberg's conception of Anti-Judaism, I consider figures of thought to be an attitude of spiritual alienation from the world (Nirenberg 3) applying to both Islam and Judaism, since, as we will see, the problem of the *moriscos* and the *conversos* were intertwined literary and historiographical problems during Lope's Toledan period.

To that end, Lope incorporates these masks through a process I will call, historiographical imitation, a technique he learned through his interactions with the Jesuit priest Jerónimo Román de la Higuera. When I use the term historiographical (in lieu of historical) in this context, I use it as Katrina Olds does in her recent study of historical forgeries in Counter-Reformation Spain. Speaking about the Jesuit priest Jerónimo Román de la Higuera Olds explains how Higuera's chronicles were "purposeful acts of historical imagination and interpretation on the part of the author and readers in what Alfred Pratt has called the forgery as a form of historical writing" (Olds 9). As Lope formed a part of the intellectual elite to which these chronicles were directed, he would have had access to these documents and be privy to the debates occurring in Toledo at the end of the sixteenth century. In order to explore the dimensions and the impact of these historiographical trends and more precisely define historiographical imitation, we will first examine the figure of Jerónimo Román de la Higuera and the controversies he provoked in Toledo between 1595 and 1615 with the discovery of the

remains of San Tirso and the publication of Higuera's *Historia ecclesiástica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* (c. 1600).

After exploring the role of Higuera in the development of a historiographical movement designed to bolster the image of Toledo, this chapter and this dissertation as a whole will analyze to what degree Lope's historical dramas not only follows the structure of one of these chronicles but also incorporates the central myths discussed by these historians in an effort to popularize these stories and present them to a more heterogeneous audience. After that, we will also explore how Lope employs these dramas not only to secure his literary fame as a dramatist but also grants various levels of interpretative agency to his spectators, allowing the Christians viewing the performance to interpret the allegories presented to them on stage from either a purely Christian perspective but also at times from a Jewish one. In the case of the Gothic *comedias* studied in this chapter, the amount of interpretative agency is negligible, but as Lope's dramatic historiography continues, the interpretative agency of his audience members and their ability to perceive crypto-narrations expands. We will prove these arguments first by contextualizing the concept of historiographical imitation in relation to the Early Modern Toledo, which Lope encountered. We then will shift our attention to two Gothic *comedias, La comedia de Bamba* and *El postrer godo de España* both produced between 1598 and 1603 and analyze the presence of the first kind of crypto-narrations in this dissertation, those that are created by objects and spaces.

1.1. Historiographical Imitation: Lope de Vega and *las falsas cronicones* of Toledo

Before entering into the *comedias* themselves, it is necessary to step back and consider how the debates surrounding the prestige of Early Modern Toledo affected Lope's dramatic

production. On the one hand, when Lope arrived in 1590, Toledo still held some political prestige, as being one of 18 Spanish cities, which could vote in the Spanish *cortés* (which other territories, called in legal documents *villas*, *lugares*, or *aldeas* could not). But at the same time, it was also a city that was trying to recover from a massive decline in population after Philip II decided to move his court from Toledo to Madrid in 1561. In an effort to emphasize the prestige of the city and convince the king to move the court back to Toledo, city officials began a process of rechristianization whose sole goal was to eliminate all remnants of Otherness from Toledo and emphasize instead a "more local Christianity," emphasizing Toledo's Gothic roots (Martínez Gil 366).

The primary way in which a more local Christianity was accomplished was through the publication of forged histories of the Spanish kingdoms. Some, like the royal chronicler of Charles V, Florián Ocampo (1513-1590), endeavored to write a complete history of the Spanish kingdoms in an effort to bolster Spain's Catholic spirit (Olds 19). However, others like Miguel de Luna in Granada and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera in Toledo forged new histories taking into account the problem of Spain's Mozarabic and Judaic roots. While it can be argued that Lope was inspired by a whole host of historical sources in the period, for the purposes of the set of plays we are examining in this dissertation, we will focus solely on the influence of two historiographers: Miguel de Luna who published his *Historia verdadera del rey Don Rodrigo* in 1592 and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera who published his *Historia ecclesiastica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* in 1600.

Miguel de Luna, as a historian, translator and physician living in Granada, influenced the historiographical debates occurring in Toledo in various ways. Primarily, the first volume of Miguel de Luna's *Historia verdadera del rey Don Rodrigo* inspired the methodologies Toledan

historiographers would use to prove the historical veracity of their arguments. Similar to Higuera, Luna's chronicle invents a new Muslim source, the fictitious chronicler Tarif Abentarique to prove that Chaldean-speaking people from Asia Minor were the first to arrive on the Iberian Peninsula (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 161). This narrator also claims his authority using the knowledge of "three interpreters who were experienced in that language, and in it, I found the whole story set down." (Ctd. García Arenal and Rodriguez Mediano 161) While some like Julio Caro Baroja and Francisco Márquez Villanueva have related this opening to the *novelas de caballerías,* these opening pages also pave the way for us to analyze the influence of Miguel de Luna's text on Toledo's historiographical forgeries. On the one hand, the existence of the fabricated narrator reflected the desire for chroniclers to invent stories. When I use the word "invent" in this context, I refer back to the definition employed by Sebastián Covarrubias who defines "inventar" as "sacar alguna cosa de nuevo que no se haya visto antes ni tenga imitación de otra. Algunas veces sinifica mentir, y llamamos invencioneros a los forjadores de mentiras" (Covarrubias 1105). It is this third definition (to fabricate a lie) which not only fueled the narrative projects of these historiographers but also conditioned public reading practices, as readers considered recently discovered texts, relics or even lies as reliable historical truths.

At the same time, however, the proclivity for chroniclers such as Miguel de Luna or Román de la Higuera to "invent" stories also had a positive connotation, especially if we consider how Luna's fictitious narrator relies on "three interpreters who have experience in that language [in Chaldean]" (161). The act of interpretation in this case as not only does *inventar* refer to an act of discovery, but also is intimately related to the concept of *translatio,* or the movement of inherited traditions across geographic lines. This recognition of an inherited history will prove key to both proving Higuera's as well as Lope's literary fame, as we will see

later in this chapter. With that said, Luna also manipulates this concept of *translatio* for his own ends. As we know, the Council of Trent during the mid sixteenth century approved a series of texts which could be legitimately imitated. By claiming that the history of the Gothic king Rodrigo was actually derived from an original Arabic source, Luna not only turns humanist imitation on its end but also legitimizes Arabic sources for a Granada who was reconciling its dual Christian and Mozarabic identity.

A similar historiographic project was taking place in Toledo at the time, as the city was trying to bolster its reputation in the eyes of the Habsburg court by "trying to reshape the city and in the process restore what they believed to be its essential Christian identity while also imparting a more modern and magnificent luster on the city" (Olds 42). A central figure in this movement was Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, a Jesuit priest who formed part of a rich intellectual community whose primary goal was to study antiquities in order to uncover secrets about Toledo's past and its place in Christian providential history. According to Julio Caro Baroja, Higuera was born in Toledo in 1551 and studied under Jesuit priests at the University of Toledo. After receiving a doctorate in Theology, he devoted his life to the study of antiquities (Caro Baroja *las falsificaciones de la historia* 165). It is from this love of antiquities that he was able to publish on a variety of topics including: the arrival of St. James in Spain, as well as a defense of the veracity of the Lead Books of Sacromonte. It is in the preparation of this last book, where Higuera would have come into contact with Luna, who also served as the primary translator of the Lead Books.[1]

However, Higuera, as we mentioned, was probably best known for publishing his *Historia ecclesiástica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo,* a text which caused a great deal of

[1] The influence of the Lead Books of Sacromonte on our study will be further explored in Chapter 2.

controversy in its day due to its claim that the remains found underneath the Plaza Mayor in August 1594 were actually remains of the early medieval chapel erected in honor of San Tirso (a patron saints for Mozarabs, or Christians living under Islamic rule) (Olds 29). In order to prove his argument, Higuera uses from Mozarabic liturgy, a series of texts including a missal, a hymnal and a breviary, which was supposedly traveling with St. James when he arrived in Granada and then moved through Spain up to Toledo. According to Olds, the claim that the remains actually belonged to the patron saints of the Mozarabs, San Tirso, had various repercussions. First, they would prove that the Mozarabs had a similar historiographical and religious legitimacy to Toledo as Christians did. Similarly, following Martínez Gil, Toledo also had one of the largest Mozarab populations during the Middle Ages, so a discovery such as this one would further legitimize the social identity of the Mozarab in Toledo. A few historians (namely Pedro Salazar de Mendoza, the major patron for El Greco and Juan de Mariana, the royal chronicler of Philip III) publically spoke out against this discovery. However, other members of Toledo's intellectual elite, such as Pedro de Alcocer, Francisco de Pisa, Esteban de Garibay (1533-1599) and Alonso de Villegas (1535-1603; author of the *Flos Santorum)* who would support Higuera's more positive view about the identity of Mozarabs in Toledo. When we reach our analysis of the *comedias* and particularly *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* in Chapter 2*,* we will see to what degree Lope agrees with Higuera or not on the status of San Tirso.

But beyond demonstrating Higuera's love for antiquities, I would claim that Higuera's obsession for proving the historical legitimacy of the Mozarab is actually masking a more Jewish question related to genealogy. This argument can best be seen if we consider that according to Caro Baroja, Martínez Gil and Olds, one of the central goals of Higuera's production was to prove not only that the Mozarabs had historical legitimacy in Toledo, but that the Higuera family

was one of Toledo's founding Mozarabic families who were both descended from Jews who arrived in Spain during the Babylonian Captivity but also were the ancestors of the Goths. As such, historians have explored the question of whether Higuera, in addition to having Mozarabic roots, was also of Jewish descent. For this reason, Higuera would go to great lengths in most of his published works to discuss the issue of genealogy, either through an elaborate family tree as in his treatise *Tratado sobre el linaje de Higuera* or by discussing the foundational myths of Toledo in the *Historia ecclesiástica.*

With that said, when it comes to considering Lope's *comedias,* we should make a few distinctions. First, similar to Higuera and other Toledan historiographers, Lope does participate in the rechristianization of the city. But instead of simply focusing on Toledo's intellectual elite, the playwright popularizes the myths discussed in Higuera's chronicles and presenting them on stage for public consumption. In addition to exposing the *vulgo* to these foundational myths, since many of his comedias were performed as part of public festivals, we could claim that Lope develops this dramatic historiography not only to raise the status of the city, but also to achieve literary fame and ultimately become one of the court chroniclers for Philip III once he is permitted to return to the capital. Thirdly, similar to Higuera and other Toledan chroniclers, Lope's dramatic historiography in broad terms follows the structure of a Toledan history, insofar as it emphasizes Toledo's Gothic heritage first and then continues underlining the historical influence, both positive and negative, of the city's Mozarabic population. However, in contrast to Higuera's chronicle, which emphasizes Toledo's Mozarabic heritage above all else, Lope employs Jewish figures of thought throughout his dramatic historiography creating a spectrum of representations of Toledo.

To begin the study of Lope's dramatic historiography, we will begin with two sister plays, *La comedia de Bamba (*1597-1598) and *El último godo.* Both of these plays, written during the first years of Lope's stay in Toledo, dramatize both the rise of the Gothic kings of Toledo, as well as their subsequent downfall, as the Muslims invade the city.[2] With that said, in addition to dramatizing this aspect of Toledo's history, the playwright, through a series of object and spatial crypto-narrations, represents Toledo as a foundational city, which leaves relics in its path. In this sense, if we interpret the crypto-narration as a relic, one could theorize and say that a cryto-narrative permits spectators to both remember and forget certain elements from their own histories. Furthermore, in contrast to the *comedias* we will study in subsequent chapters where audience members are granted more agency to interpret scenes as they wish, the level to which spectators are allowed to participate and construct their own interpretations is negligible, as characters on stage openly interpret signs for spectators.

1.2. Towards a Foundational Toledo: Object Crypto-Narrations in *La Comedia de Bamba*

In contrast to other *comedias* we will study in this dissertation, *La comedia de Bamba (*1597-1598) has received scant critical attention.[3] Of the four current studies published on this play, critics such as David Roas and Carmen Josefina Pagnotta have focused on the question of why Lope chose the rise and fall of the Gothic king Bamba as material to dramatize in the public *corrales* of Toledo. For Roas, Lope represents this king on stage to reveal "la concepción lopesca

[2] This second play was actually published twice under two titles. The first, *La comedia famosa de El postrer godo de España,* was published as part of the octava parte of the Comedias of Lope de Vega. The second, *La tragicomedia de El ultimo godo,* was published as part of Part 25 of the Comedias de Lope de Vega. For the purposes of this dissertation, I am employing the later title because Lope himself ends the play with the following lines: "Aquí discreto Senado/ se acaba el último godo" (III,

[3] The date of composition of the Comedia de Bamba is derived from the *Cronologia de las comedias of Lope de Vega* as well as Lope's own *Peregrino en su patria* (1605), both of which propose this range of years for the composition and production of this drama. Also, according to David Roas, *La comedia de Bamba* was published in the *Parte primera de las comedias de Lope de Vega* (Zaragoza, 1604).

del monarca ideal: justo, piadoso, defensor del cristianismo y elegido por la gracia divina" (Roas 208). In contrast, Pagnotta believes that Lope chose to dramatize the rise and death of Bamba on stage to demonstrate the inherent conflict between courtly culture and popular culture, since as the play describes, Bamba comes from humble roots and is divinely chosen to be king. She proves this argument by claiming that the three-act structure, by representing the countryside as a *locus amoenus* and contrasts that with courtly cultures, which is depicted as more chaotic and filled with intrigue (Pagnotta 188).

In addition to the representation of the king and his court, another question which has preoccupied critics when analyzing this play is the nature of its source material given the fact it is found in the subgenre of the "chronicle play."[4] For example, David Cohen, in his comparative study of *La comedia de Bamba* and Shakespeare's *Edward II,* highlights the importance of both chronicles and lyric poetry in the composition of this *comedia*. More specifically, he cites the importance of the *Chrónica de España* (1541) and Diego de Rodríguez de Almela's *Valerio* (1487) especially in the depiction of the selection of Bamba at the end of the first act. Recognizing the importance of these sources in the compiling of Ocampo's chronicle, Roas also claims that Lope incorporated material from thirteenth century histories of Toledo written in Latin (namely *La historia excelentissimi regis Wambae* by Julián of Toledo, the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas de Tuy and the *Historia de rebus Hispaniae* of Rodrigo Jimenez de Hada) as well as from *La primera crónica general.* Roas unpacks the discursive history of the Wamba story to highlight how Lope diverges from the sources in a number of places. In particular, the critic focuses on the selection of Bamba as king in Act I, the representation of Paul, the

[4] For more information, consult David Cohen *Drama of a nation: Public Theater in Renaissance England and Spain.* 1985. pp. 239-252.

appearance of the Arabic magician in the beginning of Act II and the final scene where Bamba is poisoned.[5]

Taking these studies as my point of departure, this chapter explores how Lope fashions a kind of *speculum regis*, not only in Davidic terms, as Roas would claim, but as a Pauline problem as well. Through a series of crypto-narrations communicated through thaumaturgic objects (the ax and the crown), Lope is able to convert Bamba into a Judaizing king who Judaizes genealogically, threatening the Christian sanctity of Toledo. Due to the challenge presented by Bamba, other characters are left to reconstruct the ideal Christian city during Bamba's coronation. During those scenes, for Christians as we will see, Judaism has no place in this new Toledo. It is only in the third act with the arrival of the Mozarab Mujarabo and the death of the Judaizing king that Judaism is allowed to be recognized historiographically. Ultimately, this section of our chapter not only will reconceptualize the notion of the *speculum regis* using a Pauline lens, but at the same time, consider how Jewish figures of thought can also serve as potential sources for Lope's historical *comedias*.

Unlike the more developed *comedia nueva* which we see performed later in his Toledan period, which is characterized by a clear unity of space and time, since Lope is experimenting with different genres and time periods to create his dramatic historiography, Cohen has considered this particular play to be "untidy" incorporating various settings and plot lines in a more indiscriminate way than his later work (Cohen 240). More specifically, *La comedia de Bamba* focuses primarily on the rise and fall of one of the last Visigothic rulers of Spain, King Bamba who ruled between 672 and 680 AD. Act I takes place in two distinct spaces: the court of

[5] For more information about the source history of this comedia, please consult David Roas "Lope y la manipulación de la historia: realidad, leyenda, e invención en la Comedia de Bamba." *Anuario Lope de Vega* Vol 1 No. 1 (1995) pp. 189-208.

Spain in Toledo and the countryside where Bamba and his wife Sancha live. Within the hallowed walls of Toledo's court, various nobles are discussing who has the right to succeed the ailing King Recesvinto. After Recesvinto passes, there erupts a brief war of succession, which is ultimately resolved in Rome where an angel appears to tell them that a farmer, Bamba, is the actual heir to the Gothic throne. This prophecy in Rome is further corroborated in the countryside where Bamba where a tree "miraculously" sheds crowns full of flowers instead of leaves and wood. A voice then asks Bamba to take the crown, suggesting that Bamba was divinely elected to rule Spain. Given these complementary prophecies, nobles journey out to Ircana to bring Bamba to the city of Toledo, ending the first act.

The second act similarly follows two distinct storylines in two different spaces. In Spain, Bamba is coronated in Toledo while the dramatic action shifts to a new locale: the Arab court where Paulo, one of Bamba's noblemen is plotting with an Arab general, Alicán and Ervigio to overthrow Bamba. The act ends with the commencement of hostilities between the Arab armies and Bamba's forces.

In Act III, we find that Bamba has successfully defeated the rebellion and has incarcerated Paulo and his forces for their treachery. During their incarceration, one of Paulo's soldiers, Ervigio, meets an Arab magician, Mujarabo who predicts that Ervigio will become king if he assassinates Bamba. The play ends with Ervigio poisioning Bamba and assuming the throne, thus beginning the Muslim occupation of Toledo. As we will see momentarily, Lope's chronicle play not only incorporates various historical sources and genres, but also refashions the problem of conquest as an issue of conversion, using Pauline principles.

1.2.1 The Mirror of Princes as a Problem of Conversion: The Presence of Paul in Resisvinto's Court

While the vast majority of the play focuses on King Bamba's rise to power and fall from grace, I would claim the opening scene, in Toledo's court, serves an important allegorical and exegetical function. This opening scene of the drama, depicting a debate about the values of kingship, has been used by critics as the primary evidence to demonstrate how the play functions as a *speculum regis*. Roas summarizes these ideas as follows:

> Así, la idea del monarca del drama lopesco se construye a partir de algunos conceptos bastante complejos: el rey aparece (y esa es la idea de monarquía autoritaria propugnada por los reyes católicos y los Habsburgo) como jefe absoluto del estado, en el cual se personifica la justicia y el orden social. Además, el rey tiene una misión divina: la defensa de la fe católica (Roas 191).

Roas and other critics believe that this scene and its discussion of kingship prefigure the political issues being discussed later in the play when Bamba appears, However, in addition to prefiguring a political reading of the play, I propose that this opening scene also foregrounds an exegetical reading which establishes Christianity as genealogically superior to Judaism. The importance of this claim can best be seen if we consider how Atanagildo describes the vision of the Virgin Mary in three stages. First, he conditions the listening and viewing experience of the other characters on stage:

Pues decildo.

Advierte rey supremo, lo que pasa

En este templo que de Dios es casa (I, 70-73)[6]

Through the command "advierte," Atanagildo creates a linguistic frame around the miracle he is about to describe. From a narratological perspective, this frame stops the previous debate about kingship in its tracks, startling both characters and spectators, and forcing them hone in on the ekphrasis that is about to unfold. In addition to focusing the attention of both characters and audience members, the word "advierte" can also serve as a distancing device as this declaration warns them that they are about to enter a sacred space "[un] templo que de Dios es casa." As the first stage continues, we realize that Atanagildo guides characters and spectators through this experience by staging a competition between hearing and sight, displaying how each can bring Old Christians and *conversos* closer to full faith in Christ. He first dissects the power of hearing when he elaborates:

[…]

cuando los gallos dan voces

representando este ejemplo,

y a la luz de las tinieblas

están partidas por medio;

cuando suenan las campanas

de la iglesia de Toledo

y hacen a los maltinantes

[6] For the passages of *La comedia de Bamba* in this chapter, I cite from the edition of David Roas.

dulce música en concierto

digo en fin, a medianoche

entró con todo su clero

el gran prelado Ilefonso

en el soberano templo. (I, 90-100).

By emphasizing in this passage the ringing of the Cathedral bells, and the chanting of Cathedral choir during services, Atanagildo recalls Paul's teaching in his Letter to the Romans: "Thus faith come from hearing and hearing by the word of Christ" (Romans 10:17). Taking this teaching as their point of departure, early modern Catholicism conceived of faith on two levels. First, there was the *fides informa* or the prayers or teachings a worshipper believed to be true or not. Secondly, a worshipper could achieve a fully formed faith (*fides formata*), which was a virtue the Christian had to figure out internally. One conduit Early Modern Catholics used was music (Cashner 88). As such, by alluding to the music in the Church before San Ildefonso's entrance, Atanagildo may be encouraging both Old Christians and *conversos* to think about this distinction to gain a fuller communion with Christ. In addition to echoing Paul's sentiment about the potential of music and the sense of hearing to bring Christian's closer to a fuller faith in Christ, Lope is offering one-way theater can bring spectators closer to faith, since as we know, spectators viewing the theater rely primarily on their hearing to understand and interpret the performance.

But at the same time, he demonstrates the potential of the sense of sight as he describes the arrival of Saint Ildefonso and the appearance of the Virgin Mary. Atanagildo paints the following picture:

Se abrieron sus altos pechos,

Por donde pudieron ver

También los cielos abiertos,

de donde vieron bajar

todo el divino Colegio

de serafines y tronos

entre mil ángeles bellos.

Y tras esta procesión

venía el divino Eugenio,

a quien la santa Leocadia

venía en orden siguiendo.

Tras della, Pablo y Juan,

Pedro, Andrés, Felipe y Diego,

Tomás y Bartolomé,

Lucas, Marcos y Mateo.

Luego a la postre venía

la Virgen, reina del cielo,

madre de Dios sin principio

y autor del principio nuestro (I, 102-120).

This religious vision can be interpreted on a variety of levels, especially as to how it interprets the relationship between sight and true faith. From the point of view of Atanagildo himself, sight is not deceptive. In fact, he uses sight to open up the frame he constructed earlier in the scene ("Se abrieron sus altos pechos,/Por donde pudieron ver/También los cielos abiertos). This ability is derived from the fact, that as narrator of the vision, we can presume that Atanagildo has been illuminated after having experienced this heavenly communion. Indeed, from the perspective of Atanagildo, his ability to create an ur-ekphrasis ("the description of the creation of an art object in the character's mind allows him to interpret the painting and guide the spectator's interpretation of it) (De Armas 18).

However, from the point of view of the spectators, their interpretations are more complex as Atanagildo's imagined painting or ur-ekphrasis actually dialogues with pictorial representations of San Ildefonso which were being produced throughout Spain at the end of the sixteenth century and in particular in Toledo. Wifredo Rincón García described how San Ildefonso would often be placed in iconic religious iconography in order to highlight his importance in Toledo's providential history (Rincón García 316). The importance of San Ildefonso would be particularly important especially given the fact city officials were imploring Rome to return the remains of Ildefonso to the city. For example, just within the chapel of St. John the Baptist of the Toledo Cathedral, Cardinal Cisneros commissioned Juan de Borgoña to

paint San Ildefonso within a last supper scene as well as make him the protagonist of the *Virgen de don Alonso de Villegas* (1589). In this painting, instead of Ildefonso taking a back stage to the main scene, here the Holy Family look towards San Ildefonso (Rincón Garcia 317). I believe Atanaguildo is carrying out a similar pictorial project when he makes San Ildefonso the protagonist in a painting concerning the Evangelists. By the same token, spectators, having seen images similar to this throughout Toledo and indeed throughout Spain would recognize this artistic practice.

However, while the play might encourage a viewing practice which mixes together iconographic traditions, when it comes to mixing together religious traditions, in particular Christianity and Judaism, there is definitely an effort in this play to have Christianity erase Judaism exegetically, framing Christianity as genealogically superior or more pure than Judaism. This point can best be seen if we consider the image that Atanagildo selects to insert San Ildefonso: that of a gathering of the Evangelists, whose purpose was to prove that Christianity represented the completion of the Jewish metanarrative begun in the Hebrew Bible. More specifically, this can be proven by the order in which he mentions the apostles, tracing a genealogy starting with Paul (the apostle in this case who witnessed the resurrection) and traces it back to Matthew who inspired by the rhetorical technique of tracing genealogies in the Old Testament, attempted to prove that Jesus was part of a Jewish genealogy that began with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. By including the apostles in this order, Atanagildo is in effect erasing the Jewish portion of Jesus' family tree and replacing it with figures not only from Christianity but from Toledo's local history (Eugenio and Saint Leocadia).

In addition to erasing Judaism genealogically through this new kind of Biblical genealogy, the placement of Paul at the beginning is also interesting as it frames Judaism not just

as a genealogical problem but one of performance as well. As we mentioned in the introduction, Paul was the first one to critique Christians for being Judaizers, or performing Judaism in public. In essence, by mentioning Paul first in this rechristianized genealogy, it is another method to prove that Judaizers are not true Christians with genuine faith in Christ and as such, they need to be erased from his exegetical painting. This point can later be extended to the spectators who may be Judaizers when Atanagildo explains later on in the monologue:

Quedó el Arzobispo santo

gran tiempo en éxtasis puesto,

y quedó toda la gente

admirada del suceso (I, 154-157).

While at first glance, Atanagildo is merely describing the reaction of Saint Ildefonso upon seeing the Virgin Mary, one could also extend this to the audience's reaction upon hearing about the miracle ekphrastically. Within the frame of the story itself, this description places Atanagildo, the narrator, into a privileged position as his sight is the only one that can interpret the miracle properly, as the rest of the spectators remain "admirada del suceso" or overwhelmed by what they have heard and seen. Additionally, in contrast to other *comedias* we will study later in this dissertation, Atanagildo is not encouraging the audience first to not think about crypto-narratives or alternative readings but rather simply admire the miracle they have just witnessed.

With this analysis of the ekphrasis in mind, a question remains: how does this imagined painting fit into the main narrative describing the virtues a future king should have? I would posit that in addition to what Roas and others have highlighted, Atanagildo, through his ur-

ekphrasis, adds to the discussion the Pauline idea of being a true believer in Christ and the Christian genealogy from where he is born. In this sense, Atanagildo is constructing his own genealogical tree for the future king that is based not on the *translatio imperii* (for example, as we will see in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* later on this study), but a kind of exegetical tree that is uniquely Christian.

1.2.2 The Reconstruction of a Genealogical Tree: Genealogical Crypto-Narrations in Bamba's Transformation into a Judaizing King

With the presence of this Christianized hermeneutical tree established, the act continues with the introduction of the future King Bamba. As we see in this section, the prophecies surrounding the election of Bamba as king are filled with objects, which transform Bamba into a Judaizing king. The first object that appears is an ax. Upon seeing this magical object, the farmer declares:

Quiero una leña

Para una vida llevar,

pues este arbol me enseña

Comodidad no pequeña

para podelle cortar.

Que hasta Ircana no me iré,

Pues soy buen mancebo, a pie,

que la legua no es muy larga,

y en la borrica la carga

de la leña llevaré (I, 515-524)

Roas has indicated both in his critical edition and in his article analyzing the sources of *La comedia de Bamba,* that this scene is Lope's adaptation of the *Valerio de las Historias escolásticas y de España*, which emphasizes Bamba's humble beginnings. The critic adds another layer analyzing the Davidic overtones of this scene: "Su elección… iguala el monarca godo con otros reyes famosos que también fueron elegidos por Dios y que también fueron de bajo linaje, como sucede con los biblicos Saúl y David." (Roas 195). While Roas has largely focused on how these prophecies foreshadow Bamba's rise to power, I am more interested in how the tree not only impacts the plot but also conditions certain viewing practices on the part of spectators. Continuing with the Biblical reading, if we accept that in this scene, Bamba is a Davidic figure that foreshadows his transformation into a king with Christological qualities, the tree itself also has that prefiguring potential. This claim is best demonstrated if we interpret the tree and the ax, which dismantles is as the tree of knowledge from Genesis. On the one hand, similar to Genesis, the tree tempts Bamba with the potential of political and religious power. Simultaneously though, the ax dismantles the allegorical tree of knowledge and instead encourages Bamba to plant a new tree of Judaizing knowledge. This Judaizing knowledge, will allow him to perform aspects of different religions on stage for Old Christian spectators, thus elucidating the importance of the varied religious history of Toledo.

The first way Bamba Judaizes in this scene is through the lens of genealogy. This point can best be seen if we interpret the tree that Bamba is chopping down, not just as a physical tree, but as a genealogical one as well. In this way, when Bamba declares to the audience "quiero una

carga de leña," the magical ax that falls onto the stage permits Bamba to chop down the Christian hermeneutical tree established earlier in the act and replace it with a family tree. Extending the metaphor even further, it is interesting how this monologue does not emphasize planting new leaves for that would require Bamba to associate himself with the former hereditary line. Instead, the ax encourages the peasant to cut down the section of the tree containing its history and its roots. In this sense, the play, through the metaphor of the family tree is also positing a historiographical argument about the history of Toledo, asking spectators to the reinterpret the city's history taking into account its oldest and often most hidden cultures. In the case of Toledo, the base of the tree would include not only the Christian leaves that have sprung up, but also the Jewish and the Mozarabic roots that are hidden in the trunk.

Additionally, if we interpret the tree metaphorically as a historiography and Bamba as the planter or the chronicler of this new hereditary line, we come to realize that the play is depicting the farmer as an unreliable genealogical narrator. This claim is best proven if we consider how often early modern chroniclers would make genealogical claims, or fashion elaborate family trees, using unreliable sources. Indeed, one of the major culprits of this historiographical trend was Higuera himself who invented chroniclers in order to emphasize his own Mozarabic roots. Take for example the invented chronicler Julián Perez, Mozarab of Toledo, who narrates the Treatise of the Lineage of the Higueras and also of the Last Names Peña, Romano and others, and also an Account of the Mozarabs of Toledo (1598). A Mozarab of Toledo and Archpriest of the St. Justa Church, Higuera uses Pérez to provide an "eyewitness account" to accomplish two objectives. The first is to highlight the presence of Mozarabs and Jews on the Iberian Peninsula. In this vision he talks about the city's Mozarab population as follows: "they adopted Moorish ways, they took from here the use of surnames, which is the name of the father given to the son

as a sobriquet, which the Moors took from the Hebrews and those in turn from the Egyptians" (Higuera f. 13r ctd in García Arenal and Mediano 258). In addition to describing the presence of Mozarabs early on in Toledo's history, Olds explains how Higuera traced his lineage back to the Garden of Eden relating his name to the latin word *funculus* or fig tree, which for some interpreters hearkened historians back to the tree of knowledge (Olds 57). In this way, one could claim that by chopping down his old tree and planting a new one, there is the potential, from the point of view of certain spectators, for him to Judaize genealogically on stage, insofar as he will attempt to communicate other cultural perspectives as king.

As the prophecies continue, we come to see how the historiographical fears of spectators may be realized when a series of crowns fall from the skies and Bamba exclaims:

Más válgame Jesucristo!

¿de dó cayó esta corona?

Pues ninguno aquí me ha visto.

Otra cayó, mi persona

ya el daño no resisto.

Esta apariencia me engaña

y el sentido me comuta.

Tengo a maravilla estraña

que un árbol que dé tal fruta

haya nacido en España

Otras dos juntas cayeron.

¿Si aquí algunos las pusieron

para algún engaño acaso?

Mas otra me ofrece un brazo

Y diferente la hicieron

que esta que veo es dorada (I, 525-540)

At first glance, this monologue does indeed corroborate Roa's assertion that Bamba is being depicted as a Davidic figure and his hesitancy to assume the throne is derived from his Davidic humility, thus making him a Christ figure for spectators (Roas 196). This argument particularly holds true if we examine how images of the Royal Christ, depicted in this prophecy, can be interpreted as an extension of the Davidic family line. Matthew begins his Gospel as follows: "This is the genealogy of Jesus the Messiah, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Mat 1:1). It is from these lines and others from which Christian artists developed a multi-layered iconographic tradition depicting Jesus as descending from a long line of kings. [7] In the case of this passage, Lope incorporates various motifs from this tradition to depict Bamba as a Davidic figure. The first "aunque esta que veo es dorada" could be a reference to the Adoration of the Magi, where men from the East come to see Jesus and present him with various gold gifts. Taking this motif into account, we could interpret these lines as foreshadowing the arrival of Recesvinto's noblemen who will adorn him with gifts and crown him king later in the act in an

[7] In various places of the Gospel of Matthew, the characters refer to Jesus as the son of David. See for example, Matthew 9:27, Matthew 12:23 and Matthew 15:22.

elaborate coronation, which we will analyze later. However, at the same time, the falling of the crown of thorns also refers to the motif of the *Ecce Homo,* or the scene where Jesus is mocked by the Roman troops after being sentenced by Pontius Pilate. These contradictory Davidic representations of Bamba is the first time in the play and in Lope's Toledan corpus where the audience is given a choice on how to interpret the scene. For Old Christians, they would interpret these genealogical crypto-narrations as Bamba, like Jesus, culminating the Davidic line highlighted by Matthew. However, at the same time, the audience (in particular the Crypto-Jews) has the option of mocking Jesus, as the crowns allegorize. For Old Christians who exhibit true faith, they would mock Bamba because he is merely acting out this religious imagery and mocking the role of Christly king. For the Crypto-Jews, they would mock this figure of thought because they would interpret it, like the Pharisees in the Gospels, as a farce.

While Roas is correct that these prophecies depict Bamba as a Davidic Christ figure, I would claim that his hesitancy to assume the throne, does not reflect his humility, but rather because he is experimenting with a type of Judaizing that is not permitted at this stage of Lope's dramatic historiography. By alluding to images of Christ instead of simply hinting at the genealogical overtones, I would claim that Bamba is trying to incorporate iconographic crypto-narrations. However, in contrast to other plays, we will see later, namely *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo,* he is not able to interpret these kinds of crypto-narrations. It is for this reason that Bamba is overwhelmed by the vision calling it a "maravilla" and an "engaño". Ultimately, an Angel has to descend ordering him to take the crown. It is only after these direct divine orders that Bamba ultimately decides to acquiesce to the prophecy's demands:

De tus reflejos

quiero aportar mi crisol,

pues son tan buenos consejos

que a la corona y al sol

es bien mirallos de ellos (I, 560-564)

Similar to the figure of the Ciega in *El Niño inocente de la Guardia*, who we will examine in Chapter 2, this passage reflects that with the Angel's help, Bamba is appropriately illuminated, declaring that both the crown and the sun reflect the prophecy's words well. As a result, the farmer is ready to take the throne once the Gothic noblemen arrive to offer him the crown. But at the same time, as we will see in the subsequent sections, Bamba will still act as a Judaizing king, or as an unreliable historiographical narrator for the audience as the drama continues.

1.2.3: Judaism as a Pauline Scandal: The Erasure of Judaism in the Reconstruction of Toledo as the Ideal Christian City

The act concludes with the arrival of the Christian noblemen who pick up Bamba from his home in Ircana and brings the farmer to Toledo. As the second act commences, the play returns to Toledo's court where the Gothic nobility, Atanagildo, Rodulfo and Teófilo, explain how they decided to offer Bamba the crown. They explain the miracle, unpacked in the previous act, and their subsequent visit to Rome to receive papal approval. While Atanagildo uses Christian figures in order to explain his theory of kingship (referring for example to their trip to Rome and St. James), upon hearing this history, Bamba then attempts to reinterpret it in Hebraic terms with the following monologue:

Sacó Dios del pesado cautiverio

Su pueblo por el mar de los gitanos;

Florece a Aron la vara entre sus manos

y Moisés ve en la zarza aquel misterio,

dale a José el cetro y sacro imperio

y líbrale de todos sus hermanos;

saca a David de en medio de tiranos

y ensalza su honor al hemisferio. (II, 995-1002)

It is interesting how Bamba offers spectators a catalogue of Hebrew prophets here instead of employing Christian figures as he did earlier in the play. Beyond corroborating Roas argument that Bamba is a Davidic King, I would claim he is also another attempt for the king to Judaize genealogically. However, instead of referring to Jesus and his Jewish ancestors, he is now reinterpreting the nature of Christian hermeneutics itself, dialoguing with Paul and his progeny. As it is well-known, starting with his First Letter to the Corinthians, Paul developed a whole hermeneutic tradition where Jews (who ask for signs), Greeks (who favor wisdom) and Christians (who cherish God's grace) would often debate religious concepts, using the form of the Socratic dialogue from their own religious point of view.[8] I believe that a similar Pauline scandal is occurring here between Bamba and his nobility. However, instead of the concept

[8] For Jews ask for signs, Greeks seek after wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified; a stumbling block to Jews, and foolishness to Greeks, but to those who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. (Cor 1:20-25)

under debate being the Incarnation or God's grace, here the Pauline scandal is the nature of kingship. At the same time, Bamba, as the Judaizing king, employs Jewish figures of thought in order to depict himself as not only a Davidic figure but also a typology of Moses. This claim is best proved if we contextualize the lines "florece a Aarón la vara entre sus manos y Moisés ve en la zarza aquel misterio" in light of what St. Justin Martyr says about Moses in his *Dialogue with Trypho,* an apologetic text which Justin attempts to prove to the Jewish philosopher Trypho that Christianity is the new law and that Jesus is the Jewish Messiah. In that text, one of the primary typologies that Justin uses is that Moses, being the Lawgiver, is a prefiguration of Jesus, who is the giver of the New Law. Indeed, in Chapter XII of the text, Justin chastises Typho and all Jews for not realizing this new interpretation of the law when he writes:

> This same law you have despised, and His new holy covenant you have slighted; and now you neither receive it, nor repent of your evil deeds. 'For your ears are closed, your eyes are blinded, and the heart is hardened,' Jeremiah has cried; yet not even then do you listen. The Lawgiver is present, yet you do not see Him; to the poor the Gospel is preached; the blind see, yet you do not understand. You have now need of a second circumcision, though you glory greatly in the flesh (Martyr 23).

We can see here how this passage's two main interlocutors: Jews, who value miracles (such as the parting of the Red Sea) and Paul, who calls for a new covenant with Jesus, consecrated by a second circumcision. In this passage, Justin accuses all Jews of not listening to their own prophets (and ignoring one of their major tenets at the same time) and rejecting the law of the new lawgiver, Jesus. In this sense, Moses, depicted here as the lawgiver, foregrounds the arrival of Jesus as the new lawgiver. In other words, because Jews have ignored their own signs, and have not recognized that Moses is a simple prefiguration of the new law, which Jesus preaches,

they are in need of a new covenant with God. But now, instead of the mediator being Moses, their new prophet is in fact Jesus. He tries to convince Typho of the necessity of this new covenant by using the Pauline technique of Judaizing for his Jewish audience. In other words, by referring to Jesus as a lawgiver, he is using a Jewish figure of thought, or explaining the necessity of the covenant in terms and in figures Jews can understand.

I believe Bamba is doing something similar in this exchange with his nobles but with a twist. While Justin uses the Jewish figure of thought to chastise Jews and privilege a Christian reading of the covenant, as a Judaizing king, he is turning the tables on his audience, instead privileging the Jewish figures of thought. For example, instead of using Jewish figures of thought to explain Christianity to Jews, as Justin Martyr does, Bamba in this passage, begins the process of interpreting a Christian hermeneutic through Jewish eyes. That is why when Atanaguildo explains the miracle that caused the nobles to choose him as king, he reinterprets that choice alluding to the Burning bush ("ve en la zarza aquel misterio") or the Rod of Aaron, which carried miracles to save the Jews from enslavement in Egypt ("florece a Aarón la vara entre sus manos"). In this sense, instead of relying on a Christian hermeneutic, where a miracle can overwhelm the observer (as it did with his initial prophecy and the ekphrasis in Act I), Bamba here Judaizes the encounter by explaining lawgiving in terms of Jewish miracles. Furthermore, depending if spectators were listening in the Jewish sense, one could either believe faithfully in the Jewish miracles emphasized on stage or read them as unreliable and artificial, if spectators were listening with a Pauline orientation.

Taking into account those divergent perspectives, the nobles try again to Christianize their Judaizing king by showing him around the city of Toledo before his official coronation by giving him a tour that rechristianizes his view of the city. In the process, they help spectators

recall a similar reurbanization project that took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Toledo whose goal was to remove all Mozarabic and Jewish traces from the city. The central figure in this project was the mayor Juan Gutiérrez Tello. Instead of venerating Muhammad, the city was refurbished to include references to Christian saints and figures central to the city's Christian Gothic tradition. The historian elaborates: "[Gutiérrez Tello] rebautizó a cada una de las entradas, dándoles el nombre del santo local a quién confió su protección: las de Alcantará fueron dedicadas a Nuestra Señora y a San Ildefonso; la de San Martin a San Julian; la de Cambrón a Santa Leocadia y la de Bisagra a San Eugenio." (Martinez Gil 328). Additionally, within the city itself, Tello tore down much of the *mudéjar* architecture, which had survived in the city since the Middle Ages.

The tour begins with the following exchange:

Atanagildo

El castillo San Cervantes

Es éste, por do a la Sagra

se va, y ésta es de Visagra

la puerta de los Gigantes

Ataúlfo

Éste es labor mosaico

Es el Alcazar nombrado.

Bamba

No es bueno, porque, aun pintado

aborrezco lo judaico

Teófilo

Esta es de Zocodover

la plaza, y ésta, señor,

llaman la Plaza Mayor (II, 1184-1195)

It is interesting to note how Bamba remains silent during most of this exchange. Instead, it is the Christian nobles who appropriate the art of naming to redesign the city under a Christian world-view. For example, instead of using the Mozarabic name, he refers to Bamba's palace (and the future palace of the Catholic kings) as the Alcázar, Similarly, instead of recognizing that the Plaza Mayor used to be a place of intellectual and commercial exchange (Martinez Gil *Antiguo Regimen* 331; Olds 42-43), he simply refers to it as the Plaza Mayor, reflecting a 1554 reconstruction of the space in order to make it a site for festivals, autos de fe and royal coronations (Martinez Gil 328). Indeed, one could say that Bamba is silenced by all of these spaces when he declares "aborrezco lo judaico," in other words, in order to become a Christian king, he has to ignore the Jewish figures that define his kingship and instead embrace this rechristianized city. But as distinct from later portions of the play, Bamba is consciously aware that Judaism does indeed exist in the city and his nobles are consciously removing those portions from the tour.

If the first part of the tour discourages Bamba from interpreting the city through Jewish eyes, the second part silences it completely. This claim is proven when the court arrives at the relics of Toledo's local saints:

Atanagildo

Bien verás

Otras mil reliquias más:

de Santa Leocadia, el manto;

la casulla que le dio

María y su Santa Mano

a Ildefonso soberano,

que una noche le visitó. […]

Ervigio

Gran señor, no puede ser

Por lo cual, ya nos enseña

Bien de tan raro milagro.

Bamba

A mi alma la consagro,

pues tal milagro me enseña (II 1213-1218; 1228-1231)

While the first part of the tour emphasized the spaces reconstructed by city officials at the end of the sixteenth century, the references in this exchange dialogue with another aspect of the rechristianization of Toledo in the Early Modern Period. As we mentioned earlier, one of the ways in which Toledan chroniclers proved that Toledo was the *sede primada* and the ideal Christian city was by proving how Toledo was central in the history of key Christian saints. Indeed, in the case of Toledo, these projects were also sponsored by the Habsburg monarchy, which worked to excavate the bodies of certain key saints and return them to their rightful place in the Toledo Cathedral. For example, Philip II sponsored the recovery of St. Eugenius, Toledo's first Catholic bishop from the monastery of St. Denis in Paris in 1565. Likewise, the relics of Saint Leocadia were moved from Flanders back to Toledo in 1587 where they were received by the dean of the Toledo Cathedral Don Pedro Carvajal Girón de Loaysa.

In addition to archaeological digs, the city would also sponsor elaborate festivals celebrating the arrival of such relics. Ultimately, these festivals were not only opportunities for city officials to reinforce their own Catholic orthodoxy but also were orchestrated in order to get the king and his court back into the city. Take for example the festival celebrating the arrival of the remains of Santa Leocadia on April 26, 1587 which seventeenth century Toledan chronicler Francisco de Pisa described in the following manner:

> Hízose en Toledo el más solemne recibimiento y entrada, y con el mayor concurso de gente que se cree haberse jamás juntado en España en una ciudad: siendo presentes la Católica majestad de don Felipe Segundo y su hijo primogenito el Principe Don Carlos; y sus primos los Principes de Hungría y Bohemia… y grande número de duques, condes, marqueses, caballeros, y personas de mucha cuenta. (*Ctd* in Martínez Gil 357).

These festivals also provided the opportunity for artists and dramatists to prove their worth to the community. Julio Milego along with Martinez Gil describe how theater, initially first the auto sacramental and then the comedia nueva, formed an essential part of these festivals. Martinez Gil describes how initially theater was controlled solely by the Toledo Cathedral, financing autos not just for Corpus Christi but also Christmas and Holy Week. However, after 1566, when the Church would not permit clerics to perform in plays, the city itself began to finance theatrical productions, as the city built in the Plaza Mayor a *corral de comedias*, called the *Mesón de fruta.* Additionally, according to Francisco B. San Román, during the time Lope de Vega stayed in the city, a total of 89 comedias were represented in the *Mesón de fruta*, 40 of which were written by Lope while the others were composed by such authors as Tirso de Molina, Mira de Amescua and Luis de Guevara.

With this context in mind, we can return to Bamba's tour of Toledo and see how the play employs the relics to rechristianize their Judaizing king. In contrast to the previous passage where Bamba can express that Judaism was erased, in this exchange, Bamba is just left awestruck by the relics exclaiming "a mi alma la consagro/pues tal milagro me enseña." In this sense, the play is commenting on the kind of miracle that will cause an appropriate conversion. As with Atanagildo who was awestruck after witnessing the descent of the Virgin Mary in Act I in the context of the arrival of St. Ildefonsus, so is Bamba awestruck by the relics of St. Leocadia and St. Ildefonsus. Perhaps the play is implying that only through belief in a local Christianity can true faith be accomplished. In this sense, Lope is dialoguing with Higuera and his contemporaries who are trying to promote this kind of faith and local Christianity in order to increase the prestige of the city in the eyes of the Habsburg court. For Lope, the goals for valorizing this local breed of Christianity are different. In addition to increasing the religious

prestige of the city, he is also popularizing these hagiographies for lay spectators. Therefore, one could read Bamba's tour not just as a way of teaching through spaces and objects how to be a Christian king but at the same time, also reinforce that the key to true faith in the Pauline sense is by embracing local traditions and customs. In this sense, Lope becomes a tour guide, translating different locales in the city, just as Bamba translated religious debates into Jewish terms earlier in the act.

With Bamba's Judaizing silenced during his coronation, he can now rule the kingdom. But as the play continues, spectators come to realize that not even a king who has the potential to Judaize can rule effectively. For this reason, Lope recounts the invasion of the Muslim troops, how Paul ultimately poisons Bamba, thus permitting the Muslims to officially assume the throne. In their assumption of power, two visions of the city are presented simultaneously. On the one hand, the Christian soldiers attempt to re-establish Toledo using the power of naming the city "la ciudad primada" in the religious sense. This signifies to the audience that for the purposes of this play, the process of rechristianization is complete and Toledo can assume its rightful place as the religious center of the Spanish empire. But at the same time, interestingly enough, Lope permits an alterative voice to speak, that of the Muslim soldier, Mujarabo:

Escucha una maravilla

que gustarás de saber:

de Agar, esclava, Ismael

y Abraham, gran patriarca,

ha sucedido en el mundo

una famosa prosapia,

de cuyo tronco soberbio

han salido tantas ramas

que son blasones heroicos

de los confines de Arabia,

de cuya estirpe desciende

el gran profeta que llaman

engañoso los cristianos,

y los alarbes alaban.

Este se llama Mahoma

cuya vida ilustre y santa

querértela referir

sería una historia larga.

A este pues, están sujetos

a su alorcán que la guardan

de las tres partes del mundo

la una sin faltar nada.

Y de aquesta fuerte gente

que es tan admirable y rara,

vendrá España a ser regida,

haciéndose tributarla.

Through this monologue, we can see how Lope leaves audience members with an alterative vision of the new Toledo and similar to Bamba and the Christian characters, he uses genealogy prominently to communicate his new vision of the city. Similar to the Gospel of Matthew, who relates Jesus to the Davidic line, Mujarabo's genealogy includes Ishmael, brother of Abraham and also the forefather of Muhammad. While one could simply say that he mentions Abraham and Muhammad to communicate a new Islamic genealogy of Toledo, at the same time, one could surmise that he is Judaizing by once again including the Jewish perspective in his new genealogy of the city. At the same time, it is interesting to see how the play permits the Muslim soldier to communicate a fuller, more multiethnic genealogy, one that begins with, Abraham, Ishamael, Muhammad and culminates in the *ciudad regia*. With that said, in contrast to other plays in the Toledan period where the audience is given agency to Judaize themselves, as with other monologues in this drama, Mujarabo's words conditions the audience's viewing and hermeneutical practices. This is best seen if we interpret the words "maravilla" as signifying the doubt or a certain distancing between the urban vision offered by the Muslim soldier and how the audience members viewing the production. By calling this genealogy a "maravilla que gustarás de saber," as it were becomes something magical and desirable, in essence tempting the audience to Judaize with him as he explains this new vision of Toledo under Muslim rule.

1.3.0 Refounding Toledo in the Age of Grace: An Augustinian Reading of *El postrer godo de España*

Considering the plays within the Toledan period as a collective historiographical project, the end of *La comedia de Bamba* serves a transition point within Lope's retelling of Spanish history. It represents the play that details the fall of Gothic Spain and the beginning of the history of Toledo under Muslim rule. At the same time, as we have seen, *La comedia de Bamba* also serves as Lope's first attempt to permit characters to perform Judaism on stage, albeit through the theatrical masks of other cultures. If *La comedia de Bamba* was Lope's first foray into Judaizing as crypto-narrations as possibilities for interpreting drama, *El poster godo de España* represents Lope's first attempt to introduce and popularize Toledo's foundational myths for Toledan audiences. Similar to Higuera and his contemporaries, Lope also suffered from a case of "mitomanía" insofar as he saw their potential for being the basis of consumable popular drama. Since Lope follows the structure of Higuera's chronicles in order to bring the rechristianization project into the public eye, it would not be surprising that he turns his attention to the fall of Don Rodrigo, as the last Visigothic king of Spain in *El Postrer Godo de España,* a play produced originally between 1598-1599 according to Morley and Bruerton due to the various references to the court of Felipe III in the play (725).[9]

In contrast to the *La comedia de Bamba,* which has received scant critical attention, the criticism on *El postrer godo de España* or *El último godo* can be divided into various camps. Taking as their point of departure Ramón Menéndez Pidal's critique of the play as not obeying the Neo-Aristotelian unities of time, various critics have tried to unify the *comedia* in different

[9] In addition to the political references, Morley and Bruerton highlight that this play appears in the second list offered by Lope in his *Peregrino en su patria* which makes the play produced before 1604.

ways. For example, Susan Niehoff believes Lope's early play to be an *ur drama,* or a play which allegorizes the Adam narrative and how it is completed by Christian theology. She claims: "The first two acts dramatize the reiteration of Adam's alienation from God and his fall from grace. … Act III completes the binary drama of the Fall and the subsequent promise of redemption as Pelayo undertakes the Reconquest of Spain." (262-263). She proves this argument through an intensive close reading of Act III, exploring how the Pelayo narrative fits into the rest of the play.[10] In a later article, Niehoff then introduces another unifying structure: that of Saint John's Eve.[11] Simultaneously, other critics have responded to Niehoff's studies incorporating new historicist approaches, analyzing the role of time and how the play dramatizes the fall of Spain.[12] More recently, two critics, Antonio Carreño Rodriguez and Veronika Rijik, have analyzed how the *comedia* mirrors contemporary concerns about kingship, the relationship between the court and the countryside, and issues of national identity.[13] Lastly, a series of scholars have used *El postrer godo de España* as a point of departure for comparativist studies, one concerning Lope's Moorish plays and the other concerning the depiction of suicide and subjectivity in Golden Age Spanish literature.[14]

[10] For more information see Susan C Niehoff "The Unity of Lope's *El ultimo godo"* Romance Quarterly Vol. 29 No. 3 (1982) pp. 261-272.
[11] See Niehoff "La noche de San Juan as temporal coordinate in Lope's *El ultimo godo. Discurso literario.* Vol. 11 No. 1 (1993) pp. 113-126.
[12] See Ramón Araluce Cuenca "Lope de Vega y la pérdida de España: El ultimo godo" *Lope de Vega y los origenes del teatro español.* 1981 pp. 473-477.
[13] For example, Antonio Carreño Rodriguez analyzes how Lope highlights the divisions between courtly culture and rural culture in two comedias *El ultimo godo* and *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo.* Alternatively, Rijik in an article and in a book chapter has analyzed this comedia in light of how it creates a nationalist discourse. For more information see Antonio Carreño Rodriguez "Privanza, e integridad nacional: Lope de Vega y las crisis del poder" *Rilce* 21:2 (2005) pp. 205-225 and Veronika Rijik "Las dos Españas de Lope de Vega y la reelaboración del mito fundacional en el Ultimo Godo" *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos.* Vol. 29 No. 1 (Fall 2004) pp. 213-230.
[14] See for example Bruce Burningham "Suicide and the Ethics of Refusal" *Critical Reflections: Essays on Golden Age Spanish Literature in honor of James A. Parr.* pp. 44-54 or Antonio Sánchez Jimenez "Segunda Cava de España: moro, morisco y venganza en tres comedias de Lope de Vega" *Bulletin of the Comediantes,* Vol. 55 No. 2 (2003) pp. 117-132.

Taking these critical perspectives as my point of departure, this section of the chapter claims Lope ties together the three acts, not necessarily on an Aristotelian level (emphasizing the unity or lack thereof of the play) but on a historiographical and Augustinian one. Similar to *La comedia de Bamba, El postrer godo de España* dramatizes the conflict between Christianity, Islam and Judaism using genealogy as its lens. Additionally, similar to *La comedia de Bamba*, the characters on stage do not allow audience members much agency to Judaize for themselves; rather, they impose interpretations of the various prophecies dramatized. However, in contrast to the previous play, where objects are used to thaumaturgically activate crypto-narrations, Lope dramatizes not only foundational spaces that helped establish the city of Toledo but also inserts in those spaces *figurae* from the Three Ages of Man, dramatized by St. Augustine in the *City of God.* Indeed, both Ciriaco Morón Arroyo in the case of the *autos* sacramentales and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez in the case of Lope's *comedias* have remarked about Lope's fascination with *figurae* as storytelling devices.[15] In the case of Sánchez Jiménez, he cites Lope's *Segundo coloquio de Lope de Vega entre un Portuguez, y un castellano, un Vizcaino, un estudiante, y un mozo de mulas, en defensa, y alabanza de la limpia concepción de nuestra Señora, concebida, sin mancha de pecado original* as the source text for Lope's fascination with this device. He writes: "En este coloquio, que salió únicamente en forma de pliego suelto, un estudiante gorrón explica que la tierra santa alrededor de la zarza ardiente del Éxodo 'fue figura/de la Virgen puríssima, en que Cristo/ quiso juntar sus dos naturalezas." (Lope 20; Ctd. Sánchez Jiménez 119). Taking this fascination into account, the first act, through Rodrigo and Teodoredo's reading of the prophecy uses *figurae* from the Virgil, or the Age of Gentility. The second act relies primarily on *figurae* from the Hebraic age, permitting Don Julian to Judaize on an

[15] For more information see Ciriaco Morón Arroyo "Teodramática/Teofania" *El mundo maravilloso de los autos de Calderón*. Navarra: Edition Reichenberger, 2007 pp. 147-162.

onomastic level. The third act, depicting both the martyrdom of Florinda (known in the criticism as La Cava) and the subsequent reestablishment of Toledo by Don Pelayo, relies heavily on Christian allegories from the Age of Grace. Through this argument, this chapter hopes to offer a new way of reading *El postrer godo de España* using both an Augustinian and historiographical lens.

El postrer godo de España, as distinct from other early historical plays of Lope de Vega, does not follow a strict chronological structure. Rather, the play dramatizes two distinct stories. The first, the subject of Act I, is the rise and fall of Don Rodrigo, who after seeing his downfall prophesied in a cave, tries to protect himself from that prophecy by seducing and marrying the Moorish princess Florinda. The marriage between Rodrigo and Florinda ends the first act. In the second act, we see how Rodrigo's plan ultimately fails as the Christian Goths are conquered by the Moors, causing Florinda to commit suicide. The third act then switches gears and focuses on the recapture of Spain by the Christian Don Pelayo who returns to Toledo to liberate his sister, Solmira. The play ends with Don Pelayo vowing to reconquer Spain.

The complex narrative structure has caused critics to debate about the different kinds of source material Lope used for inspiration when writing this comedia. According to Jorge García López, the two main sources for the story are the *Primera crónica general,* (also a source text for *La comedia de Bamba)* and more importantly for our purposes, *La verdadera historia del Rey don Rodrigo,* a chronicle written by Miguel de Luna, a *morisco* historian who dialogued extensively with Jerónimo Román de la Higuera (López 725-726).

1.3.1 The Fall of Gothic Spain as the Loss of Hermeneutic Control: The Marvelous Virgilian Caves of Rodrigo in Act I

As we will see over the course of this section of the chapter, the issue of source material will become important as Lope, as he did in *La comedia de Bamba,* focuses on the rise and fall of Gothic Spain. If *La comedia de Bamba* leaves Toledo under Arab rule, *El postrer godo de España* reopens that historiographical question about the place of the Mozarabs and Jews in the political and providential history of the city. However, instead of using Pauline hermeneutics as his central rhetorical tool, I would claim that Lope employs the cave to emphasize a more Augustinian metanarrative.

The first cave appears in Act I when Don Rodrigo, Teodoredo and Leosindo enter a cavern and come across a series of panels. Leosindo begins by exclaiming:

Si rey ninguno, entre tantos,

en aquesta cueva entró,

llena de miedos y espantos,

ni tu abuelo se atrevió,

santo entre los reyes santos (I, 258-262)[16]

Through these lines, we can see how the play manipulates the trope of the prophetic foundational cave originally found in Virgil. According to Frederick de Armas, who has elaborated an entire discursive history of the cave in the Spanish pastoral novel, the cave was often used as a space

[16] For the citations pertaining to *El postrer godo de España.* I cite from the edition of Jorge García López. *las comedias de Lope de Vega*: *Parte VIII*. Barcelona: ProLope, 2009. pp. 725-870.

where a poet could be inspired (De Armas "Caves of Fame" 335). De Armas considers Virgil's *Eclogues* to be his primary example.[17] Additionally, in Book IV of the *Aeneid,* Virgil uses the cave to prophesy the founding of Rome, forcing Aeneas to leave Carthage and Dido and found Rome. In both instances, the cave is a space that grants hermeneutic control to the epic hero, clarifying his divine mission.

However, as we will see in this prophetic scene, the prophecies in this legendary cave limit the hermeneutic control of the king, thus obscuring his destiny. Returning to the scene's opening lines, rhetorically speaking, if we consider these lines as inspired by Greco-Roman rhetorical devices, this declaration could be an example of what Ernest Robert Curtius has called the inexpressibility topos. Derived from Homer, this trope served to exalt the ruler in two main ways. First, instead of eulogizing about the king, or an event in great detail (as was often the case in a text like the *Iliad*), the character would limit and synthesize his observations, teasing the reader so that he would leave wanting more. Secondly, and more applicable to this scene, the inexpressibility topos implied a lacking as those not worthy of praise would stand marveling at the event (Curtius 160). According to Curtius, Gothic chroniclers would often use this trope as well to describe their kings. For example, Curtius describes how the chronicler Cassiodorus praises the German Gothic king Gensimund (Curtius, 159-162).

Since Lope is writing about the Gothic tradition in these plays, that he would be appropriate to eulogize Rodrigo in this manner. But in addition to praising the genealogy of the king (relating him back to his grandfather, King Bamba), he also distinguishes him in religious terms, praising him for his bravery in trying to interpret the panels on the cave's rock face. In

[17] For more information, see De Armas, Frederick "Caves of Fame and Wisdom in the Spanish Pastoral Novel," *Studies in Philology* 82 (1985): 332–358.

this sense, to a certain degree, Rodrigo seems to have inherited the powers of translation that defined his grandfather Bamba in *La comedia de Bamba.*

With that said, while Leosindo may desire for Rodrigo to exceed his grandfather in the way in which he translates the secrets of this cave, as we will see, similar to Bamba in Act I of the previous play, Rodrigo is also equally skeptical about the notion of historiographical imitation. This is best seen if we take into account Rodrigo's first declaration upon entering the cave:

Hombres como estos serán

los que a España quitarán

a quien estos lienzos vieren

Que dirán los que estos oyeren (I, 248-251)

This reference to the panel seen by Rodrigo is a direct reference to when the Gothic king Don Rodrigo opened the enchanted tower (sometimes read also as an enchanted cave) and found a series of prophesies explaining the fall of Gothic Spain. While this episode has been the subject of extensive historiographical debate (mentioned by Juan de Mariana in his *Historia de España),* the most likely source of this episode comes from the *morisco* historian Miguel de Luna who in Chapter 5 of his *verdadera historia del rey Don Rodrigo* writes: "Que trata como el rey Don Rodrigo abrió la torre encantada de la ciudad de Toledo, pensenando algún Tesoro y como hallo en ella los prognósticos de la pérdida de España." (ff. 14r-16v). Notice how, similar to the *Aeneid* where a prophecy is used to found Rome and to test Aeneas, Miguel de Luna specifically names Don Rodrigo as the primary interpreter of the panels. However, in Lope's version of the

events, Don Rodrigo simply warns the audience about the dangers they represent. This lack of speech signifies that ultimately Rodrigo is incapable of deciphering the panels on the wall and act as interpreter for Toledan spectators. Instead, the role of interpreter goes to Teodoredo who is able to decipher their magic.

In order to understand the different levels of interpretation here, it is useful in my view to take into account the ideas about the hermeneutic potential of parables posited by Frank Kermode. In reading the parables in the Gospel of Mark, the British critic observes how "parables are stories, insofar as they are stories, which are not to be taken at face value, and bear various indications to make this condition plain to the interpreter, so the other scale is the measure of their darkness. Some are apparently almost entirely transparent, some are obscure" (Kermode 24). Similar to the parables described by Kermode, when interpreting Teodoredo's reading of these canvases, the soldier offers spectators both a transparent reading and one that is more obscure. Let us begin with the more transparent one, which takes into account the expectations of Toledan spectators.

Presto verás las mudanzas

del imperio de los godos (I, 275-276)

By mentioning that the canvases prophesy the fall of Gothic Spain at the outset, Teodoredo is overtly and transparently offering spectators the interpretations they would expect upon viewing this scene. However, as his reading continues, we see how Teodoredo makes his meaning more obscure:

La paz, gran señor, estima

que es de los reyes aumento,

la guerra es la destruición de las vidas y ciudades

mientras que no hay ocasión

¿Para qué te persuades

a escándalo y confusión?

Florece en letras España; Córdoba en filosofía

Admira la tierra estraña, y en divina teología

Toledo, que al Tajo baña

Mientras en paz ha vivido,

Isidoro ha florecido,

Leandro, Arcadio, y Eugenio,

Alfonso, de raro ingenio,

Julián, Fulgencio e Indalido" (I, 301-318).

Through the lines "Florece en letras España … admira la tierra estraña, y en divina teología Toledo, que al Tajo baña", he explores how Toledo created the atmosphere for the great historiographers (St. Eugene and Saint Isidore) to flourish. But at the same time, by describing history as an act of bathing or cleansing, Teodoredo could be claiming that this kind of historical

Christianity, represented by the *Etymologies* of St. Isidore of Seville or the *General Estoria de España* of Alfonso el Sabio consolidated Spain under a unified historiographical vision that had Toledo as its political and religious centerpiece. However, now with the presence of this panel prophesying the fall of Toledo and Gothic Spain, Teodoredo is lamenting not just the eventual destruction of the physical city of Toledo (a capital surrounded by the Tajo River) but the historiographical vision that Toledo and the Tajo River nourished for so many centuries under Gothic rule. In essence, this prophecy is leaving Toledo and Spain as a whole in a historiographical vacuum where other, more potentially dangerous mythologies can emerge.

1.3.2 The Onomastic Judaizing of Don Julian in the Second Act

As the second act commences, we see how the play intends to fill this historical vacuum through the efforts of Don Julián, an Arabic magician who constructs an enchanted castle in which to house Florinda. Don Julian appears on stage declaring the following:

El castillo de Consuegra

era mi hacienda y mi casa.

Illán me llama Castilla,

Don Julian me llamó Francia.

Gané a los reyes- a quien sucede

el que ahora enlaza

sus sienes de piezas de oro,

esmaltadas de arrogancia-

la Isla Verde en que vivo,

y a quien el bárbaro llama

en arábigo, su lengua,

las Algeciras trazadas.

[…]

Cuando el ama la enseñó,

fue la primera palabra

"España", y tras ella dijo

"Nací para mal de España.

Seis años la tuve enferma,

melancólica y turbada,

porque decía que vía

muertos, moros y fantasmas. (II, 1158-1169,1186-1193)

At face value, if we follow the *comedia nueva* format strictly, the arrival of the Arabic magician would represent the major conflictive character that would ultimately dethrone Rodrigo. While this reading is consistent with historical sources,[18] I believe there is historiographical work,

[18] Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo and Jorge García López have claimed that Lope primarily developed this scene with the *Primera crónica general* in mind, extracting elements such as The Green Island of origin for Rodrigo as well as the Castle of Consuegra.

which can be read from both a Jewish and Old Christian perspective.[19] If we examine the Jewish or Hebraic elements in this scene, one would immediately recall the efforts of Jewish founding fathers, Abraham and Jacob, who both used onomastics in order to establish a covenant with God and found cities for Jews. In the case of Abraham, after making various sacrifices to Yahweh, the Hebrew God makes the following promise: "Then the Lord said to Abram, "You can be sure that your descendants will be strangers in a foreign land, where they will be oppressed as slaves for 400 years." (Genesis 15:13) After making that declaration, upon arriving in Canaan, his Hebrew name "Abram" is transformed into Abraham, thus sanctifying the Jewish covenant with Yahweh. Taking this possible Biblical intertextuality into account, we can interpret Don Julián's arrival in Toledo as a way for him to forge new a covenant taking into account the mythological importance of Abraham in the founding of a particularly Jewish homeland. In this sense, Don Julian is attempting to establish potentially a new city designed for both Jews and Muslims. It is for this reason, that similar to how Abram renamed himself Abraham, Don Julian attempts to choose a name from his past (Illán of Castille or Julian of France). But beyond this new agreement being forged onomastically, it is also reaffirmed numerologically. This is best seen through the lines "Seis años la tuve enferma, melancólica y turbada". The presence of the number six here is interesting since it is one of the numbers of creation. In this way, the play could be reaffirming the act of creating this new covenant, filling the void left by Rodrigo's prophecy earlier in the play.

If read from an Old Christian perspective, the threat that this new covenant represents is magnified but ultimately an unaccepted covenant since it was created not by natural magic, as

[19] It is worthwhile to note at this point that within this chapter and this dissertation as a whole, I am agreeing with David Nirenberg when he claims that figures of Judaism need not only be dramatized by Jewish characters but all kinds of characters. Furthermore, he includes under the umbrella of Judaism, the problem of Islam as well. For further information, see his Introduction to *Anti Judaism and the Western Tradition.*

Abraham's covenant with Yahweh was, but rather through artificial means. The artificiality of the covenant is reinforced first by the catalog of names that Julian offers at the outset of his speech. Instead of providing a catalog of names in the Homeric and Virgilian sense, one could read this as a kind of onomastic confusion, as Don Julian cannot decide on a name with which to establish his new kingdom. Instead, he refers to names and spaces given to him by his enemies, the Arabs (the fact he comes from La Isla Verde or las Algeciras) and don Julian, a name he garnered from France.

At the same time, the lines "Nací para mal de España/seis años la tuve enferma/melancólica y turbada" could also be read as a kind of numerological confusion, as Don Julian may be confusing the number six, an allegory of creation, with the number seven, the number used to indicate punishment, slavery and ultimately deception. This is best seen if we consider how the number seven refers to Jacob's years of servitude under Laban in Genesis. As is well known from the Biblical story, Laban orders Jacob to be his servant for seven years in order to earn the hand of his younger daughter Rebekah. However, at the end of seven years, Laban deceives Jacob, instead offering him Leah's hand in marriage. In this way, instead of Don Julian being an Abrahamic figure as he would depict himself earlier in the scene, he transforms himself into the one who deceives both Rodrigo and audience members into believing that a marriage between Florinda and Rodrigo would end the political unrest.

It is with this deception that I would claim that Rodrigo tries to reestablish his own historiographical vision employing not only Hebraic elements but also stories from Toledo's local history. This is best seen if we consider why Don Julian has come to Toledo:

En mi mesa, los cuchillos

botos y sin punta andaban,

y cerrados hasta el medio

corredores y ventanas,

porque un astrólogo dijo

que de una torre muy alta

se había de echar Florinda

en la ciudad de Malaca.

Yo he procurado saber

si en Francia, España o Italia

hay ciudad de aqueste nombre,

pero ninguna se halla.

Por mi mal vine a Toledo,

cuando con Zara Abenalza

se casó el rey Don Rodrigo

para occasión de mi infamia.(II, 1198-1213).

In this speech, in lieu of referring to Abrahamic elements, we see Don Julian translating his mission into Greco-Roman terms for Old Christian audience members. This is best seen if

we interpret the construction of this new city in light of the central foundational myth of this chapter, the cave or the Tower of Hercules. As I mentioned earlier, there was much debate on where the tablets predicting the establishment of Toledo were found. Both Román de la Higuera and Miguel de Luna claimed that the parchments were found either in the Tower of Hercules or in a cave. According to Higuera: "Halló un arca y en ella un paño que decosido mostró muchos rostros, que en su figura y traje representaban los alvares de Africa. Tenía el paño unas letras, que decían que cuando aquel paño se desconociesse hombre de aquel talle y figura se apoderarían de España y quitarán con el señoría de ella. (*Historia ecclesiástica Vol III* fol. 363r, ctd. García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 213 footnote 55). While the first scene with Don Rodrigo dramatizes this actual event taken from Higuera and Miguel de Luna and adds a Virgilian twist, in this case, the Arabic magician's desire is to construct his own Cave of Hercules and instead of inserting a chest into it for the king to interpret, he incarcerates Florinda so that Rodrigo can find her, become enamored with her and ultimately marry her, thus fulfilling the downfall of Gothic Spain.

1.3.3 The Cave as False Temple/ Florinda as False Idol: Remnants of the Hebraic Age in Act III

As the drama progresses, the text seems to privilege a Christian interpretation as La Cava is forced to commit suicide due to her melancholy thus proving the artificiality of the Arab's magical covenant. However, as the play reaches its conclusion, we come to the Act which for most critics is the most problematic. For most critics, (such as Menendez Pelayo and Sánchez Jimenez), the third act of *El postrer godo de España* demonstrates how ineffective Lope is in constructing a historical drama, as the Aristotelian unities of time break down. Admittingly, as others have shown, this act does not follow the chronology of the others, as the play jumps years

in the future to when Don Pelayo arrives in Toledo to begin the Reconquest of Spain. However, as we have seen in this chapter, *El postrer godo de España* does indeed follow a chronology, just an Augustinian one instead of an Aristotelian one. If Act I predicts the fall of Gothic Spain, employing Virgil as its source and Act II counters that vision by trying to insert an Hebraic vision, in Act III, audience members will come to realize that the Age of Grace will ultimately be the Age where a Christian Toledo can safely exist.

However, before spectators see the Age of Grace configured in the prophecies of Don Pelayo, it is interesting to see how the play incorporates relics of Judaism at the beginning of Act III. This claim is best seen if we examine how the cave is utilized once again. Instead of it being a prophetic space as it was in Act I, the cave is transformed into a ritual space. Deriving once again from Virgil, De Armas considers this motif to be an extension of the cave as prophetic space (De Armas 339). While this claim may be true in the case of the pastoral, in Lope's Toledan *comedias*, the motif becomes more complex. We will see how the dramatist adds a Judaizing element as Don Julian reappears and attempts to revive La Cava's relics in a magical ritual, which I have cited below:

Hay más penas que a un hombre martiricen?

(Ya entiendo, cielo airado, lo que es esto.

Vendí mi patria, puse fuego a España;

Vengué mi caro honor más de lo honesto;

Metí en mi propia tierra gente estraña;

Lunas por cruces en su campo he puesto;

En su sangre, por mí, sus montes baña;

Los huesos de sus hijos, por los cerros

Blanquean, comidos de águilas y perros:

Murió en los campos de Jerez Rodrigo,

Arrastró las banderas de los godos

El africano bárbaro enemigo,

Y entre sus armas perecieron todos;

Despeñose Florinda por castigo;

Blasfémanla los hombres de mil modos;

Cava la llama el moro por ser mala;

Tan mala que ninguna hasta hoy la iguala.

¿Qué haré, triste de mí, que en templos santos,

donde adorado fue Cristo y de Roma

se obedeció el Pontífice años tantos,

por mí se adora en ellos a Mahoma!

No se escucha otra cosa sino llantos;

El niño, apenas por el vientre asoma,

Cuando dice: “La Cava fue maldita,

que el templo de Toledo hizo mesquita.”

¡Qué bien me ayudarán santos y santas

habiendo sus reliquias destruido!

Y en el trono de Dios vírgenes tantas

Como por mi martirio han padecido!

Cuán justamente contra mí levantas,

Señor, el brazo angélico ofendido!

Peor soy que Elionor, si no me ayudas!

Judas, si en vida; seré en muerte Judas. (III, 2363-2394)

Similar to the onomastic positioning we highlighted when Don Julian was introduced, here Don Julián is more explicit about his dual identity, marking himself as both a follower of Muhammad and Judas. One of the ways in which this dual identity makes sense is if we recall how in the Augustinian Ages of Man, both Muhammad an Judas lived during the epoch of the Hebrews, or the time were Mosaic law was the dominant theological paradigm. Furthermore, both figures allegorize for spectators characters who have denied themselves Christian grace and instead have been tempted by Hebraic law. I would claim by extension that this ritual serves to not only recall the Hebraic Age, but also tempt Christians to ignore the gift of grace.

I believe Don Julian attempts to accomplish this by presenting the body of Florinda. "La Cava" as a martyred relic to be venerated. He attempts to accomplish this goal by reconstructing Florinda's story and his role in it (vendí mi patria… metí en mi propia tierra gente estraña). In this sense, Don Julian's ritual is similar to the festivals mentioned earlier in the chapter celebrating local Toledan saints where relics were brought into the city and their stories were told for all of the populace to hear. Indeed, if we read this ritual in light of those festivals, the Mozarabic and Judaic cultures are incorporated into the local Christianity being venerated by the city, as a Muslim performs a Christian ritual to not only revive Florinda, but ultimately martyr himself. In this sense, Don Julian wants both Florinda's body and his own to be venerated in the same way St. Leocadia, St. Ildephonsus and St. Eugene have been. Furthermore, in contrast to other *comedias* studied in this dissertation, in *El postrer godo de España,* the figure of Judaism is dramatized through an Islamic mask. It won't be until *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo,* performed a decade later after the expulsion of the *moriscos* that Lope will feel comfortable enough to dramatize a Jewish martyr on stage.

While Don Julian is attempting to venerate Florinda's remains, the text depicts her body not as something to be venerated but rather as an idol designed to test the faith of Old Christians in the audience. This claim is best seen if we examine how idolatry was used in Pauline Christianity to help explain how true Christians could be tempted to Judaize: Paul interrogates in his First Letter to the Corinthians: "Consider Israel according to the flesh. Don't those who eat the sacrifices participate in the altar?" (1 Corinthians 10:17-18). Considering Don Julian's ritual in Pauline terms, we can see how the magician's efforts to martyr himself in this ritual could be read as the Jews and Muslims trying once again to take conquer Christian Toledo. Or at the very least, Florinda and Don Julian's remains could serve as relics of Mosaic Law.

With that said, with Don Julian's admission that he is a figure of Judas and ultimately a Judaizing traitor, his death and martyrdom does have allegorical consequences for the play as it allows the play to not only enter the Age of Grace, symbolized by the arrival of Don Pelayo but also allows Old Christians to re-read the story of Florinda's imprisonment as prefiguring the construction of the heavenly Jerusalem. Nirenberg explains how Paul reinterprets the biography of Abraham in order to fashion a new covenant, permitting a new celestial Jerusalem to be built:

> In Paul's reinterpretation of Abraham's biography: Abraham's families-one slave, one free-form part of a chain of oppositions... a table of antinomies each with allegorical significations. Hagar and Ishmael represent flesh and slavery, Sarah and Isaac promise and freedom. Thus far the Reading would not have surprised his audience [...] But next comes an earthquake. Hagar and Ishmael, flesh and slavery, are associated with the law given on Mount Sinai and 'the present Jeru-salem.' Sarah and Isaac, spirit and freedom, are a new covenant and a heavenly city. One bold allegorical stroke reverses the traditional readings of the story. The Mosaic law and the Jewish people and polity that possess it (the present Jerusa- lem) are not heirs to God's promise to Abraham, but as condemned as "of the flesh," sentenced to slavery and exile. This terrestrial Jerusalem is to be cast out, replaced by the spiritual Jerusalem, set free by faith in Jesus (Nirenberg 40).

Taking this re-reading of Abraham into account, the play encourages spectators to interpret the narrative of Florinda and Don Julian not only as the central conflict which drives the second act of the play but also encourages spectators to see Florinda's slavery and subsequent martyrdom as a necessary step in the establishment of Toledo as the Heavenly Jerusalem, a trope we will see dramatized more prominently in Chapter 2, when we analyze *El niño inocente de la Guardia.*

1.3.4: The Foundation of Toledo in the Age of Grace: The Prophecy of Don Pelayo

In addition to introducing the trope of Toledo as the Heavenly Jerusalem, the martyrdom of Florinda and Don Julian also allows Toledo, with the help of Don Pelayo, to enter the Age of Grace in Augustinian terms. We ultimately see Toledo's entry into the Age of Grace as Don Pelayo describes the destruction in the following monologue:

España bella, que de Hispán te llamas
o del Lucero con que nace el día,
el tronco de los godos fenecía
si no quedarán estas pobres ramas.
Ves aquí el fénix de sus muertas llamas,
que nuevas alas de su incendio crías,
para que ocupes, con la historia mía,
versos y prosas, lenguas, plumas, famas.
Yo soy Pelayo, España: yo la piedra
que te ha quedado sola. En esta vuelve
a hacer tus torres, que no ofenda el rayo
las que de sangre vestiré de hiedra,
que, puesto que Rodrigo se resuelve,

de sus cenizas nacerá Pelayo.

(III, 2742-2758)

As we mentioned in the Introduction, Susan Niehoff has used this prophecy as her focal point to argue that *El postrer godo de España* can be read as an *ur-drama.* In other words, she reads Acts I and III as justifying the loss of Spain and subsequent redemption of Spain using Adam and Jesus as its primary figura. She argues: "On a purely secular plane the third act reconstructs the inauguration of the Reconquest of Covadonga. For Lope, however, the drama lay not so much in the miracle of the battle itself, but rather in why the miracle was authorized to begin with. The action, therefore, which the plot imitates here coordinates the New Testament soteriology and thus focuses attention on the Fall as the cause of Incarnation, and Christ as the fulfillment of Providential promise." (Niehoff 262). While Niehoff proves convincingly that Acts I and III depict this ur-drama, I would also like to suggest that the prophecies that Pelayo dramatizes here also represents a historiographical culmination in Augustinian terms, as through the Incarnation, Toledo may enter the Age of Grace. With that said, it is interesting to note how Pelayo uses the Cave of Hercules as his primary prefiguration, alluding to Hispan, another name for Hercules used in the historical chronicles and claiming that through the Reconquest of Spain, new towers will be built similar to the ones constructed by Hercules in Antiquity when Toledo was first established. Additionally, by saying that the New resurrected Toledo will rise from the ashes of Rodrigo implies that the Age of Greece and Rome will still hold an important place in the providential history of the New Toledo. But at the same time, similar to *La comedia de Bamba,* where Judaism is erased from Toledo's historical memory during Bamba's coronation in Act II, a similar erasure of Islam and by extension Judaism is performed in this passage. This

begs the question: where is Judaism's place in Toledo's providential history and how can it be performed. The subsequent chapters will explore this question.

Chapter 2: Toledo as a City of Tragedy: Iconographic Crypto-Narrations in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo*

As we saw in Chapter 1, the dramatic production of Lope de Vega was highly influenced by the poets and chroniclers with whom Lope came into contact during his visits to the city. Due to these relationships, we are exploring in this dissertation how Lope de Vega creates a "dramatic historiography" emphasizing the multiethnic heritage of Toledo. Additionally, in line with the projects of other Toledan historiographers with whom the dramatist came into contact (namely the chronicles of Pedro de Alcocer and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera), these plays include crypto-narrations, semantic codes which can be interpreted in different ways by Old Christian, *converso* or Crypto-Jewish audiences depending on their religious points of reference. In the first chapter, we analyzed how *El postrer Godo* and *El último Godo* alluded to the retellings of Toledo's Gothic heritage found in Román de la Higuera's *Historia ecclesiástica de la ciudad de Toledo*. Simultaneously, we also saw how the plays spoke to potential Crypto-Jewish audiences by including crypto-narrations related to genealogy. Taking these interactions into account, this chapter will expand on the influence of these rewritings of Toledo's history and also explore how certain city practices, namely the autos de fe taking place in the Plaza de Zocodover and the *Justas poéticas* organized by Lope de Vega and city officials influenced the playwright's dramatic production.

In order to fully understand the importance of these readings in these plays, we must step back and consider the relationship between theater and festival in the Early Modern Period. Toledo was one of the cities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that often commemorated political and religious holidays through elaborate festivals. Julian Montemayor, in his study of the decline of Toledo at the end of the fifteenth century, has highlighted three

distinct types of festivals that Church and city officials celebrated throughout the year: mobile festivals, the "fiestas precisas de guardar, such as the annual Corpus Christi festival, and celebrations honoring Saints called "fiestas propias del Ayuntamiento". City officials also took the opportunity to celebrate special occasions for the court, such as the crowning of Philip III on March 2, 1600 or the birth of Philip IV in 1605 (Montemayor 403-414). As Montemayor, Julio Millego, and Julio Caro Baroja have suggested, these city celebrations would often include the representations of religious *comedias* such as *La noche toledana* or *La noche de San Juan,* depicting festivals as part of their stories.[1] These celebrations would often include solemn processions from the Toledo Cathedral to the Plaza de Zocodover, (in the case for example of the activities commemorating the death of Philip II or the return of the relics of St. Leocadia), as well as autos de fe condemning Protestants and Judaizers. Indeed, autos de fe were celebrated in the Plaza de Zocodover on March 9, 1561 where seven people were burned at the stake, June 17, 1565 where 47 individuals- accused of being witches, Judaizers and Protestants- were executed, March 24, 1566 where seven women and fourteen men were burned at the stake and in June of 1568, in honor of the arrival of the Princess Juana of Austria to Spain (Milego 30).

Although by the time Lope de Vega lived in Toledo the number of autos de fe had decreased considerably, according to the receipt books maintained by the Toledo Cathedral during the years of Lope's stay, the Cathedral did indeed celebrate a series of autos de fe which included suspected Judaizers. For instance, starting from the Cathedral, marching by the Alcázar and ending at the Plaza de Zocodover, the Cathedral's receipt book of 1600 describes how the Cathedral financed an auto de fe where 44 citizens were burned at the stake either for being

[1] See for example Julio Milego, *Estudio histórico-crítico: el teatro en Toledo durante los siglos XVI y XVII.* Valencia: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Manuel Pau, 1909. p. 30 or Julian Montemayor *Tolede: entre fortune et declin* (1530-1640) Pulim, 1996 pp. 403-414 or Julio Caro Baroja *El estio festivo: fiestas populares del verano.* Madrid: Taurus, 1984. pp. 51-56 and pp. 70-75.

Protestants, Moors or Jews. (BCT, 22-8)[2]. I believe this spectacle to be particularly important since potentially Lope de Vega would have witnessed this event in the Plaza de Zocodover and as such could have inspired many of the Toledan comedias.

More specifically, this chapter will demonstrate how two dramas inspired by *autos de fe, El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo,* include both historiographic and iconographic crypto-narrations. In the case of *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* (1596)*,* a history play based on the ritual murder of a Christian child by Jews, spectators see Lope at his most conservative when it comes to the Jewish question. First, as with the Gothic *comedias* considered in Chapter 1, Lope's efforts to create a dramatic historiography are still in play as this drama also presents the conflict between Jews and Christians in historiographic terms. On the one hand, spectators are presented with conflicting Jewish historical visions as the Jews, Hernando, Benito and Quintanar, historiographically imitate histories written by Jews outside of the Peninsula remarking about their status as Jews in their new homelands. Simultaneously, Christian characters such as Queen Isabella in the first act and Santo Domingo incorporate iconographic crypto-narrations designed to teach lay audiences the specifics of Catholic doctrine. More specifically, these characters achieve this goal by alluding to Christological and hagiographic imagery painted by El Greco during his stay in Toledo.

The chapter will then consider *El Hamete de Toledo* (c.1608)*.* Similar to *El niño inocente de la Guardia,* the conflict between Islam and Christianity is represented as a historical problem, as both Christian and Muslim characters in the play allude to debates surrounding the validity of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, controversies influencing the Toledan historiographers inspiring

[2] BCT herein refers to the archives of the Biblioteca Capitular de Toledo and the *libros de cuentas* between 1590 and 1615 unless otherwise indicated in this dissertation.

Lope. However, as distinct from *El Niño inocente* where Lope presents an iconographic and religious model of how to engage with Christianity, through the dramatization of Hamete's *auto de fe* in the Plaza de Zocodover, the play allows spectators to paint their own picture of the Muslim Other, in effect, to Judaize iconographically. In this sense, *El Hamete de Toledo* distinguishes itself from the Gothic dramas analyzed in Chapter 1 insofar as more agency is granted to the audience to interpret crypto-narrations as they see fit. I will prove this argument by demonstrating similarities between actual descriptions of autos de fe compiled by the Toledo Cathedral and compare them to their theatrical configurations. By examining these two comedias with this iconographic perspective, this chapter adds to conversations regarding the relationship between painting and literature in the Early Modern Period in addition to elaborating upon the collaborative, didactic and multi-faceted nature of the relationship between the *comedia* and its spectators.

2.1.0. Historiographic and Iconographic Crypto-Narrations in *El Niño inocente de la Guardia*

When considering the representation of Judaism in the *comedias* of Lope de Vega, one play often cited is *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* given the perceptible Anti-Semitism pervading the work. Generally speaking, critical discussion about this play can be divided into three broad camps. The first classic argument about the play comes from María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, who studies the varying representations of Jews in the play concluding: "El niño, total inocencia, por una parte, y los judíos, total culpa, por otra, llenan a la perfección los requisitos que no permiten la existencia de un heroe trágico, y esto no se desprende de la teoría de la *Póetica*, sino de la observación del drama de Lope" (Malkiel 98). Even though critics such as Lida de Malkiel highlight the fervent anti-Semitism of the play, Catherine Swietlicki and Andrew Herskovits provide more nuanced arguments about the representation of Jews. On the

one hand, Herskovits demonstrates how Lope appropriates conventions of the *comedia costumbrista* to create more burlesque representations of Jews. Secondly, Swietlicki explores the dialogical vision existing in a series of Lope's *comedias* among them: *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* (a drama which we will explore in further detail in Chapter 3).[3] Thirdly, in an effort to analyze other characteristics of Lope's *comedia,* Anthony J. Herrell, explores certain artistic devices present in the play.[4] In addition, Christophe Leclerc and Jacques Lezra have analyzed the magical elements of the play, the first from a religious point of view and the second from a psychoanalytic and philosophical perspective.[5]

Other critics have examined the source material of Lope's play. For example, according to Fernando Baños Vallejo, the play commemorates the crimes committed by the *converso* Benito García, who assassinated a Christian child, in 1490 and who was burned at the stake as part of an auto de fe in Ávila on the 16th of November 1491.[6] In addition to this possible historical source, critics have also highlighted a number of literary precursors. For instance, Edward Glaser underscores Jerónimo Ramírez's *La memoria muy verdadera de la pasión y*

[3] For more information, consult for example: Andrew Herskovits "Towards a Positive Image of the Jew in the Comedia" *Bulletin of the Comediantes,* 57 No. 2 (2005) 251-282 or A.A. Sicroff "Notas equívocas en dos dramatizaciones de Lope del problema judaico: *El niño inocente de la Guardia y La hermosa Ester*" *Actas del congreso internacional de hispanistas.* Toronto: 1980. 701-705. Catherine Swietlicki "Lope's Dialogic Imagination: Writing Other Voices of Monolithic Spain" *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 40 No. 2 (Winter 1988) 205-226.
[4] See both Anthony J. Herrell "Imagen, motivo y técnica dramatica en *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*." *Lope de Vega y los orígenes del teatro español.* 1981. 399-404 and Herrell. "Imitación o debilitación: La viva imagen de Cristo de José de Cansares y Juan de la Hoz y Mota." *Diálogos hispánicos de Amsterdam* 8 No. 2 (1989) 359-367.
[5] More specifically, Leclerc explores the relationship between *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* and the auto sacramental genre while Lezra, attempts, without much success, to study how phantasmagorical elements present in both *El niño inocente* and *Macbeth* lead to similar ethical judgments. For more information, see: Jacques Lazra. "The Pleasures of Infanticide" *Qui parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences,* Vol 19 No. 1 Fall/Winter 2010, 153-180 or Leclerc: "La passion christique de El Niño Inocente de la Guardia de Lope de Vega" *Corps sanglants, souffrants et macabres: La representation de la violence faite au corps en Europe XVIe-XVIIe siècles.*
[6] The veracity of this event is also actually hotly debated among critics. On one extreme stands Mercliano Menéndez Pelayo believes in the historical veracity of the events depicted writing: "Pero el crimen de la Guardia no puede humanamente dudarse… está judicialmente comprobado hasta en sus apices: hay perfecta armonia entre las declaraciones de los culpables, y las primeras y más importantes no fueron arrancadas por la tortura" (ctd: Baños Vallejo 1506). On the other extreme we have Lida de Malkiel sustaining that the ritual murder is merely a myth, among many, propagated in order to justify the expulsion of the Jews in 1492.

martirio que el glorioso mártir, inocente niño, llamado Cristóbal padeció (1544) and Cristóbal Yepes' *La historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del Sancto Inocente* (1585) as possible sources. Contradicting Glaser, Luis de Cañigal Cortes showed that indeed Lope did not use these sources directly but rather utilized a summary of these works prepared by Yepes published in 1594. More recently, Abraham Madroñal has demonstrated how a variety of chronicles also influenced Lope's drama namely Sebastian de Horozco, who describes a version of the Toledan festival celebrating the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in his *Relaciones históricas toledanas* (1548-1572) and Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, whose *Historia ecclesiastica de la ciudad de Toledo* (1600) inspired many of the comedias considered in this dissertation given Lope's friendship with him.[7]

In addition to its themes being controversial for Siglo de Oro critics, scholars have also intensely debated when exactly this play was first represented. Jacques Lezra has proposed that Lope wrote the *comedia* between 1603 and 1618. (Lezra 166). Elaine Canning, following the chronology established by S. Grinwold Morley and Courtney Bruerton, dates the *comedia* between 1598 and 1608 but also adds it was probably represented around 1603. Given all of these arguments, for the purposes of this dissertation, I accept the position offered by Madroñal, who in a 2015 article on *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* proposes that the drama was written in 1596 and formed a part of Toledo's efforts to convince the Vatican to canonize many of the city's patron saints, among them being El Niño de la Guardia.

Taking these studies as my point of departure, I will suggest in this section that critics have ignored two crucial elements when studying *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* as a whole and

[7] Madroñal mentions specifically *El Hamete de Toledo* and *El ultimo godo* as being inspired by Román de la Higuera's *Historia ecclesiástica de Toledo* (1601-1700). For more information please see Madroñal, "Nuevos datos sobre *El niño Inocente de la Guardia.*" *RILCE* 2015.

the Jewish question in particular: first, how Toledo is represented as the ideal Christian city and how this representation impacts both Old Christians and *conversos.* Toward this end, I propose that in *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* the conflict between Judaism and Christianity transforms from being a purely historiographical and exegetical debate in the first act to an iconographic one in Acts II and III. More specifically, in Act I, spectators witness how Saint Dominic and Queen Isabella justify the arrival of the Inquisition in Toledo by alluding to historical, social, iconographic and exegetical debates surrounding the purity of blood and the status of the *converso* within Early Modern Spanish society and Toledo in particular. Later on in Act I, these forces are challenged by two Jews, Hernando and Quintanar, who justify their capture of the Christian child Juanico Pasamontes by constructing their own historiography for the *conversos* and possible Crypto-Jews in the audience, alluding to histories written by expelled Jews after the 1492 expulsion. As the play moves to the second and third acts, we see how Lope emphasizes the aesthetic stakes of the conflict between Judaism and Christianity employing the discourses of Jewish blindness and the magical cave to theorize about the nature of conversion in iconographic terms.

The play begins with Isabella's arrival in Toledo accompanied by the Spanish Inquisition. Due to their presence in Toledo and in La Guardia, two Jewish characters, Hernando and Quintanar, take it upon themselves to take revenge for this act by planning the kidnapping and ritual murder of the Christian child Juanico Pasamontes, which the play represents typologically as a Christ figure. The second act begins with the capture of Juanico during a Toledan festival celebrating the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, a space where Juanico's parents ask the Virgin Mary to descend to find their son. During the third act, Hernando and Quintanar murder the Christian child in a ceremony imitating the *Ecce Homo* narrated in the Gospel of John. The work

concludes with Juanico's miraculous arrival into Heaven as the Saintly Child of La Guardia. Two allegorical characters, Reason and Understanding, then offer Toledan audiences a theological justification for the miracle they just witnessed on stage.

2.1.1. The Deification of Isabella: The Presence of Purity of Blood Debates in the First Act

As we will see, *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* conceives of the theological and religious conflict between Judaism and Christianity in light of important debates surrounding the two religions. On the one hand, we see configured first in the character of Isabella a historiographical position emphasizing above all else the Christian purity of Spain, emblematized through the metaphor of blood. On the other hand, through the Jewish character Hernando, spectators see dramatized certain devices present in histories compiled by Jews outside of Spain after they were expelled in 1492. At the same time, each monologue analyzed in this section includes crypto-narrations alluding to both the Christian and Jewish mythological presence in Toledo.

We see the presence of this Christianized historiography when Isabella appears for the first time on stage and declares:

No puede la religión,

Deste contagio tocada,

Crecer con limpia intención,

Que desta mancha infamada

Iba tomando ocasión […]

Estaba España ofendida

Desta gente mal nacida,

Grande señal de pobreza,

Remiendos en su limpieza (I, v. 26-30, 36-39).[8]

If we consider this representation in light of the *converso* condition in Spain, one can see how Lope's Isabella distinguishes herself from other representations of the Catholic Queen found in the fifteenth and sixteenth century historiographies. For example, Nicasio Salvador Miguel, Raphael Dominguez, and David Gitlitz explain how the chronicles represent her as a patron of the "*converso* arts", supporting various *converso* authors such as Diego de San Pedro and Fernando de Rojas since many *conversos* participated in the court culture of the late fifteenth century. However, despite these distinct representations, the most common literary depiction of Isabella is that of the Catholic Queen that we see in this opening monologue. Maria Y. Caba explains:

> *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*, por su parte, se centra en Isabel y Fernando, en su protagonismo en la puesta en acción de la Inqusición y en la expulsión del pueblo judío. Al reconocer la importancia de Isabel en la mitología fundacional del imperio español, Lope intenta someter a la Reina a un proceso de domesticación y divinización cuyo efecto es suprimir o justificar aquellas acciones que considera contraproducentes para la eficacia y perenidad del mito (Caba 25).

[8] For the quotations cited in this section of the dissertation, I refer to Fernando Baños Vallejo's edition of the play from 2009.

I agree with Caba insofar as this monologue represents Isabella as a divinely inspired Catholic queen. This representation is best seen through the expression "limpia intención" which recalls for spectators the debates surrounding the purity of blood. Initially, as we know, the *limpieza de sangre* laws developed out of a need to distinguish socially between Old Christians and new believers or *conversos*. Old Christian church officials such as Juan Benito de Guardiola in Madrid, Bartólome Ximenez Patón in Salamanca and Juan Martínez Saliceo of the Toledo Cathedral painted the *converso* as a threat to the social structure if they were permitted the same social flexibility as Old Christians.[9] These debates were also waged on the doctrinal level as Old Christian noblemen used scripture to develop a theory that the *converso* represented a "mancha étnica" to the purity of Old Christian blood. Therefore, the expression "limpia intención" could refer to this social desire by Old Christians to rid the body politic of this social and doctrinal stain.[10] In fact, critics such as José Antonio Maravall have famously postulated that playwrights such as Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca participated in this effort to propagate purity of blood by transmitting these doctrines through their plays. As we will see in a moment, *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* can be read as one of the prime examples of Maravall's theory especially as it relates to the history of Toledo and its relationship to these debates.

I would claim that Toledo, ever since the 1440 Old Christian attack on the Jewish quarter of the city resulting in the first purity of blood laws, was the epicenter of this fear. Martínez Gil and Juan Hernández Franco develop the idea that even though Toledo was a multi-cultural city insofar as many important figures possessed Jewish and Moorish roots, there also existed an

[9] See for example J.B. Guardiola, *Tratado de la nobleza y de los títulos y ditados que oi día tienen los varones claros y grandes de España,* Madrid, 1593. Alternatively, consult: J.I. Pulido Serrano, *Injurias a Cristo. Religión, política y antijudaismo en el siglo XVI.* Alcala, 2002.
[10] See for example J.A. Maravall *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII,* Madrid: 1984. 45-47 and *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca,* Barcelona, 1990, 41.

uneasy co-existence between Old Christians, *conversos* and *moriscos.* Take for example a 1566 edict passed by the City Council asking that the "ocupantes del primer banco [ser] caballeros hijosdalgo de sangre", sin matrícula de "oficio mecánico ni vil"; el banco de ciudadanos se reservaba también a los hidalgos, "o a lo menos cristianos viejos, limpios, sin raza de moro ni judío" (Martínez Gil 344-345). Philip II later reaffirmed this statute on the 26th of March 1567, thus making it fully enforced and influential during Lope's stay in the city. One of the central spaces where this law gained prominence was the Toledo Cathedral, which staged various debates about the purity of blood. As Hernández Franco suggests, church officials such as Diego Simancas and Baltasar Porreño would use myths to condemn the *conversos* and one of the central myths used was the crucifixion of the Christian child of La Guardia. In this sense, one could say that Lope, by dramatizing this *comedia* in and around the Toledo Cathedral is participating in these ecclesiastical debates surrounding the purity of Christian blood.

In addition to the power the play concedes to Isabella, the drama also adds a prophetic quality to her character when she sees Saint Dominic in a vision later on in the first act where he declares:

Esclarecida Isabel,

católica y noble rama

de los reyes de Castilla

Y de los godos de España:

Yo soy Domingo, no solo

de tu misma tierra y patria,

pero de tu sangre misma […]

los ladrinos que después

di en España, Italia y Francia,

fueron sermones, consejos

y evangélicas palabras;

hecha el fuego, con quien

después abrase tan varias

sectas como otro Sansón

de campos heresiarcas

Fui el primer inquisidor (I, v. 85-93, 110-117)

In this monologue, as we saw in Isabella's first appearance, the play favors a Christian metanarrative over a Jewish one. However, it is important to see here how Saint Dominic appropriates Old Testament tropes in order to justify the Queen's power. This argument is apparent if we consider the multiple ways the lines "otro Sansón de campos heresiarcas" can be read. This allusion to Samson and the destruction of Philistine lands in Judges 15 is important for the development of Isabella's character given that Samson in the Bible is often depicted as an ideal for masculinity. By giving masculine characteristics to Isabella, Lope legitimizes her for an Old Christian audience who would conceptualize the role of men and women using these Renaissance conceptions. Furthermore, with Saint Dominic's reference to the destruction of

Philistine lands, spectators could relate this Biblical act analogically with the elimination of the Jews by the Inquisition as of 1490.

In addition to granting a certain masculine power to Isabel's character, the fact that it is St. Dominic making the prophecy also opens the door for certain iconographic readings of the passage and the play as a whole. In order to understand the impact that these images would have on an audience, it is useful to step back and consider the symbiotic relationship that existed between the plastic and the dramatic arts in Early Modern Toledo.[11] As Javier Portus Pérez has suggested, it was often the case that the plastic arts –retables in churches, sculptures and paintings – would often form a part of public city festivals. Based on the theory of the utility and functionality of the image in a public forum popularized by such artists as Francisco Pacheco in his three-volume *Arte de la pintura* of 1638, these paintings would be used to teach illiterate audiences the lessons of Catholic doctrine (Portus Pérez 22). In fact, as Antonio Sánchez Jimenez suggests, artistic treatises distinguished between a type of painting (called in the Siglo de Oro *historias pintadas*) and sculpture (or *historias reveladas*) and argued that they were more direct than literature and thus more effective to relay religious teachings to lay audiences (Sánchez Jiménez 146).

One of the major proponents of this instrumental theory of art was El Greco, who not only lived in Toledo during Lope's Toledan period, but was also a student of Pacheco (who visited the artist in Toledo in 1611). In fact, according to Gregorio Marañón, both Lope de Vega and El Greco were considered key intellectuals in the city and could have coincided on a variety of occasions, although Sánchez Jiménez mentions that there is no documentary proof that El

[11] The bibliography on painting and drama being sister arts is extensive. For an excellent critical review, consult Antonio Sánchez Jiménez *El Pincel y el fenix: Pintura y literatura en la España de Lope de Vega* pp. 16-136.

Greco and Lope maintained any sort of relationship. The first arena in which they may have coincided was during meetings of the literary and artistic academies. Similar to the salons taking place in Madrid around the same time, these literary academies would convene in aristocratic houses to debate issues and stage competitions and thus were the primary method for poets and artists to be recognized by their peers. Marañón highlights how those attending the meetings called El Greco the "Pintor académico", thus proving his participation in these events. (Marañón Marañón 97). Additionally, according to Julio Velez Sainz and Madroñal, Lope de Vega was also admitted and participated actively in many academies, participating in Madrid's *ciclo de Helicona,* and in the Toledan salons as well, taking advantage of his relationship with Baltasar Elisio de Medinilla to gain entry and ultimately becoming according to Medinilla, "el vega de la Poesía" (Marañón 98, Velez Sainz 107-109).

Additionally, another avenue in which Lope de Vega and El Greco could have coincided was during the *Justas poéticas,* which often formed the centerpiece of many city festivals held throughout the year. For example, Toledo held elaborate festivals in 1583 (to celebrate the return of Santa Leocadia's remains to the city), in 1606 (to commemorate the birth of Philip IV the previous year), and in 1613 to celebrate the beatification of Santa Teresa de Avila. For this reason, Sánchez Jiménez has previously explored how some of Lope's poetry might have been inspired by El Greco's religious art. To prove this argument, the scholar discusses the ekphrastic relationship between El Greco's *El Plano de Toledo* and Lope's *A la descensión de nuestra señora,* works that were produced for the festivals honoring the birth of Philip IV in 1605.

Taking this context about the didactic uses of visual art into account, by prophesying about St. Dominic in particular, Isabella introduces two models of religious obedience and piety, which audience members would recognize through allusions to iconographic traditions that

include St. Dominic as its central figure. The first is St. Dominic as the "primer inquisidor," since as we know, in addition to founding the Dominican order, St. Dominic was also known as the religious official who presided over the first auto de fe in Toledo in 1495, an event depicted by Pedro Berrugete most famously in his *St. Dominic presiding over an auto de fe (*c. 1495 Figure 1). Additionally, and more contemporaneously, El Greco also contributes to this tradition but instead of depicting him as the "primer inquisidor," for El Greco, St. Dominic is the exemplar of the penitent worshipper as we see in his *St. Dominic in prayer* (Figure 2). In fact, according to José Álvarez Lopera, El Greco was commissioned to create a series of representations of St. Dominic for the Toledo Cathedral around 1600. As such, since this play was produced inside the Toledo Cathedral, it would be entirely possible to presume that audience members would see St. Dominic speaking to Isabella alongside El Greco's depiction of St. Dominic praying. In this way, both Lope and El Greco reinforce not only the importance of the arrival of the Inquisition within the play but also the importance of devout religious piety, teachings that the saint configures both dramatically and iconographically.

2.1.2. A Marranist Discourse: Hernando's Historiographic Response in the First Act

With this Christian historiography established, we can now concentrate on how the Jewish characters in the play, Hernando, Benito and Quintanar who live in the outskirts of Toledo in La Guardia, take revenge for the arrival of the Inquisition by capturing Juanico Pasamontes. In the process, these characters introduce another vision opposing the one introduced by Isabella and Saint Dominic. In order to understand more precisely the goals of the Jews in the play, it is useful to recall the distinction made by Paul Ricoeur between the agents of a narrative who control it and the victims of the narrative who experience the story more passively. At first glance, one could argue that Isabella functions as the agent of her own story,

while the Jews are the passive victims. If we explore the consequences of the distinction made by the French philosopher, we see how historiography created by victims is distinct from the stories fostered by agents. Ricoeur elaborates:

Fiction gives eyes to the horrified narrator. Eyes to see and to weep. The present state of the literature on the Holocaust provides ample proof of this. Either one counts the cadavers or one tells the story of the victims. Between those two options lies the historical explanation, one that is difficult if not impossible to write […] This almost negative epic preserves the history of suffering, on the scale of peoples, as epic and history in its beginnings transformed the ephemeral glory of heroes into a lasting fame. Fiction is placed in the service of the unforgettable (Ricoeur III 188-189).

Although Ricoeur is thinking of the Holocaust when constructing his argument, one could claim that the Jews in *El Niño inocente de la Guardia* possess similar characteristics of the "horrified narrator" postulated by Ricoeur. Rafael Carrasco has proposed that due to the mass conversions of Jews beginning in 1391 and their subsequent expulsion in 1492, Jews wrote their own historiographies to understand their new status more broadly. Carrasco argues that these "marrano" historiographies (such as the stories of expelled Jews written by Josef ha Cohen) responded explicitly to Counter-Reformation discourses representing Jews as the mortal enemies of Spain and as the Anti-Christ. Taking this information into account, we will analyze in this section how Hernando functions as a victimized narrator who uses devices from Jewish historiographies written after the Expulsion to justify the capture of Juanico Pasamontes and narrate a history which takes into account the victims as the well as the conquerors.

Hernando begins with the following observations:

[…]

Perdimos nuestro imperio y sacerdocio

el templo santo, la divina exedra

de Solomón quedó por tierra en ocio,

cubrió su trono ebúrneo inútil hiedra,

al pórtico de todo su negocio

aun lo le queda piedra sobre piedra,

ni la ciudad del rey, que a todo su suelo

juráis hacer de vuestro Christo abuelo

[…]

Ya nueva Inquisición nos busca y daña,

y penetra el secreto más incierto;

pensábamos por esta tierra extraña

que, de Domingo el perro negro muerto,

no hubiera quien ladra, mas ya ladra

por uno que faltó, toda la escuadra (I, v. 330-337, 340-345)

In my view, we can interpret this monologue as a *converso* response to the historiographical vision offered by Isabella and Santo Domingo's subsequent prophecy. This point is seen most

clearly if we relate Hernando's observation about "esta tierra extraña" to the *conversos* and the crypto-Jews who live in a land who does not recognize them. Secondly, with the lines "Ya nueva Inquisición nos busca y daña", Hernando describes the process whereby the Inquisition established earlier in the play pursues Jews in order to eliminate them. Thirdly, the clause "y penetra el secreto más incierto," Hernando could be describing the condition of Crypto-Jews viewing the production. Fourthly, when Hernando describes Saint Dominic as a "perro negro muerto," he could be alluding to the common stereotype describing Jews as dogs, but in this case using the stereotype to describe Christians.

At the same time, if we focus on the lines "el templo santo, la divina exedra de Solomon," we can perhaps perceive a potential Jewish reading. On the one hand, according to Baños Vallejo in his edition of the play, these lines hearkens us back to the portal of Solomon described in 1 Kings 7. Carrasco, on the other hand, illustrates how certain Jewish authors such as Isaac Abravael, Solomon Ben Varga and Solomon Usque compared the expulsion of the Jews to the destruction of the Temple of Solomon. Given this, we can claim that this allusion helps Hernando contextualize the suffering of the *conversos* in the play within the context of other western metanarratives, as the seventeenth century Jewish historians did.

Furthermore, as Josef Hayim Yerushalmi observes, in the Jewish historiographies written outside of the Iberian Peninsula, the Temple of Solomon served as a point of departure for an analysis of how Jewish historiographies dialogued with western metanarratives. A similar dialogue I would argue, takes place in this speech as Yerushalmi elaborates:

> A final novelty is the renewed interest in the history of the nations, especially that of contemporary nations, in which a desire to know various aspects of non-Jewish history

> combines with an incipient recognition that Jewish destinies are affected by the interplay between certain of the great powers (Yerushalmi 62-63).

With that said, in this monologue Hernando changes the Jewish perspective about exile that prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah offer. Instead of interpreting the exile of the Israelites as part of God's effort to punish the Jews, Hernando blames Christians when he conceptualizes the construction and destruction of the Temple in Christological terms, when he says at the beginning "perdimos nuestro imperio y sacerdocio".

When finishing his justification the capture of Juanico Pasamontes, Hernando once again recalls another element common in Baroque Jewish historiographies: the Messianic characteristics of his revenge. This argument is best seen when Hernando declares:

El qué libró Jezabel y Elias,

A Daniel en el profundo lago,

a Israel del Gitano y sus porfías,

de Nabuc a Ananias y a Abdenago,

el que alargó los años de Ezequias,

y a Judic y Betulia del estragon

del ejercito fiero de Holofernes,

te de luz con que en todo te gobiernes

[…]

En tanto que las armas en las manos,

No hemos de hacer venganza conocida;

Aunque nos cubran elefantes feos,

Imitemos los fuertes macabeos (I, v. 378-384, 390-393).

Through this catalogue of prophets, we can see how Hernando searches for the allegorical clue for the salvation of his people. More specifically, he alludes to prophets or historical figures who have been saved by Yahweh (the interlocutor of this monologue according to Baños Vallejo); he alludes first to Elias who had been liberated by Jezebel in Kings 18-19. He then refers to Daniel, who God saved from the lion's den in Daniel 6:16 and finally to Moses, who liberated the Jews from Egypt. From a figurative perspective, it is interesting to note how Hernando decides to end with an allusion to Moses, because if we were to assume that there was a prefigurative hermeneutic driving this monologue, Hernando would have begun with Moses. In my opinion, Hernando alludes to Exodus at the end because he wants to represent himself as a New Moses; in other words, a prophet who can liberate the Jews from their imposed exile and impose a new kind of law.

Nevertheless, if we interpret this catalog of prophets from a Christian perspective, we see how Hernando's prophetic project goes against the divine representation of Isabella that we saw earlier. In contrast to Isabella, Hernando wishes to present to Toledan audiences a different kind of historical vision, which emphasizes both the deplorable state of the Spanish Jews and his own messianic mission to liberate them.

2.1.3. Iconographies of the Suffering Christ: Judaism as a Problem of Aesthetic Interpretation

With this plan presented by Hernando, the Jewish characters in the second act are successful in capturing Juanico Pasamontes. After Juanico's capture, Lope returns the play to Toledo and presents three separate laments in front of the Toledo Cathedral. In this section, we will analyze how the laments of Juanico's mother and a Blind Woman fulfill two objectives. First, in both pleas the play presents spectators with a Catholic model of reading the Bible, emphasizing a historical hermeneutics championed by the Gospel of Luke. Secondly, through the Blind Woman's laments, Lope presents the polemic between Judaism and Christianity as both a hermeneutic and iconographic conflict, allowing Christian hermeneutics to supersede Jewish readings of Scripture and of images.

When Juana Guindera, the mother of Juanico Pasamontes, appears in front of the *Puerta del Perdón* (Figure 3) we see how the play begins to fulfill this first goal:

Hermosa reina del cielo,

Que sobre esa reja estáis,

Como paloma, que dais

Oliva de gracia al suelo,

Por el dolor que sentistes

En Jerusalén el día

Que a vuestro Jesús perdistes,

y por el placer, María,

que con hallarle tuvistes,

que pues el dolor sentí,

sienta el placer, pues por veros

mi querido Juan perdí,

que quiero hallazgo ofreceros

si hay cosa de precio en mí (II, v. 1344-1357)

One could say that through this passage Lope continues to represent Juanico as a Christ figure; in this case, recalling the doctrinal reading of Jesus and Jerusalem offered by the Gospel of Luke. Charles Homer Giblin offers us a way of interpreting Luke's doctrinal vision:

> The doctrinal mode is many faceted, but tends to set in relief Jesus' work as prophet and savior, or more, specifically, as the just man who suffers unjustly and by his prayer- especially his prayerful death- brings forgiveness to sins. This latter mode of interpretation goes quite far in elucidating the messianic imperative as Luke develops it: the Messiah must suffer and die in order to achieve his mission, for such is the role of the prophetic Messiah (Giblin 7).

With this context in mind, we can now examine how Juana Guindera justifies her asking for the Virgin's aid relating her situation to the parents of Jesus as told in Luke. Through the words "por el dolor que sentistes en Jerúsalen el día que a vuestro Jesús perdistes," the mother analogically relates herself to the Virgin Mary who cries out after Jesus dies and who laments after losing her child to the Jews. In a similar way, with this emphasis on the mother's pain, it is

clear that the play depicts Juanico Pasamontes, the innocent child of La Guardia, as a Christ figure who suffers due to the sinful ways of Christians.

After the *planctus* of Juanico's parents a Blind Woman appears on stage and offers two monologues. In her first monologue, the Ciega is both exegetically and aesthetically blind. However, through her second monologue, spectators can see that the play offers a path for Jews to gain spiritual illumination, through the correct interpretation of images and Scripture. The Blind Woman begins with the following:

La decimacuarta luna

del primer mes celebraban

los hebreos la gran fiesta

que se llamaba la Pascua,

por memoria de aquel día

en que pasaron las aguas

y salieron de cautivos

de Egipto y de penas tantas.

No obligaba a las mujeres;

Los varones obligaba,

En cumpliendo doce años,

Sin excusa, a no ser causa

Peligrosa enfermedad (II, v. 1398-1410).

In this first monologue, we see a shift from a purely exegetical conflict brewing between Judaism and Christianity in this play to a war waged not only theologically but also aesthetically. This claim is best seen if we examine the lines the references to Exodus in light of medieval and Early Modern debates about the usefulness of art in interpreting Scripture. According to Robert Kessler, one of the ways in which Christians justified their rejection of Mosaic law is by pointing out that Jewish iconoclasm, mandated by the Second Commandment, was not consistent throughout the Hebrew Bible. In fact, in an effort to justify the existence of their own art, Christian theologians such as John Italos and Leontus of Naples claimed that it was only through the materiality of certain objects, what they called "Moses icons," could Mosaic Law be established. They mention particularly the Tablets on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed, the Burning Bush and the Ark of the Covenant itself as prime examples of these "Moses Icons." In this way, Christian theologians not only justified their own use of images in depicting Jesus but also used them to demonstrate the eventual supremacy of the Christian faith over Judaism and of the Law of Grace over Mosaic Law. Kessler in particular mentions that during the Middle Ages, for example, the Ark of the Covenant was depicted as a prefiguration of Christ, as both were treasures offered by God (Kessler 86-87).

Taking this information into account, three readings of this monologue arise depending on the degree to which the Ciega truly believes in the words she utters. On the one hand, by alluding to Exodus, she could be a Christian who is aesthetically blind, who could be engaging in a subtle defense of Christian art by alluding to Mosaic images such as the Parting of the Red Sea and the Passover. In this sense, one could say the character is laying the allegorical groundwork for her monologue to come and also prefiguring the victory of the Spirit of Juanico Pasamontes

over the Flesh emblematized by the Jews. In another way, we can interpret the Ciega as a Judaizing Christian. In this case, the Ciega would be a Christian who mentions the Old Testament figures in an effort to perform Judaism on stage for Toledan audiences. Following this reading, the Ciega could reflect the fears of Old Christian playgoers insofar as she dramatizes the question of how devoutly Old Christians believe and appreciate Jesus' sacrifice (following Lucan hermeneutics). Lastly, if we claim that the Ciega is indeed a flesh and blood Jew (like Hernando, Benito and Quintanar earlier in the play), she could be potentially offering a Jewish reading, which takes into account only Old Testament references. For example, instead of using the Christian Gregorian calendar, by referring to the "decimacuarta luna del primer mes" the Blind Woman marks Easter utilizing the Jewish lunar calendar; in other words, alluding to the 14th of Nisan, the festival day of Passover in the Hebrew tradition. Additionally, instead of reading Easter and Passover in the context of the Last Supper as a Christian would, this character emphasizes how Passover celebrates the liberation of the Jews from Egypt, recalling specifically how the Jews "pasaron las aguas". Lastly, if we interpret this first monologue as a lament or a petition to the Virgin, same as the others, one could conclude that the Blind Woman is pleading for liberation from Catholic Spain, reflecting the condition of the Crypto-Jews viewing the performance.

The importance of these options is further compounded if we examine the importance of the fact that the woman initially appears blind on stage. If she is indeed a Jewish character appearing in Toledo, she would be inherently blind because Jews, by their very nature in Early Modern Spain, would not be able to decipher the exegetical or iconographic signs correctly as they have not been saved by Jesus. By saying that the Ciega is Jewish demonstrates how the play designates Toledo as the city fit for Christians only, a trope that we see in other plays written

during Lope's Toledan period such as *El Hamete de Toledo* which will be discussed later. With that said, if the play thinks of her as a Judaizing Christian, then her blindness could be punishment for Judaizing within the Toledo city limits (whether that be the Toledo of the play or the Toledo where the play was performed). Furthermore, if she is Christian, then the Ciega's blindness could be read metaphorically. In other words, this trope would connote that this is a Christian character that has not yet learned how to read Scripture through "the mind's eye."

Fortunately for the Ciega, her vision is restored and as a result, she is able to pronounce this second monologue.

Pero después de tres días

Le hallo en el templo, en que estaba

Enseñando los doctores,

Y díjole estas palabras:

"Hijo, por qué así lo hiciste?

[…]

No lo entendieron entonces,

mas la Virgen soberana

en su corazón divino

estas palabras guardaba.

Volviéronse a Nazaren

En el centro de su alma,

Con el Cordero perdido,

Que el cielo a los hombres gana (II, v. 1438-1442, 1448-1455).

With this speech, we can see how the Blind Woman receives a certain amount of divine illumination both exegetically and iconographically by alluding to a series of Catholic references following the Gospel of Luke instead of embracing an Old Testament literalist hermeneutic. First, instead of representing the Jews as the Chosen People who received their liberation from Egypt, she relates the Jews to the doctors in Luke who deceived Jesus. Second, instead of referring to the Passover as it occurred in Exodus, she alluded to an iconographic tradition depicting Jesus as a lost lamb. Take for example, Francisco de Zurbarán's *Agnus Dei* (1648), a painting vividly depicting Christ as a suffering lamb. (Figure 4) By the end of this monologue, one could say that the play offers a model for divine illumination for those who need it. Kessler calls this process "supersession" which:

> […] underlay Christian art not only because it demonstrated that Christianity has fully replaced Judaism (which itself generally opposed typological readings) –that is, Christianity has made it a dead witness- but also because it embodied the very process by which a literal reading was transmuted into something spiritual (Kessler 82).

Under this rubric, Toledo, represented allegorically in this passage by the Virgin Mary, protects and guides the believer toward divine illumination if the believer interprets the visions and the holy texts correctly using a Lucan Christian hermeneutic instead of a Jewish one. Also, exegetically speaking, the curing of the Blind Woman is also a recurring theme within the Synoptic Gospels appearing in Mark (10 46-52) as well as in the Gospel of Luke (18, 35-43).

Both of these scenes, according to Alvarez López intertextually allude to the prophecy of Isaiah 35 5-6: "Then will the eyes of the blind be opened and the ears of the deaf unstopped. Then will the lame leap like a deer, and the mute tongue shout for joy" (ctd. Alvárez Lopera 58). Thinking about divine illumination in this way, I would propose that by including the scene of the Ciega, Lope comments about the nature of theater, a genre that is emphasizes sight and hearing, and its potential to teach doctrine to the masses but also convert those who cannot see through their mind's eye.

2.1.4. Creating another Cave of Hercules: Christians and Jews as Victimized Readers

With these historiographical and aesthetic conflicts in mind, in this section we will see Hernando and Quintanar and Benito take revenge for the arrival of the Inquisition in Toledo when they ritually murder Juanico Pasamontes. Similar to the first act when the play manipulates the myth of the Inquisition in order to represent Isabella as the Christian queen par excellence, in the third act Hernando and Quintanar create their own Cave of Hercules, manipulating in the process another foundational myth of Toledo both exegetically and iconographically.

Hernando explains the goal of the Cave at the beginning of the third act:

Esta cueva es escura y solitaria

Otro tiempo majada de pastores,

Sitio que nos promote igual secreto;

La sagrada ciudad edificada

Del gran Melquisedec nos representa;

Esto será lo bajo, aquello sea

De David el alcázar soberano,

Santa Sion, y aquellos los jardines,

Entre los cuales ha de estar el huerto

Adonde tuvo Cristo sepultura;

Parezca el templo aquel peñasco fuerte,

De las olivas esto imite el monte,

Y esto sea el Cedrón, arroyo fiebre (III, v. 1957-1969).

In contrast to the cave found in *El postrer godo de España,* which possessed magical and prophetic qualities, in the case of the cave appearing in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*, I believe the Jews in the play utilize the space to achieve distinct ends. Similar to other moments, they create their own vision of Toledo engaging with the historiographical debates surrounding the Cave of Toledo as a foundational space but also utilize its magical qualities in order to create their own blood portrait of the Niño inocente. Additionally, instead of being one of the key homes of the Inquisition as seen in the first act, it is now the Jerusalem of the *Ecce Homo*, the city where Jews killed Jesus. This point is best proven if we considered the series of references to Jerusalem in this passage such as the references to "La Santa Sión" and to "David, el alcázar soberano." However, the allusion, which I feel is most interesting emerges when Hernando refers to the "sagrada ciudad del gran Melquisedec," lines which recall Salem or the Jerusalem encountered in Genesis 14. As we know, Genesis 14 tells the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah occurring due to the Sodomite's lack of faith in God. Taking into account this

intertextuality, from the perspective of the Jewish characters, this reference to Sodom and Gomorrah underlines the role of the Christians as sinners and the Jews as "Gods" who take revenge against those who do not have faith.

Our reading would be similar if we look at the passage from a Christian perspective, but would add a far more historical bent to our discussion following the ideas of Origen and Eusebius. Lida de Malkiel explores various interpretations of the destruction of Jerusalem told in the Old Testament and later retold by the Roman Jewish historian Josephus in his chronicles: *The Jewish War* and *The Antiquities of the Jews.* Lida de Malkiel concludes that these Christian apologists interpreted the destruction of Jerusalem in the following way:

> En la concepción histórica de Eusebio (que pertenece al círculo de Orígenes) y particularmente en su *Historia ecclesiástica*, la idea de la ruina de Jerusalén como retribución o venganza divina es básica en su calidad de ejemplo por excelencia del fin desastrado que aguarda sobre la Tierra a los enemigos de la Iglesia (Lida de Malkiel 21).

In other words, instead of interpreting Melquisedec as a divine justification for the assassination of Juanico, at first glance, Christians would interpret it as retribution for his infidelity, or at the very least an example of what could happen if Christians are not loyal to Jesus' teachings.

In addition to alluding to Jerusalem, the lines "esta cueva es escura y solitaria" the Jews also appropriate various representations of the cave which are present in Medieval and Early Modern texts chronicling the history of Toledo. The first is the cave as a demonic space which according to Robert Lima contrasts with Jerusalem as the city on the hill: "The monte elevado rises towards Heaven, the place of salvation, as the "cueva oscura" is sited towards the opposite polarity, the place of death and damnation." (Lima 73). While Lima alludes to this reading in his

discussion of Calderón's *El mágico prodigioso,* I believe that we can see the same utilization of the cave as a demonic space. By marking the cave as a cueva oscura, in other words, Hernando marks himself as a Jewish devil for Old Christian audiences trying to conquer the Heavenly Jerusalem.

In addition to marking the cave as a demonic space, these lines also can be contextualized within debates about how Toledo was established in ancient times. Many of the Medieval Moorish and Christian sources (namely the *Crónica de Moro Rasis* and the chronicles of Alfonso el Sabio) employ the figure of Hercules as the hero who originally founded the city before the Muslim conquest, constructing a tower to commemorate his achievement (Lima 73-74). This tower, later called the Turpiana Tower, is the same location where the Lead Books of Sacromonte would be discovered as well in 1598 (debates which will prove important to our study of *Hamete de Toledo* subsequently). Furthermore, as part of their efforts to Christianize Spain, according to David R. Castillo, Alfonso X el Sabio and The Toledano would later utilize the figure of Hercules to create a mythic genealogy relating the history of Medieval Spain, and Toledo in particular to its Greco-Roman heritage, thus giving the city historical legitimacy. During the reign of the Catholic Kings, the myth changed meanings in the chronicles, portraying Hercules as an invader now instead of as part of a divine line of kings. Castillo mentions as an example the histories developed by Antonio de Nebrija: "In Nebrija's work, as in Annius' *Commentaries*, the classical Hercules of the twelve labors is an antagonistic figure, a piratical aggressor who makes his unwelcome appearance at the end of a long chain of ancient monarchs (Castillo 140). The critic also adds that in the sixteenth century historians such as Cristóbal Lozano portrayed Hercules as a magician, employing as their primary source *Las crónicas del rey Don Rodrigo* of Miguel de Luna. Castillo describes the transformation in the following way:

"Lozano's refurbishing of the legends associated with Hercules, don Rodrigo, the enchanted cave of Toledo and the fall of Spain in *David perseguido* and especially in *Los reyes nuevos de Toledo* contributes to the consolidation of the myth of a reemerging Spanish nation in the face of its presumed assassins" (Castillo 140). Finally, while we are uncertain that Lope would have come into contact directly with the *Crónica General,* this tale is also recounted in the opening books of Román de la Higuera's *Historia ecclesiástica de Toledo* and Francisco de Pisa's *Descripción de la Imperial Cibdad de Toledo* as one of the central foundational myths of the city. In fact, Pisa, in Book I, highlights two different Hercules figures in his description of how the city was founded. The first is the "famoso Hercules," a figure that is employed to prove Toledo's relationship with Greece and Rome claiming:

> Los que escriben y tienen por opinion, ser Toledo fundación de Griegos, y en particular, los que dan su primera fundación al famoso Hércules, alega en su favor entre otras pruebas o conjeturas, la que resulta de la muy nombrada cueva, vulgarmente llamada del mesmo Hércules, que se ve en esta ciudad, que ve en esta ciudad, y dizen auer sido por la Gentilidad dedicada antiquísiamamente en su honor, a quien contaban y veneraban en el número de los dioses, como habemos referido en los dos capítulos antes deste (Pisa 14).

Pisa then continues claiming that the cave used by Hercules is distinct from the demonic cave mentioned by other historiographers (namely Pedro de Alcocer in Book I Chapter 94 of his *Historia o descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo*) since that demonic cave, according to Pisa, resides approximately one mile outside the city (Pisa 15).

With this context in mind, we can then assume that since Hernando, Benito and Quintanar bring Juanico Pasamontes to a cueva oscura outside of Toledo, the cave utilized by the

Jews is actually the demonic cave alluded to by Pisa and not the Herculean cave which grants Toledo fame and prestige. This would be appropriate since the Herculean cave, would be considered a Christian space and as such, Jews would have no influence in such spaces, as we saw earlier in the second act. In fact, in contrast to the first act, when Hernando narrates a history of the Jews from the victim's perspective, now, given the magic that the cave possesses, the roles are reversed; now the Jews are the agents and the Christians the victims of this particular narrative. Additionally, by giving the Christian characters the role of victims in this tale, it forces the audience to reflect on the validity of their own faith and consider to what degree they are actually devout Christians.

Furthermore, if we examine the depiction of *Ecce Homo* happening inside the cave from an iconographic perspective, we can see how these Jewish characters also manipulate Christian aesthetic fears. This point is best seen if we consider the iconographic tradition surrounding depictions of the *Ecce Homo*. Take for example Figure 5, which is Titian's *Ecce Homo* (1570-1576). What is significant about this representation is both the theatrical nature of the painting and also the emphasis on Christ's flesh. In a sense, one could claim that the Jewish characters are ekphrastically performing this version of *Ecce Homo* presenting Juanico to Toledan audiences as a broken Christ. But at the same time, Titian's representation of the *Ecce Homo* emphasizes the aesthetic positions that Hernando, Quintanar and Benito are presenting to the people of Toledo. As Kessler explains, a cultural marker of Judaism was not only the materiality of their faith, but also the carnality of their belief in God: "Jews were considered [by Christians] to be these carnal viewers par excellence. Just as they had refused to find God in the person of Christ, they could not discover the spirit that imbued material images" (Kessler 95). By having the ritual murder of Juanico Pasamontes emphasize the carnality of Jewish vision, one could say

that in exegetical terms, the play condemns the Jews just as the Gospel of John does. But at the same time, spectators are left fearful that Jews could possess the artistic power to not only destroy Christian images and bodies (in this case the image of Christ embodied in Juanico Pasamontes) but also mock Christian aesthetics, since as we know, the role of the Pharisees in the episode of the Ecce Homo was to mock the condemned Jesus who was being displayed for all to see.

In addition to mocking the Christ figure exegetically and aesthetically, the dramatic ekphrasis of *Ecce Homo* also permits the Jews to create their own blood portrait, in essence offering a satirized definition of the purity of blood statutes. When I use the term "blood portrait" in this way, I am hearkening back to Laura Bass' study of the prevalence of portraits in Early Modern Spain and the spirit of collectionism in both the Habsburg court, in churches and cathedrals, and in the private homes of nobles. One of the central uses of the portrait, according to Bass, is to prove the genealogy of a particular noble family. The most famous of these portraits is Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* where the portrait of the royal family is fashioned to depict multiple generations of the Habsburg royal family. With that said, by alluding to *Ecce Homo* and dramatically performing it for Toledan audiences, Benito and Hernando turn the metaphor of the "blood portrait" on its head, demonstrating its artificiality. In other words, instead of emphasizing lineage and purity of blood, they satirize it and create their own portrait in blood by emphasizing the physical blood spilt while destroying the body of the Christian child.

While the play certainly inserts this fear of Judaism in the spectators' minds, it also quickly assuages those fears by having two allegorical characters, Reason and Understanding, come to Juanico's rescue and bring him to heaven:

Cristóbal, Dios te concede

Que sientas como en la edad

de razón, que sentir puede,

para que su voluntad

cumplida en tus obras quede.

A los niños inocentes

Dio el uso de la razón,

para que de aquellas gentes

conociesen la intención,

como tu agora la sientes.

Ya pide licencia el sol

Para eclipsarse en tu muerte.

Ya niño, ilustre español

De otra Numancia más fuerte,

Te está aguardando el cresol

Donde hoy forja tu pasión

un Cristo nuevo en el suelo,

que el pecho de los que son

grandes de Cristo en el suelo

ha de servir de tusón.

Cifrando cuando hemos visto,

En tu círculo se halla

Y así en el reino en que asisto

Has de servir de medalla

Como retrato de Cristo (III, v. 2056-2080)

Madroñal, in his 2014 articles on *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and Lope's lost comedia *San Tirso de Toledo* (c.1595), relates this scene to efforts made by Lope and other Toledan historians (namely the poet José de Valdivielso and the aforementioned Francisco de Pisa) to convince the Pope to canonize certain religious figures central to the history of Toledo namely San Tirso, Santa Leocadia and el Niño Inocente de la Guardia. Milego explains how often elaborate festivals would take both in the Cathedral and in the Plaza de Zocodover where the remains of certain saints would be put on display. As part of these festivals, *comedias de milagros,* would often be included.[12] Madroñal has claimed that *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* is one of the centerpieces of this effort since it dramatizes the miracle taking place after the death of Juanico Pasamontes. In this sense, given that the comedia was represented inside the Toledo

[12] For more about the comedia de milagros as a genre, see either Elma Dassbach *La comedia hagiográfica en el Siglo de Oro español: Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina y Calderón de la Barca.* New York, Peter Lang, 1997, *La comedia de magia y de santos.* Madrid: Ediciones Jucar, 1992, or more recently the proceedings of the conference organized as part of the theatre festival in Almagro *La comedia de santos* Eds: Felipe P. Pedraza Jimenez and Almudena García González. Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Castilla la Mancha, 2006.

Cathedral, it is probable that Lope was dramatizing the salvation of Juanico Pasamontes to enter into the debate regarding whether to canonize the Santo Niño, taking into account that various Church officials were probably viewing the performance.

From an exegetical perspective, we have the completion of the figures presented in the second act. Juanico, instead of being the child stolen by Jews, is now a new Christ rising into heaven. Additionally, similar to the festival, spectators are able to perceive from these lines how Juanico serves as a model Christian for them. Instead of reading Scripture purely from a materialistic perspective, the play shuns Jewish practices encouraging Christians to return to Luke and examine how Juanico like Jesus died for Christian sins.

At the same time, from an iconographic point of view, as Razón is the character painting this new "retrato de Cristo," the play essentially forces audience members to use their mind's eye and imagine their own vision of Jesus and how they relate to the Biblical stories. Furthermore, if *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* were represented as part of the festival commemorating the death of Juanico Pasamontes, then Lope would be presenting audience members with a sort of visual relic to ponder. In that sense, I believe that would be the function of a play such as *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia:* to provide models or "medallas" for Old Christians to witness and interpret. While Jews in this play may represent the exegetical, historical and iconographic fears that Old Christians have about Judaism, at least at this stage of Lope's Toledan period, the Jewish voice is vanquished leaving in its wake the various portraits of Christianity that Lope depicts on stage.

2.2.0. "Saber las letras deseo": The Lead Books of Sacromonte and Iconographic Judaizing in *El Hamete de Toledo*

We see this complex interrelationship between devotional practice and festival in other comedias which depict autos de fe on stage. One such example is *El Hamete de Toledo*, a play produced in the corral of the Plaza de Zocodover around 1608. While in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* has received extensive critical attention in recent years, the same cannot be said for *El Hamete de Toledo,* which has just recently been studied. The classic perspective on the play comes from Thomas Case, who discusses the issue of spectral violence in the play.[13] More recently, Abraham Madroñal has explored the source material of the play, highlighting once again the influence of Jesuit historiographer, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera[14].

Taking these approaches as my point of departure, this section of the chapter will not only highlight Román de la Higuera's influence on the play but also show how Lope likens the problems of Judaism and Jewish conversion to Christianity to the political and historiographical issues surrounding the history of Islam in Spain. More specifically, similar to *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia,* Toledo is depicted as the ideal Christian city but instead of alluding to historical and exegetical models of the city as the New Jerusalem, as Juanico Pasamonte's parents do in the second act of the *Niño inocente,* in *El Hamete de Toledo,* Toledo is represented more as a cultural artifact to be uncovered spatially, historically and iconographically. Spatially speaking, throughout the play we see once again Toledo being represented allegorically as the Old Christian city threatened in this case by the Moor, which I consider to be another figure of

[13] For more information see Thomas Case "Violence and Reception in Lope's *El Hamete de Toledo*" *Revista de estudios hispanicos* 26:2 (1999): 193-205.
[14] See Abraham Madronal "Sobre la fecha, fuentes y otros aspectos de *El Hamete de Toledo*." *Anuario Lope de Vega* 19 (2013) 32-66. In that article, he includes as an appendix Chapter 12 which concerns the "atroz caso de Hamete moro, que sucedió en esta ciudad de Toledo," Higuera's retelling of the auto de fe of Hamete, a slave of Hernán Suarez Franco. Many of these characters will appear in some form as well in Lope's comedia.

Judaism and would be perceived as such by Old Christian, *converso* and Crypto-Jewish audiences. Similar to the Jewish characters Hernando and Benito in the *Niño inocente,* the Moorish slave Hamete, enacts his revenge on his Toledan slaveholders using historical arguments. However, instead of alluding to histories written by Jews outside of the Iberian Peninsula, the Moorish characters ground their prophecies in debates surrounding the Lead Books of Sacromonte, allegedly discovered in Granada in 1598 (and whose translators inspired Toledo's historians to publish their chronicles). As a result, by the time Hamete arrives in Toledo, it is the responsibility of the Christian characters to reconstruct their own Christian vision of the city. But as we will see, they present a far more multicultural vision of the city than what is depicted during the festival celebrating St. John the Baptist and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the first act. In effect, we can say that these Christian characters through their multicultural reconstruction of Toledo, Judaize historiographically.

In addition to the historiographic crypto-narrations at work in the play, battles between Christians, Moors and Jews are also waged aesthetically. However, in contrast to the *Niño inocente* where audience members are presented with allegorical blood portraits and dramatic ekphrases, in *El Hamete de Toledo,* spectators are given agency to Judaize iconographically. The play achieves this goal first by marking the body of Hamete as the Other, humorially. Once that humoral Otherness is established and the threat dramatized during the festival in Meliona, Hamete is left no choice but to succumb to his humors and act violently against his Christian masters. As punishment, he is subjected to a public torture and execution in an auto de fe in the Plaza de Zocodover. As we will see, this auto de fe is dramatized following the same procedures as many of the autos de fe occurring while Lope was living in Toledo. Furthermore, this auto de fe is employed as a platform for audience members to Judaize iconographically, as they are

forced to imagine and reconstruct the body of the Moorish Other both physically (as Hamete is dismembered during the ceremony) and also spiritually, as the slave is forced to convert at the conclusion of the auto. By examining the play using these historical and iconographic lenses, not only do we see the dialogue between *El Hamete de Toledo* and *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* as miracle plays, as Madroñal would claim, but also witness how figures of Judaism are expressed through issues surrounding the status of Moors and *moriscos* in Early Modern Spain. Furthermore, this kind of analysis also allows us to redefine the nature of *ut pictura poesis* in the Siglo de Oro, by not only incorporating the notion of Christian fear of Judaism derived from St. Paul, but also examine how audience members as well as dramatists participate in this cognitive process.

As distinct from the *Niño inocente* where the dramatic action is for the most part focalized in Toledo, the events, which transpire in *El Hamete de Toledo* occur in several spaces. The play begins with two festivals celebrating the order of St. John of Jerusalem, one in Toledo and the Other in Meliona, a territory outside of Algiers. During this second festival, the Moorish sorceress Dalima predicts that Hamete and his wife Argelina will be sold into slavery. By the end of the act, the prophecy comes true as corsair pirates from the Order of St. John of Jerusalem arrive in Meliona, capture Hamete and his wife Argelina and bring them to Spain where they are sold into slavery, Argelina in Valencia and Hamete in Toledo. The second act focuses on the selling of Hamete, first to Beltran in Valencia, then to Don Martin, who takes Hamete to Malaga, and then ultimately to Laurencio and Don Gaspar, who bring Hamete to Toledo. The third act focuses on Hamete attempting to win back his honor and take revenge for the enslavement of his wife. He attempts to accomplish this by stealing the knife of Don Gaspar and killing Gaspar's lover, Dona Leonor and two other servants. After committing these crimes, Hamete is brought

before the magistrates and condemned to burn at the stake, which Corucera describes for the audience as part of the metafictional audience in the Plaza de Zocodover in Act III. The play concludes with Beltrán convincing Hamete to convert, thus removing the Moorish threat from Christian Toledo.

Lope's *El Hamete de Toledo* is one of a series of plays where a character named Hamete is depicted and was published as part of his *novena parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega* in 1617. Rafael González Cañal, following the years offered by Morley and Bruerton, has claimed that the play was first represented between 1608 and 1612, although Tyler in his edition has inclined more for 1610. This range of dates would comfortably place *El Hamete de* Toledo within Lope's Toledan period, which as we mentioned in the introduction, spanned principally between 1604-1610 when the dramatist maintained a permanent residence in the city.

This *comedia* is also not the only one where Lope tells the story of a Moorish slave, since slaves also appear as characters in such plays as *Los melindres de Belisa* (1606-1608) or *La esclava de su galán* (1625-1630). In addition to these dramas, according to Madroñal, Lope's version inspired two other versions of the same story; the first published in the *Primera parte de comedias escogidas* in 1652 by Luis de Belmonte Bermúdez, and a more burlesque version published in 1668 by Antonio Martínez de Meneses in the *Parte veintenueve de comedias nuevas*.

In his recent critical edition of the play, Matthew Dean contextualizes the production of the *Hamete de Toledo* within the debates surrounding the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609. More specifically, he mentions the alleged execution of a Morisco king on December 18, 1609 as a potential model for Lope's play (Dean 16). Dean elaborates:

> *El Hamete de Toledo* was written and originally staged just before, during or after the expulsion of the *moriscos.* In some areas, especially Valencia and Aragon, the *morisco* population had been growing more rapidly than the Christian population. The potential threat of losing the majority, coupled with fears of Barbary or Turkish invasions, led to the edict of expulsion, which was signed by Philip III on April 9, 1609 (Dean 7).

Additionally, Charles Lea refers to Cabrera de Córdoba's *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614* as a possible source for the events in the port city of Valencia at the beginning of the second act. More recently, Madroñal has highlighted how Lope extracted elements from *La historia ecclesiástica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo* IX ff. 175-177v (c. 1600) as well as the *Miscelánea* of Luis Zapata de Chaves. In this chapter, I aim to not only further contextualize this comedia within issues surrounding question of *morisco* status, but also show how the problem of Moorishness can actually be considered a mask for talking about Judaism.

2.2.1: The Celebration of the Knight's Templar: A Political Reading of St. John's Eve

As we saw in the case of *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia,* the trope of Jerusalem would prove to be a means for the audience to not only conceive of Toledo as a holy Christian city but also perceive the threat the Jews pose to that representation. With that said, I would claim that Toledo is also likened to Jerusalem in *El Hamete de Toledo*. However, instead of employing the trope of the destruction of Jerusalem as told by Josephus and Early Modern chroniclers, spectators witness Toledo as a desired city, a city to be regained by Christians through holy wars. This claim is best seen if we consider the series of festivals depicted in the first act of the play.

As the comedia begins, spectators witness a festival celebrating St John's Eve. This festival, as Anita K. Stoll in her edition of Lope's *La noche de San Juan* (1631), was originally a pagan festival conceived to celebrate the summer solstice. However, since the solstice normally coincided with the feast day of St. John the Baptist in the Christian Calendar (June 24 according to Julio Caro Baroja), the festival was known for two qualities important to our argument. First, similar to other carnivalesque festivals celebrated in Spain, St. John's Eve was often associated with flirtatious love (Caro Baroja, *Estación de amor* 125-126).[15] Additionally, there is debate about whether the festivities surrounding St. John's Eve was actually a festival originally celebrated by Arabs or whether it was a Christian festival incorporated into Islam after the arrival of the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula (Caro Baroja *Estación de amor* 283).

I would argue that when analyzing the representation of St. John's Eve in the plays of Lope de Vega and *El Hamete de Toledo* in particular, we should take into account other more politicized readings. In addition to venerating St. John the Baptist, the characters in *Hamete de Toledo* are also recognizing the feats of the *caballeros de San Juan*. A religious and military order of priests, which hearkens back to the First Crusade, the mission of the Order was twofold. On the one hand, they were "sworn servants of the Church… soldiers whose duty it was to honor God in fighting the infidel." (Campbell 22). Secondly, they were one of the most important religious orders, maintaining hospitals and caring for the poor first in Jerusalem, but later in Spain and throughout Asia Minor.

As Carlos Barquero Goñi explains, historians have divided the influence of the Hospitalliers into three periods, all depending on where their military headquarters was located at

[15] More specifically Caro Baroja describes how at the first sign of the solstice "Los hombres comienzan a recorrer las calles en grupos mixtos, alborotando y hablando en voz alta, con extremada libertad… La conversación toma un aire fingido y cada cual assume un papel, sobre todo si no hay un compromiso amoroso previamente establecido." (Caro Baroja 126).

the time. The first stage lasted from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries where the Order was influential mainly in Jerusalem itself. It is also during this first period that the Order would gain a foothold in Spain, participating in the Christian monarch's efforts to expel Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula. More specifically, the Order of St. John would occupy parts of Navarra, Cataluña and Aragón. Subsequently, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Order expanded to occupy the Island of Rhodes, participating massively in the Crusades against Islam to recover Jerusalem for the Christian papacy. However, the apex of their influence came when Charles V allowed the Order to establish a principality on the island of Malta. From that point on, the Order was renamed the Knights of Malta due to the island's strategic position in the Mediterranean, sitting comfortably between Habsburg occupied Rome and the Ottoman capital of Constantinople. Earning a reputation as proficient navy officers, the Habsburg monarchy would often enlist soldiers from the Order to fight in their skirmishes and full scale battles against the Turks. Most famously for our purposes, they helped form the Holy League, an alliance, which assisted the Habsburgs in their defeat of the Turks in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.

As we know from the biographies of Lope de Vega written by Américo Castro, Hugo Bennert and José Florencio Martínez, Lope was often an active supporter of the Holy League, not only by serving with them during the Battle of Lepanto but also depicting them in a series of Toledan comedias. In addition to *El Hamete de Toledo,* the Order of St. John of Jerusalem would play prominent roles in *La Santa Liga* (1604), *La noche toledana (*1605*), Peribañez y el Comendador de Ocaña* (1605-1612) and *La noche de San Juan* (1631).

In the case of our *comedia,* the Order of St. John of Jerusalem appears in various moments of the drama, most notably at the beginning of the play when festivals celebrating the

Order take place both in Toledo and West Africa. In both cases, the Order is depicted as the militaristic defenders of Christianity against Islam. The festivals also function as carnivals where the status quo is briefly challenged but at the end reaffirmed. However, as we will see in a moment, in either reaffirming Christianity or expressing the Moor's fear of Christians, these festivals also incorporate symbols that would define the relationship between Christians and Moors in the play. At the same time, as we will see, these symbols, namely the body, water and the book, would also be perceptible metaphors for judeoconversos and as such would yield fascinating iconographic and historiographic crypto-narrations.

We see the beginning of this intriguing interplay when the *gracioso* Beltrán tries to court Doña Juana describing her as follows:

[…]

Dulce Beatriz que, en prisión

De mi amor y de tus celos,

Tienes el pobre Beltrán

Pues juras ser firme ausente,

Mira que, quien jura y miente

En la noche de San Juan,

Las brujas, que los helechos

pacen, las chupan después

por todo el año; no des

a tales bocas tus pechos. (I, v. 22-31)[16]

In this opening monologue, Beltran uses markers of Christianity, Islam and Judaism in order to not only declare his love for Doña Juana but also depict her as a body to be both desired and feared. On the one hand, by likening Doña Juana to Dante's sweet Beatrice and himself to the poor poet, Beltran is following standard Renaissance Neo-Platonist structures dictating that a beautiful woman is an ideal form of nature and thus should be memorialized, both through art, literature and song. By this scenario, the poet becomes imprisoned by his passion for the ideal woman and must strive endlessly for her love.

However, in addition to being the painter of Beatrice in the Neoplatonic sense, this speech also highlights the importance of another potential poetic model for Lope in this play: Dante and his *Divina Commedia.* While not as well studied as the relationship between Lope and Garcilaso de la Vega,[17] critics such as Werner P. Friedrich and more recently Joseph Gariolo have examined Dante's influence on Spain's literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Friedrich explains how references to Dante's works appear in the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega and Fray Luis de Leon as well as in Cervantes' prose (mentioning in particular *La Galatea* and the figure of Altisidora from Chapter 69 of Don Quixote Part II). Furthermore, when it comes to Lope de Vega, in his comparative study of *Jerusalén Conquistada* and Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata,* Joseph Gariolo explains how "Lope was a constant and devoted of Dante and knew many of his lines by memory" (Gariolo 13).

[16] When citing from *El Hamete de Toledo,* I cite from Rafael González Cañal's edition of the play published by ProLope as part of the *Parte IX of the Comedias de Lope de Vega*. Barcelona: 2007.
[17] See for example Ignacio Navarette *The Orphans of Petrarch: Poetry and Theory in the Italian Renaissance.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Taking these critics as my point of departure, I would also claim that Lope's Beltrán in *El Hamete de Toledo,* hearkens back to Dante, appointing himself the audience's guide through the festival, as Virgil does in the *Divina Commedia.* His goal, following Dante and Virgil, is to lead spectators past the sinful masquerade.

With that said, in addition to using Dante as an important poetic model (as he would do in *Jerusalen Conquistada*), the characters of Dante and Virgil are used as archetypes for Beltrán. This point is best seen if we consider how during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, Dante and Virgil were represented as magicians able to guide sinners towards salvation. For example, in Canto XXVI of the *Inferno*, Virgil uses the "Words of Power" to guide Dante through the Circles of Hell. As Robert Lima suggests, it was due to the influence of Dante within Renaissance Neoplatonism and poetry that magicians were often seen as both trusted guides and also protectors of devoted Christians, especially in the wisdom literature published in Toledo in the Middle Ages. Lima mentions the example of Don Illán de Toledo, a magician who instructs the Conde Lucanor about affairs of state. (Lima 74-75). A similar situation also occurs in the *Libro de Alexandre* where a Jewish magician is charged with teaching Alexander how to rule.

While simultaneously declaring himself as the guide through the festival, by warning spectators about the dangers of witches and sorcerers, Beltran is inherently warning them about the religious dangers that both Judaism and Islam represent for the Old Christian populace while simultaneously engaging with debates surrounding the relationship between witchcraft, Judaizing and the use of magic. In Early Modern Spain, intellectuals distinguished between learned magic and vulgar magic. Learned magic, which included astrology, alchemy and medicine, was considered by the Jesuits to be part of the science curriculum. As such, important Neoplatonists such as Marsilio Ficino, Giordano Bruno and Amaldo de Villanova, in addition to writing

extensive philosophical texts, were also highly trained as astrologers and alchemists. The two main hubs where students learned these magical arts in Spain were Toledo and Salamanca, both cities which had a tradition of teaching these sciences because of the high Jewish and Muslim populations in both cities dating back to the Middle Ages (Alberola 87).

While disciplines such as astrology were well-respected and in fact practiced frequently by Renaissance Neoplatonists, the history of witchcraft in Toledo has consistently been tied to the Inquisition and to the *converso* problem. According to Ana Foa, Christians in the 13th and 14th centuries, attempting to theologically distance themselves from Judaism, redefined heresy to include witchcraft and magic. Indeed, Pope John XXII in 1326 in his *Bull Illus Specula*, included magic and witchcraft in the list of crimes deemed to be heretical and as such subject to Inquisitorial scrutiny. The Church claimed that anyone practicing witchcraft was under the control of the Devil. Foa explains: "Many witchcraft trials, furthermore, introduced the devil directly through the invention of the curse of silence, a system whereby the accused eluded the effects of torture and confession" (Foa 372-373).

As such, when the Inquisition arrived in Spain in 1478, witchcraft was already a well-established marker of Judaism and was a convenient way for the Inquisition to identify Judaizers. In fact, according to Alberola, throughout the sixteenth century, Toledo was one of the primary cities in which Jews were persecuted for witchcraft. For example, the oldest trial on record was that of Diana Ruiz who was persecuted in 1530. Additionally, on June 9, 1591, Diana Ruiz of Damiel was burned at the stake in the Plaza de Zocodover after being accused of witchcraft (Alberola 94).

Taking this information into account, we can refine our reading about how the body of Juana is transformed in the opening act. From an Old Christian perspective, Juana is transformed from a figure to be desired for her beauty, similar to Dante's Beatrice, to a body to be feared since a witches' body was seen as sexually corrupt or a figure that judges and deceives. Additionally, from a Crypto-Jewish perspective, this particular reference to the "brujas" demonizes Jews specifically as the sorcerers who not only can infect the mind of the Christian body politic through sexual deviance and heresy. Furthermore, this figural transformation also impacts the character of Doña Juana herself. Instead of being the paragon of ideal Christian beauty, she has been carnivalesquely turned into a witch, a sexual object transformed by Jews and could tempt audience members into heretical practices and Judaizing.

While some may claim that since Beltrán says this within the confines of the carnival, the witch would be seen as farcical and have no effectual impact on audience members or the characters themselves, I believe that as distinct from other medieval carnivals, in this Feast of Fools, religious order is actually reinforced instead of satirized. In effect, what audience members perceive is an anti-carnival. This claim is best seen if we examine how Doña Juana appears on stage at the conclusion of the celebration. Don Juan exclaims upon seeing the women arrive from the port city of Valencia:

La noche no quiere ansí,

y que no salgais procura;

porque si vos, prenda mía,

fuérades donde ellas van,

no era Noche de San Juan,

Que de San Juan fuera el día.

Sabe el cielo cuánto fuera

De mi gusto, por estar

Tan de partida, y que el mar

Alguna templanza diera

al fuego de mis sentidos. (I, v. 122-135)

From a biographical perspective, as Santiago Fernández Mosquerra suggests, Lope served on the galleon "San Juan" when he fought in the Spanish Armada in 1588, two years before arriving in Toledo. Thus, experiences from the Armada would be fresh in the dramatists' mind and as such, we find an abundance of nautical terminology and references to the sea in his epics and *comedias*. For this reason, from a biographical perspective, one could interpret the distinction Don Juan makes between la noche y el día de San Juan as distinguishing between the festival (occurring in the evening) and the return of the Spanish galleons from the Atlantic, if they were fighting in the Armada, or from the Mediterranean, if they were coming back from a battle with the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Beyond the biographical reading of this passage, the appearance of the sea as dramatic trope raises the question of how much readers of epic would perceive vis a vis those people attending corral performances. Readers of the epics and Byzantine novels would immediately recognize not just the nautical language given Lope's growing popularity as well as the popularity of chivalric novels and *La Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla (Fernandez Mosquera 74-

75; Jameson 104-19). More specifically, readers of these higher genres would recognize how Lope would rhetorically expand upon classical source material (namely that of Virgil's *Aeneid,* Homer's *Odyssey* and Lucan *Bellum Civile*). (Fernández Mosquerra 92-93).

Given these differences in the expectation of theatergoers, at this juncture of the play, I believe the religious overtones of this passage would be far more perceptible for Toledan audience members, seeing this as a carnival, reaffirming Christian virtues over the Muslim and Jewish Other. While the sea often appears in both epics and *comedias* as a space which torments the subject (see for example *La octava maravilla* (1609) or *La doncella Teodor* (1610-1612), both written while Lope was in Toledo), at this point in Act I, spectators would witness how the sea helped cure characters from their torments. In the case of Don Juan, when Don Juan concludes at the end of the passage "alguna templanza diera al fuego de mis sentidos" we can conclude that the sea has alleviated him from his initial lovesickness caused by not seeing Doña Juana. Now instead of being tempted by the witches participating in the carnival, he and Doña Juana can begin the process of consolidating their relationship outside the festival.

In the case of Doña Juana, in addition to being able to consolidate their relationship upon returning to Toledo, I would claim that she is also cured spiritually from the Muslim Other. This is best seen if we interpret the water both as a militaristic space and a spiritual one. From a political perspective, spectators would recognize that these characters have returned from Malta victorious after defeating the Moors with the Order of St. John. As such, she can be reimagined as an ideal Christian woman, politically superior to the Moors who threaten Spanish sovereignty. Additionally, this journey to Malta and her sea voyage back to Spain allow audiences and other characters to reimagine her as an ideal beautiful Christian woman. Instead of being a witch who

tempts men as Beltran would describe her earlier in the festival, "[ha llegado] la misma luz con que vive" (I, v. 139-140) as she says to Don Juan upon seeing him.

2.2.2: Aquí hay un mar y en las arenas una cadena: Hamete as Configuration of Pauline and Historiographic Fear

In addition to the carnival being celebrated in Toledo, audiences also find Moorish characters in Meliona celebrating a mirror festival. During this celebration, the metaphors of the sea and the body appear but perform different functions. Instead of legitimizing Christian goals to convert Moors, they help Hamete and Argelina perform Moorishness and by extension Judaism for Toledan audiences. First, we see Moorishness and Judaism performed medically as Lope justifies Hamete's fear of Christianity and vice versa by incorporating ideas of Old Christian physician Andrés Velásquez, who in his *Libro de la melancholia* (1585) attempted to rechristianize medicine, a discipline historically associated with Islam and Judaism. Subsequently, Toledan audiences see Argelina perform Moorishness and Judaism as her prophecies are inspired by the ideas of Miguel de Luna, a *morisco* central to legitimizing *morisco* identity at the end of the sixteenth century. As a physician, Luna challenges the ideas of Velásquez and Juan Huarte de San Juan, instead using theories of bloodletting to legitimize the status of Spanish *moriscos* instead of reinforcing the purity of Christian blood. As one of translators of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, Luna would create a forgery that would not only emphasize the importance of Islamic historical memory in his hometown of Granada but also highly influence the historiographers that are completing the same project for Toledo. By considering these arguments, we can see how Lope continues his dramatic historiography by reshaping questions of *morisco* status and identity in Early Modern Spain as historiographical problems. At the same time, we will perceive how similar questions can be posed of both

moriscos and *conversos* as we examine how issues of generational distance and historical memory apply to both groups.

The play first begins exploring these questions from a humoral perspective as we can see from Hamete's opening monologue:

No hay cosa que me sujete

como deste mar la vista

ni más el alma inquiete.

Devoto soy deste santo

de los cristianos, y tanto

como os muestra mi alegría,

que aquesta melancholía

diomela el mar (I, v. 224-230).

From these lines, we can perceive immediately how Hamete's relationship with the sea is distinct from that of the Christian characters in Toledo. Instead of curing lovesickness as we saw in the case of Beltrán, the sea here represents both the barriers that exist between Moors and Christians and the political dominance that Christians have over Moors during this period. It is for this reason that Hamete sees the sea as subjugating him because he is fearful of the Knights of St. John who rule the seas surrounding his homeland. Indeed, it is due to this fear of conquest and enslavement it is one of the many reasons I would claim that his Hamete's soul is disquieted and he suffers from melancholy.

But at the same time, if we examine the lines more closely, with the expression "ni más" one could claim that the uneasiness of Hamete's soul and his subsequent melancholy are independent of the uneasiness he feels while looking out at the sea. Following this reading then, from an Old Christian perspective, the fact that his soul is uneasy and he suffers from melancholy proves that the devotion Hamete is trying to demonstrate during the festival is in fact, merely theatrical, or in this case artificial. In this sense, while Hamete's words may be performing Christianity (through his words devote soy deste santo de los cristianos), at the end of the day, his fearful soul and melancholic body still mark him as a Moor.

With that said, if we consider Hamete's melancholy in light of debates between Old Christians, Moors and Jews regarding how best to cure melancholy in the body, a variety of crypto-narrations arise. In particular, the melancholy from which Hamete suffers audience members to recall popular ideas about melancholy. One of the better-known theorists is the *converso* doctor Andrés Velasquez, who in his *Libro de la melancholia*, attempted to explain the importance of curing melancholy to a wide audience relating melancholy to madness and other forms of cognitive activity. In this sense, Velásquez responds to and interacts with another equally influential treatise about melancholy published a decade earlier: Juan Huarte de San Juan's *El examen de ingenios*. While similar in many respects, Velasquez's treatise distinguishes itself insofar as it is explicitly written for a popular audience and not for an aristocratic one, as Huarte de San Juan's is. In addition to dialoguing with Huarte de San Juan's treatise, Velásquez work defined melancholy strictly within the limits of Galenic, Aristotelian and Hippocratic medical theories, examining the texts in their original Greek and ignoring the commentaries made in Arabic by the famous translator and commentator of Aristotle: Averroes.

Ultimately, both Huarte de San Juan and Velásquez deemed the Arabic interpretations of Galen to be not just inaccurate but also barbaric (Bartra 61).

The word "barbaric" is interesting here because it relates the issue of curing melancholy, at face value, a purely medical problem, and transforms it into a linguistic issue. As Mercedes García Merenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano explain, Old Christians were fearful of the threat that the *morisco* community represented. The *morisco* problem was particularly potent given that not only was there a large *morisco* community living in Granada but also that city, being the old capital of *Al Andalus,* was the gatekeeper of *morisco* collective memory in Spain. Furthermore, the ongoing conflicts between Spain and the Ottoman Empire heightened an already tense situation. It was due to this political, social tension that there were significant efforts to curtail the use of Arabic, culminating in Philip II's decree banning the use of written and spoken Arabic in 1567 which resulted in the War of the Alpujarras (1568-70). However, even though Arabic was banned by royal decree, in certain circles, certain forms of Arabic were being utilized. For example, the "Scholastic Arabic" of Diego de Urrea and Marcos Dobelio was used principally for Biblical translation, as these Christians believed that if *moriscos* had access to the Bible in their original language, they could be more readily converted. However, in the case of Velásquez, by calling the Arabic used to translate Greek philosophy "barbaric" in effect he demonizes the Arabic language, placing it on a lower linguistic level than Spanish or Latin or Greek.

In addition to highlighting melancholy as a linguistic and political problem, I would claim as well that by marking Hamete as a melancholic figure, he is also performing Judaism, as the issues surrounding *conversos* and *moriscos* were very similar. This point is best seen if we consider that melancholy, according to Huarte de San Juan, was considered a Jewish illness,

hearkening back to the Biblical Hebrews. San Juan claims that the Hebrews were melancholic because they had an acute wit and were prone to the frequent combustion of their choler first by the hot and dry weather customary in Egypt and by the manna they ate while wondering in the Desert (Bartra 119). San Juan continues by postulating that *conversos* inherited this melancholy from their Biblical forebears, a heritage, which preconditioned them to be fearful, dejected and suspicious, all qualities we will see in Hamete both in this festival and throughout the play.[18] Huarte de San Juan suggests that in order to cure *conversos* from melancholy, they would need to stay away from wet and foggy climates, something that Hamete cannot do being alongside the Mediterranean. As such, while Old Christian audience members would certainly recognize the melancholic state of the Moor in these lines, relating his melancholy to debates between *moriscos* and Old Christians, *conversos* viewing the production might also associate and potentially commiserate with Hamete's plight, if we accept the arguments of Castro, Bataillon and Bartra that the converso condition was defined by melancholy.

Beyond establishing Hamete as a melancholic figure, Hamete is also humorally unbalanced in another sense. In addition to being exposed to a wet climate forcing him to be melancholic, the play also frames the Moor as being choleric as well. Hamete's rage is seen later on in the festival when he exclaims:

[…]

En este campo de Orán,

El valor de una persona

[18] The argument relating melancholy to the Jews has also been made famously by Américo Castro in his studies of Medieval Spanish sentimental literature and by Marcel Bataillon in his study relating the popularity of Erasmus in the Siglo de Oro to the converso condition. For more information consult either Américo Castro *De la edad conflictiva,* or Marcel Bataillon *Erasmo y España.*

De los que en su muro están.

'Aquí está de Meliona',

Dije a su puerta, 'un galán'.

Salió un cristiano jinete

Con una bandera roja

Y en su resguardo otros siete,

y ansí, a media rienda floja,

donde le espero arremete (I, v. 267-276)

In this monologue, we can see how Hamete fuses together both Christian political and medical philosophies to explain the fear Old Christians have of Moors, a fear characteristic of both those suffering melancholy and choler. This fear is expressed on many levels. Politically and geographically speaking, similar to the reference to the white cross during the festival in Toledo, the "bandera roja" is another symbol related to the Order of St. John, again emphasizing their role as the military and religious defenders of the Christian faith (Canal 406 footnote on line 361). However, instead of valorizing the work of the Hospitalliers, Hamete is warning Toledan audiences and the other characters participating in the festival about how dangerous these Christians are to their livelihood in North Africa. Sociologically speaking, the "bandera roja" would immediately force audience members to recall the *limpieza de sangre* laws and particularly those discussed and passed in Toledo at the end of the sixteenth century which we discussed in the context of *El Niño inocente de la Guardia.*

But at the same time, in addition to being a sociological fear as it was with the previous play, if we consider the metaphor of blood from a humoral perspective, we can witness a certain Moorishness also being performed on stage. However, instead of alluding to Andrés Velásquez and Huarte de San Juan, Hamete's lines are more directly associated with the ideas of Miguel de Luna, a *morisco* physician and historiographer living in Granada. As a physician, according to García Merenal, Luna wrote treatises such as the *Tratado de los baños* (1598), which used humoral theory to defend the lineage of *moriscos* living in Granada at the end of the sixteenth century. Contrary to Huarte de San Juan and Velásquez who believed bloodletting was the best remedy for the body to relieve it of excess, Luna was against such practices claiming that bloodletting ultimately debilitates the body. But at the same time, as García Merenal explains, Miguel de Luna extends the argument into the political sphere in his chronicle *La historia verdadera del Rey Don Rodrigo,* one of the sources of Lope's *El Postrer Godo* discussed in Chapter 1: "Luna would make the same argument in his *Historia verdadera* in defense of the Good Moors who should not be confused or treated like bad ones. The issue is not to free society's body from bad blood… but to distinguish between good and bad individuals (the latter being "bad humors")." (García Merenal 168). While an excess of blood is not displayed on stage at this point, one could say that the bandera roja is connected with the conquering of the Barbary Coast by the Habsburgs, or in humoral terms, an excess of blood. As a result, it is not surprising when Hamete admits that his bravery, a quality indicative of a balanced choleric humor, is diminished and in its place is only pure hatred for Christians.

While this second monologue presents these two seemingly contradictory positions, in Act I, he cannot see beyond the fear he has towards Christians. At the same time, however,

Hamete's hatred for Christians is also framed in more theological terms later on in the festival when he concludes:

Ese Alfaquí de Toledo

que en esta silla de Orán

puso la suya, no puedo

dejar de decir, Rustán,

que puso al África miedo (I, v. 327-331).

While one could read these lines as Hamete admitting that Moors are afraid of Christians, I believe Africa's fear in the play is in effect dramatizing the theological fear Christians have of both Moors and Jews. This theological fear, as we explored in the introduction, hearkens back to Paul's Epistle to Galatians where it is written: "But when I saw that they didn't walk uprightly according to the truth of the Good News, I said to Peter before them all, "If you, being a Jew, live as the Gentiles do, and not as the Jews do, why do you compel the Gentiles to live as the Jews do?" (Gal 2:14). Although in the context of this Epistle, Paul is speaking about flesh and blood Jews, in my view, Paul also conceives of the conflict between Jews and Gentiles as a hermeneutical problem. In other words, the world at all times offers Christians the temptation to follow Hebraic Law instead of the Law of Grace. Although Paul uses the term "judaize" to describe this process, for the purposes of *The Hamete de Toledo,* the hermeneutical problem is similar when referring to any faith which is not Christianity. Put another way, when Hamete speaks of the fear caused by the Christian's arrival, one could say he is also dividing Christian and Moor hermeneutically, signaling that there is always a fear among Old Christians and

moriscos that they will return to or begin to practice Islamic Law. In this sense, Hamete, as others characters do in the Golden Age, reframes the commonly conceived sociological division between Jew and Moor as one dependent more on the actions of Christians rather than *moriscos* or *conversos.*

2:2:3: Saber las letras deseo: The Morisco as a Problem of Historical Memory

In addition to conceiving of the Moor using Christian and Muslim humoral theory, as the festival continues, spectators witness how the problem of Moorishness, and I would claim as well, Judaism, is once again transformed into a historical problem, this time relating the problem of Moorishness to the discovery of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, a series of Lead tablets discovered in the Turpiana Tower near Granada between 1595 and 1599.[19] These tablets, written in Arabic, Latin and Spanish, detailed how St. James first arrived with his disciples on the Iberian Peninsula. Among the major themes of the tablets were the presence of the Apostle St. James the Great and of the Virgin Mary, as well as a defense of the Arabic language and people. (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 22-24). The arrival of St. James would prove particularly significant since many historians, both in Granada and Toledo, would use that finding of the Lead Books to show the first Catholic mass actually happened in Granada, surrounded by future Arabic saints. (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 203). Considering the fact these Lead Books were discovered immediately after the War of the Alpujarras where the Habsburg crown quelled a rebellion of *moriscos* who demanded more recognition from the Court, the discovery caused great controversy. For some, like the alleged translators of the Lead

[19] The bibliography on the Lead Books of Sacromonte is extensive. For the most recent compilation of criticism on the subject see either Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodriguez Mediano *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism.* Trans: Consuelo López Morrillas. Boston: Brill, 2013. or *Los plomos del sacromonte: invención y Tesoro*. Eds: Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García Arenal. Universidad de Valencia, Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2006.

Books Miguel de Luna and Alonso de Castillo, the discovery of these tablets proved that the Arabs stood on equal footing with Christians and thus could legitimately claim Granada as their own. Others, such as the royal chronicler of Philip II Pedro de Palencia, believed that the translations of the Lead Books were a forgery created by Castillo and Luna, serving to justify a *morisco* presence in Granada by propagating the importance of the historical memory of the Moors in Spain (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 204).

In addition to granting Granada a uniquely Mozarabic historical memory, the discovery of the Lead Books in the ruins of the Turpiana Tower also profoundly influenced the complicated politics between cities in Early Modern Spain. On the one hand, Castillo and Luna would use the presence of St. James in Granada to bolster their argument that the city should receive a Papal Bull declaring it the Primate See, a title coveted by many cities during this period (namely Toledo, Seville, Tarragona) (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 202). According to the two scholars, due to this competition, Luna and Castillo were in direct contact with the Toledan historiographers we mentioned in the first chapter (especially Higuera who in his *Historia ecclesiastica de Toledo* cites Luna as being a very learned gentleman in Chapter 3 of his chronicle). While the main goal of Higuera's chronicle, as we developed in Chapter 1, was to prove the lineage of noble *converso* families after the strict enforcement of *limpieza de sangre* laws in Toledo, another goal of his chronicle as a whole was to prove that he came from a Mozarabic family as well. In consultation with Luna and Castillo, Higuera would publish *El tratado del linaje de Higuera* (c. 1600) dealing with how the Mozarabic population in both Granada and Toledo spoke the "Arabic tongue" (García Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 208-209).

With that said, in addition to proving the legitimacy of the Mozarabic language in both cities, Higuera would also attempt to relate the stories translated by Luna and Castillo to the problem of Judaism. Complementing Luna's argument that the Arabs lived in Spain before the time of Christ, Higuera would highlight the importance of the Nabateans and the Indumeans, Arabic speaking Jews, to demonstrate how Jews also co-existed with Arabs before the arrival of St. James on the Iberian Peninsula. Through these arguments, Higuera would once again attempt to legitimate not only his own Mozarabic and *converso* heritage, but also the nobility of both *moriscos* and *conversos* in Early Modern Toledo.

With the relationship between Higuera and Miguel de Luna established, we can now see how Lope de Vega interacts with these historiographical and mythological debates. In contrast to Higuera, who blindly supported the veracity of the Lead Books translation, I believe Lope in this festival is attempting to show how Luna's project is not only a textual forgery but also potentially dangerous from a spiritual perspective. He engages with Luna and Castillo through a series of prophecies offered during the festival. These prophecies, as we will see, not only problematize the notion of the Lead Books themselves, but also the kinds of reading and translation they represent.

When Dalima appears on stage with the prophetic books, a fellow Moor Saleco describes them as containing a "ciencia famosa" (I, v. 458) and a "notable ciencia," (I, v. 462). These two phrases open up a series of crypto-narrations perceptible to many different kinds of audiences. While the play will devalue these crypto-narrations subsequently, as we will see shortly, these phrases reasonably prove that Dalima is a character who is performing both Moorishness and Judaism on stage in an effort to not only hermeneutically respond to the festival taking place in Toledo but also exegetically seduce the audience by encouraging a non-Christian type of reading

practice. At the same time, these encounters function in a spectrum. In this case, while communicating to a certain degree a Moorish voice or a Moorish hermeneutic, Hamete uses figures of Judaism to explain his skepticism. These Jewish figures guide the audience's interpretation ultimately to see the exoticism of both the Jewish and Moorish stance on reading prophecy, a theme that we saw in the *Postrer Godo de España* and we will also see subsequently in the next chapter when analyzing *La hermosa Ester*.

From an Old Christian perspective, by calling these prophecies a "ciencia famosa," lines which could recall the controversy which ensued when the Lead Books were discovered. Indeed, I would claim that the books themselves mirror certain characteristics of the Lead Books, allowing Dalima to perform a kind of hermeneutic seduction of the audience. First, both the Lead Books and these prophetic books are syncretic texts requiring a unique kind of reading. In the case of Dalima's prophecies, they require spectators to interpret both words and images. In the case of the Lead Books, readers being familiar with the Salomonic alphabet, a linguistic code forcing translators to know Arabic, Latin and Spanish. Indeed, it is entirely possible that the visual reading that Dalima asks from the audience could imply her prophecies are written in Salomonic (although the play never mentions that explicitly). In this sense, Dalima and her prophecies could represent a Moorish way of reading, since Arabic (as well as the Solomonic alphabet of the Lead Books and the *aljamiado* understood by *moriscos*,) required a knowledge of visual imagery. Or to put in another way, the Moorish way of reading encourage Old Christian audience members to iconographically Judaize, or use another reading practice, not based on the strict textual interpretation demanded by the Church Fathers (namely Aquinas and Augustine) but rather one based on images.

At this point of the play, I believe both Hamete and Toledan audiences have not been taught properly how to interpret these symbols and as such would regard them skeptically. In the case of Hamete's skepticism, it is interesting to note how the Moor employs figures of Judaism in order to justify it, calling these prophecies works of "hecichería." By having Hamete call these prophecies, works of sorcery, he is in effect condemning the prophecies as Jewish if we follow Covarrubias' explanation of the intimate lexical relationship between brujeria, hechiceria and Judaism.[20] Furthermore, even though "hechicería" was also a common stereotype to describe *morisco women* (take for example *la bruja morisca* in *El Licenciado Vidriera* of Cervantes), I would still claim that these prophecies and the practices of other Morisco women are in fact masking the asking of Jewish questions. This would not be surprising especially given the fact that Hamete used the same Pauline fear to justify his hatred of Christians earlier in the festival.

Simultaneously, audience members also see the *morisco* project being challenged by a fellow reader and interpreter on stage. This challenge comes from the voice of Saliceo: "Saber las letras deseo y no da lugar la luna." (I, 469-470). Firstly, when Saliceo declares "no da lugar la luna," Saliceo is encouraging spectators to reject Luna's historiographic project in its entirety (in essence, be like Pedro de Palencia who as we said, called the Lead Books a forgery). Additionally, "luna" in this case could be Moorishness as a whole, which would be consistent since the Moors were often associated with the crescent moon. But in my view, I think Lope is restricting himself here to simply criticizing the reading practices associated with Moorishness, warning audience members about the dangers associated with Moorish reading practices and by

[20] More particularly, in his entries for the term "bruja" and "hechizar" there are references to encantations and being under demonic influence. For example, he defines a bruja (also bruxa): "cierto género de clase perdida y endiablada, que perdido el temor de Dios, ofrecen sus cuerpos y sus almas al demonio a trueco de una libertad viciosa y libidinosa." (Covarrubias 358) In his entry for "hechizar" Covarrubias explains: "así se llamaron hechizos los daños que causan las hechiceras, porque el demonio los hace a medida de sus infernales peticiones." (Covarrubias 1032).

extension iconographic Judaizing. Following this reading, Saliceo would not see his role as translator of magical prophecies, nor opening up a key to an ancient Arab past. Rather, he sees his hermeneutic project through the eyes of St. Augustine's *Confessions* which views the act of reading as God implanting the interpretation of a particular text into a worshipper's mind so that he can discern it or know it during the act of reading.

With that said, the fact that audience members at the end of Saliceo's speech hear the word "deseo" has important consequences. Unlike the word "saber" which implies a certain hermeneutic control, the word "deseo" suggests that there exists a certain distance. In this way, while Saliceo's is secure in his retort, as we saw with Paul's category of the Judaizer, the play leaves audience members potentially desiring more from this encounter and being tempted perhaps to either follow the doctrines and history set forth by Christian doctrine or explore the prophecies foretold not only in this play but in the *morisco* historiographies circulating throughout the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2.2.3: Toledo vs. Granada: Competing Spatial Geographies in Act II

While Lope may not endorse the reading practices that the Lead Books of Sacromonte encourage, one aspect of the controversy that we do see configured and commented upon in the play is the claim that cities are loci of historical memory which contain relics of an ancient and noble past. Indeed, in the rest of the play, Lope incorporates a series of relics, namely the river, the city and the body of Hamete himself to create competing special geographies, which help spectators distinguish between Old Christian and Moorish culture. At the same time, however, these relics yield a series of crypto-narrations, which teach audiences how to Judaize iconographically.

We see these competing spatial geographies being constructed starting at the end of the first act when Hamete, after being captured from Meliona, is sold into slavery and brought to Malaga. During the negotiation for Hamete, two Christian characters, Herrera and Laurencio compare the nobilities of the two cities using the river as their primary point of reference. They discuss:

Herrera: ¡Hermosa ciudad Málaga!

Laurencio: ¡Famosa!

Herrera: ¡Mucho el mar la ennoblece y la enriquece.

Laurencio: Si tuviera Toledo en vez del Tajo

Este famoso mar, notable fuera

Herrera: Tal vez que las crecientes del invierno

Cubren las huertas del Rey se llaman.

Parece el Tajo un mar, pero no pueden

subir la cumbre de sus altos montes

ni trepar a la altura de sus casas (II, v. 731-740).

We can see here how similar to the sea which provides melancholy for Hamete, the river Tajo itself transforms Christians into melancholic figures. With that said, while the melancholy that Hamete feels upon viewing the city indicates the religious and spacial separation between Hamete and Christianity, from an Old Christian and Crypto-Jewish perspective, this melancholy

is expressed in socio-economic terms as Herrera is lamenting how the Tajo caused the socio-economic decline of Toledo. We can best understand this claim if we consider how the Tajo was an important economic resource for both Christians and Jews. According to José Gómez Menor, when Toledo was both the Gothic *civitas regia* and the Arabic *Al Andalus,* the city experienced centuries of not only economic prosperity but also financial independence from the other Spanish territories. In particular, the city became an agricultural center, exporting grains, oil and wine to Burgos, Valencia, Madrid in the north and Jaén and Murcia in the south by way of the Tajo River. Gómez Menor explains how both Old Christians and *conversos* participated in these economic ventures since being a merchant was one of the permitted occupations of converted Jews. They helped support and finance a bustling local agricultural industry and used the Tajo to serve as merchants selling throughout the Spanish territories, increasing the economic prestige of the city (Gómez Menor 16).

As a result of Toledo's economic prosperity caused by the Tajo River, Toledan chroniclers, such as Pedro de Alcocer, would use geography as an important trope to prove Toledo's ennobled status. Likening the geography of Spain to a human body, Alcocer in his *Historia de la imperial cibdad de Toledo,* would claim that Toledo, given its centralized geographic location, was the "corazón de las Españas" with the center of the city being the "famosisimo Río Tajo, que a la forma de una herradura, cerca la mayor parte della, cuyos callos o extremos, con la entrada y salida del, que por una distancia se aparta del uno al otro, quedado esta ciudad en medio del, a manera de ysla. " (Book I, Chapter 3). It is also interesting to see how Alcocer here depicts Toledo as an island of economic prosperity, an island created by the power of the Tajo River.

However, the economic prosperity that Toledo had experienced largely due to the Tajo disintegrated due to a series of famines caused by severe climate changes (either extreme rainfall or drought). In fact, Alcocer called 1507 "el año de la peste," summarizing the conditions as follows in his *Relación de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reynos, desde que murió la Reina Católica dona Isabel hasta que se acabaron las Comunidades en la ciudad de Toledo* of 1520:

> Bien se puede decir que en este año de quinientos siete las tres lobas rabiosas andavan sueltas, que eran hambre, guerra, y pestilencia: hambre a dos ducados la hanega de trigo; pestilencia; cada día morían en Toledo ochenta cuerpos y más; guerras; en toda Castilla peleaban de noche y de día y había grandes debates. (Alcocer 22).

1507 would prove prophetic for describing the economic conditions of Toledo throughout the sixteenth century. Indeed, Martínez Gil reminds us that while Ferdinand and Isabella attempted to resuscitate Toledo's economy, the epidemics continued not just in Toledo but also throughout Spain (with severe weather as well in Barcelona and Valladolid in 1517, as well as in Aragon in 1520). In essence, the Tajo, once a source of great wealth and prestige, turned dry and both Toledo and Christians became melancholic due to that metaphoric and geographical dryness.

As a result of these changes in economic conditions, we can see notice how Herrera changes the spatial orientation of Toledo in this passage. Instead of representing Toledo as an island, we can see how due to the "crecientes del invierno," the character's gaze has moved south to the "hermosa ciudad Málaga" whose economic identity is "ennobled and enriched" by the Mediterranean Sea. This is in contrast to the Tajo River, which now is more of a relic to a previous age when Toledo was more economically prosperous.

But beyond distinguishing between Malaga and Toledo, changing the spatial orientation of the audience has a variety of goals as it relates to the relationship between Christians, Moors and Jews in the play. On the one hand, by claiming that Toledo is indeed not a protected island opens the door for spectators to think about the prestige of other nations in Europe, placing Toledo on the same historical and geographic playing field with the rest of the cities in Spain and potentially the rest of the Mediterranean, especially if we take into account that the sea grants Malaga its prestige due to its role as a gateway to the Mediterranean. Additionally, instead of the sea being emblematic of a religious melancholy as we saw in the first act with Hamete, both the sea and the river are relics triggering Herrera's economic melancholy. In contrast to Hamete's melancholy dividing the three religions, Herrera's economic melancholy serves as an equalizing force, which could augment the fears and insecurities that Toledans must feel due to their decline in economic, political and religious status.

In addition to triggering sympathy from the audience, the appropriation of the Tajo to indicate the decline of Toledo also opens up a space for the Moorish slaves Hamete and Pez to write their own historiographies of the city to combat the Old Christian spatial narrative. This challenge is seen most prominently when Hamete and Pez compare the characteristics of cities found in Spain and those found in Africa.

Hamete:

Son aves y grandes trabajadores; tienen uñas por las peñas; las ciudades son pequeñas, los ánimos son mayores

Paez:

¿Hay Iglesias?

Hamete:

Hay mezquitas

Paez:

Allá no hay obispos

Hamete:

No

Paez:

¿Pues que?

Hamete:

Alfaquis

Paez:

Si yo, Hamete no encuentro ermitas, que acá tabernas llamamos, por la tierra donde camino no voy con gusto.

Hamete:

No hay vino, mas del agua ardiente usamos

Paez:

Hay perniles

Hamete:

Que es perniles?

Paez:

Muslos de Puerco

Hamete:

Mahoma los quito por ley (II, v. 1232-1246).

In this conversation, Instead of using Alcocer and Toledo as their primary points of reference, I would claim that the emphasis on "mezquitas" instead of "Iglesias" and "alfaquis" instead of "obispos" rely on morisco historiographies detailing the historical prominence of Granada as the *ciudad imperial.* More particularly, these characters may be alluding to arguments found in *La historia ecclesiástica de la ciudad de Granada* and *La antiguedad y excelencia de Granada* (1608), chronicles by Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, a church official who, similar to Higuera and Alcocer in Toledo, emphasized the religious purity of the city of Granada over other Spanish cities. In particular, according to Calatrava, Bermúdez de Pedraza countered the Toledan historiographies in a variety of ways. First, instead of emphasizing the Tajo as a melancholic relic, Bermúdez de Pedraza emphasized the "curative properties" of the rivers surrounding Granada, equating them to the rivers where Christ was baptized (Calatrava 427). Following this metaphor, Bermúdez de Pedraza would argue that Granada itself had the potential to cure itself after the trauma of the Expulsion of the Moors and Jews in 1492.

In addition to emphasizing the redemptive importance of rivers, similar to Higuera and Alcocer who depicted Toledo as the City on the Hill and the New Jerusalem, Bermúdez would use Granada's geography and altitude to configure it as the fortified city par excellence. Under

this premise, each type of architecture in the city would have a symbolic significance. The plazas, and other open spaces serve to beautify the city (Calatrava 432), while both the Alhambra and the churches built by Christians thereafter embody the religious purity of both the Moors and the Christians in the city. Furthermore, similar to Miguel de Luna mentioned earlier, Bermúdez de Pedraza believed in the historical veracity of the Lead Books of Sacromonte, because for the historian, as he argues in the fourth book of his *Antiguedad y excelencia de Granada* they represented the historical greatness of Granada (Calatrava 439).

Returning to the dialogue between Hamete and Pez, I believe their conversation is fulfilling similar goals. Similar to Bermúdez's chronicles arguing for Granada's political and historical supremacy over Toledo, in the process of teaching Pez about his homeland, Hamete, similar to Bamba in *La comedia de Bamba* attempts to reconstruct his own city, using Moorish history as his guideline in order to teach Christian audiences about the historical and architectural distinctiveness of Moorish culture. In this sense, Hamete challenges the Christian narratives already being imposed on him and the audience. To a certain degree, in addition to making Old Christians think about Moorish historical memory, his reference to the Alfaquis implies that he has overcome the linguistic confusion that he suffered from in the first act. Instead of referring to the missionaries of the Order of St. John as the "Alfaqui de Toledo" as we saw in Hamete's opening monologue, the slave is able to distinguish between the different kinds of religious officials in order to properly teach his Moorish colleague.

While simultaneously dialoguing with *morisco* historiographies to advance the legitimacy of Granada and Moorish culture, it is also fascinating to see how Hamete transitions to performing Judaism as well in the second half of his conversation with Pez. This point is best seen if we recognize that ham and pork, in addition to being markers of Moorishness, can also be

read as figures of Judaism. Both Cecil Roth and Gitlitz in their works on Crypto-Judaism, have identified ham, pork, rabbit and eel as *Terefah,* or forbidden foods according to Jewish kosher laws dictated in Leviticus Chapters 3 and 7 (which describe the types of sacrifices permitted by the Lord) Chapter 11 (describing how to clean food), and Chapter 17 (prohibiting the consumption of "forbidden blood"). Indeed, pork in particular grew to acquire a symbolic significance, according to Gitlitz, due to the Crypto-Jewish aversion to pork products (mainly bacon and sausage). For this reason, the Inquisition would often accuse *conversos* of Judaizing if they received news that *conversos* had rejected pork. For example, several *conversos* were burned at the stake by the Coimbra Inquisition between 1567 and 1583 after being accused of cooking pork only for their Christian servants (Gitlitz 535). In this sense, the Crypto-Jews in the audience would also commiserate and understand Hamete's references to pork as challenging the performance of religious superiority that Old Christians often perform in their own homes.

But as we will see, his performance of Moorishness and Judaism has limits, as Hamete can only express these ideas outside the Toledo city limits, in the port city of Malaga. When Hamete is ultimately sold into slavery and brought to Toledo, spectators witness how Hamete initially reverts back to being fearful of Christian power and influence. This point is best seen at the end of Act II in an initial conversation with Gaspar who I would claim following Madroñal, is the same Gaspar Suárez mentioned by Higuera:

Hamete: Ya tengo perdido el miedo

que no tendré libertad:

para siempre esclavo quedo.

Gaspar: Verás aquesta ciudad:

bien te agradecerá Toledo.

[…]

Hamete: No dejo sino en Valencia la mitad del alma agora.

Hamete: Viva Argelina en Valencia y muera Hamete en Toledo (II, 1627-1632, 1676-1677).

Hamete's conversation with Gaspar here serves two functions both complementary to our reading. First and foremost, from the lines "muera Hamete en Toledo" spectators can surmise that Hamete's social death is complete upon his arrival to Toledo. When I employ the term "social death," I am using it in the way Orlando Patterson does in his work on slavery in nineteenth century Latin America. In his study, Patterson argues that slaves existed as socially dead since they could not, under any circumstances, socially advance in society. While the reasons for the Moorish enslavement are for different political reasons, I believe the fear that Old Christians would feel towards the Moor would be similar and as a result, would impose the same restrictions on the Moor as nineteenth century Latin America would do on Africans working on their slave plantations.

With that said, in addition to marking the social death of Hamete in Toledo, I believe that this passage also provides Hamete with some agency, ultimately providing the impetus for his revenge on his Christian overseers in Act III. These points are best seen if we interpret Argelina not just as Hamete's wife who is enslaved in Valencia, but also emblematic of Algiers as a whole. In this sense, similar to the Tajo River explored in the previous section, both Hamete and Argelina's socially dead bodies plus the body of Argel become objects of desire for Hamete, objects which ultimately will impel his revenge and justify his physical acts of violence. In this way, the relicing of these three bodies serves as vehicles of both fear and memory for audience

members; fear for the Old Christian who is always afraid of Moorish retribution; memory for those Moors, *conversos* and Crypto-Jews, who are suffering from the same kind of social death that Hamete is dramatizing in this scene.

2:2:4: Toledo as a City of Tragedy: Iconographic Judaizing in Hamete's Auto de fe

In one sense, we can that with Hamete's recognizing that he is socially dead, this resolves one central conflict in the play. But once Hamete's revenge is dramatized and he rapes Doña Leonor, the play must resolve in Hamete's physical death in an auto de fe in the Plaza de Zocodover in order to maintain the status quo.

While the theatrical auto de fe is a rather common trope within the religious and historical *comedia,* (as we saw in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*), the exquisite detail with which Corducera and other Christian characters describe the proceedings leads me to believe that Lope was inspired by two kinds of city festivals that would have observed during his stay. The first was an auto de fe celebrated on March 5, 1600 in honor of the arrival of Philip III into the city. According to the *relación de fiesta* maintained by the Toledo Cathedral, the auto de fe was preceded by a procession where a green cross, (alluding to the Order of St. Dominic, the "primer inquisidor" of *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*) was paraded around the plaza to honor the Holy Office. The next morning, at precisely 9:00 AM, the king and queen were lead out of the Alcázar and marched to the Plaza de Zocodover where they took their seats. After the procession, the Friar Gaspar of the Toledo Cathedral offered a sermon and then a total of 44 Judaizers, Moors and Protestants were burned at the stake. Among the *confesos* stood Mateo de Atiensa from Guadalajara who was accused of misreading Genesis, and Fernando de Salas, a *confeso,* who later confessed in a legal document mandated by the Inquisition that he was of Jewish descent.

In addition to the *confesos*, a series of Moorish slaves (denominated both moros and moriscos in the documentation,[21] were also burned at the stake. Take for example Ana, esclava de Juan Palomar and Antonia, simply denominated "Esclava" (BCT 22-8).

It is this mixture of the presence of Judaizers and Moorish slaves that I believe inspired Lope to reenact a similar auto de fe for his Moorish slave Hamete. It is interesting to note how Lope describes in his stage directions the presence of a "cruz verde", once again an emblem allowing audience members to eulogize St. Dominic and the Inquisition. In addition, he permits several minor characters to offer their opinions about the upcoming auto de fe. In essence, similar to the actual auto de fe, Lope's dramatized one is a spectacle, replete with stage and audience interacting with each other.

But with the players and the audience members set, a question arises: what are the goals of describing this auto de fe in such exquisite detail and what does this spectacle say about the relationship between Old Christians, Moors and Jews in Early Modern Toledo. I believe one of the goals becomes clear if we examine our narrator, Corducera's, words as Hamete arrives in the Plaza:

En un carro salió que a no ser moro

bañara la ciudad en tierno llanto;

mas como falta el celestial decoro

de la Cristiana crisma, aquello siente

[21] It is interesting to note how the Inquisition distinguishes confeso from other terms such as hebreo or judío in order to emphasize the "confessed nature of their identities." In the case of the Moor however, there is often confusion in the documentation, as the terms moro and morisco are often interchangeable. The same can be said in Lope's comedias, where the two terms are used to talk about the Moorish Other.

que cuando ve en la plaza herido un toro.

[…]

La mano le pidió cosa que asombra,

el verdugo, y la puso en un madero

como si la pusiera en una alfombra;

cortó los huesos el cuchillo fiero

y, antes que la siniestra le pidiesen,

ya estaba puesto al riguroso acero. (III, v. 2970-2975, 2985-2990)

On the one hand, one could say that Lope is dialoguing and expanding upon the description of the event offered by Higuera who describes the auto de fe of his Hamete also emphasizing the slave's body and the audience surrounding the spectacle:

> Aquella noche mandó hacer en la Plaza de Zocodover un gran cadahalso y allí mandó levantar una horca porque todos la viesen, y algo apartado, un madero de donde colgasen la cabeza. Junto con esto, que a la puerta de la cárcel hicieron, un carro de cuatro ruedas y que en medio estuviese un madero alto, de que le atasen el cuerpo, y otros dos a los lados, donde fuesen atados los brazos y que allí fuesen veinte braseros y algunas tenazas con que la atenazasen. (ctd. Madroñal 63)[22]

[22] This passage is cited from Madroñal's transcription of the story. For the original manuscript consult: Fray Jerónimo Román de la Higuera, *Historia ecclesiastica de la imperial ciudad de Toledo,* BNE, ms. 1293, ff 175-178.

With that said, while Higuera's description of the auto de fe focuses just on the corporal, I would claim that these lines mark not just the physical death of Hamete, as he is beheaded and quartered, buy also establishes Toledo, not just as Hamete's "city of death" but as a "city of tragedy" for all Toledan spectators. Enrica Cancelliere, in her study of the representation of cities in the religious and biblical comedias of Calderón de la Barca, explains that the tragic city is present when a particular character evokes a city by recalling objects reminding audience members of tragic events.

While the primary examples of this trope come from Calderón, I believe Lope here is also employing the trope but in distinct ways. Instead of evoking a city (such as Rome, Babylon or Jerusalem), he interestingly does not mention Toledo (or Rome, since Toledo, as we will see in the next chapter, was often referred to as "La segunda Roma[23]") at all but rather allows audience members to reimagine the city on their own terms. This is necessary in my view due to the loss of prestige that Toledo has suffered. This is in contrast to *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia*, where Lope's characters consistently guide audience member expectations towards specific iconographic representations of religious dogma. In a sense, he is giving audience members the freedom to Judaize iconographically, in essence, develop their own religious visions of the city due to the spiritual vacuum left by Hamete.

With that said, Lope does align with the trope of the "tragic city" in one respect: characters do incorporate objects of reverence and memory to commemorate the tragedy. However, instead of referring to obelisks or temples as Calderón would (take for example *Las*

[23] In this case, the reference to the Segunda Roma is ecclesiastical in nature. Martínez Gil explains how Toledo propagated Church doctrine by claiming that its Church was the strongest and richest second to the Vatican, in essence, a second Rome. We will further explore the ramifications of this trope when we discuss *Las paces de los reyes y la judía de Toledo* in Chapter 3. For more information about Toledo as a Second Rome, consult: Fernando Martínez Gil *La invención de Toledo: imágenes históricas de una identidad urbana.* Castilla la Mancha: Biblioteca Añil, 2007. pp. 139-147.

armas de la hermosura), the body of Hamete himself serves as that saintly relic. This claim becomes even more fascinating if we contextualize the presentation of Hamete's body to the audience with Toledan festivals celebrating saintly relics. In addition to the festivities we mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in his *Libro de los usos y costumbres de la Iglesia de Toledo,* Juan Bautista de Chaves mentions how in 1596: "…hacía servir el rey Don Felipe II y hilos a esta ciudad y a tener la semana santa en esta Santa Iglesia… mas a cuatro mil ducados a costa de la obra… se llevaron reliquias de San Eugenio, San Illdefonso y el Niño Jesus de Nuestra Señora el Sagrario" (BCT 177).

Taking this information into account, I would say that both *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo* are inspired by this tradition and by this 1596 description in particular. However, the way in which they interact with these festivals is distinct. In the case of *El Niño Inocente,* Lope constantly hints at religious iconography associated potentially with "El Niño Jesús de Nuestra Señora el Sagrario" and never allows the body to spiritually die (having Reason and Understanding ultimately save the martyr Juanico Pasamontes). In the case of *El Hamete de Toledo,* the iconographic Judaizing is less guided and encouraged on a wider scale. By describing in such graphic detail the dismemberment of Hamete during the auto de fe, it also encourages audiences to reconstruct the Moorish Other in whatever image they choose. In the case of the Old Christian interpretation, the Friar offers an approximation at the end of the play when he likens the converted Hamete to the Lamb of God. By this reading, Hamete becomes similar to Juanico Pasamontes, who both suffer for the sins of their respective peoples (Christians in Juanico's case, the Moors in Hamete's). However, for the *morisco, converso* and Crypto-Jew the readings may be distinct. By having Hamete choose conversion as he dies allows audience members to potentially feel sympathy for the Moorish Other, unites body and soul

under a Christian world-view, and cures Hamete of his melancholy. In this sense, the *morisco* and the *converso* could see in Hamete part of the process they have to go through as they decide to what degree they are Christians and to what degree they practice their own faiths. For the Crypto-Jew (and Crypto-Muslim), they could interpret Hamete's body as a relic, a remembrance of their own struggles for honor and recognition as they hide their own faiths from public view.

Chapter 3: Toledo as a City of Remembrance: Neo-Platonic Crypto-Narrations in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *La hermosa Ester*

In both Chapters 1 and 2, we have witnessed how Lope de Vega constructs a dramatic historiography which historiographically imitates the chronicles circulating throughout Spain at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This dramatic historiography that Lope constructs between 1590 and 1615 has two interrelated goals. Firstly, similar to the chronicles he is historiographically imitating, Lope's dramatic chronicle is attempting to bolster Toledo's image which had been tarnished with the departure of the Habsburg court in 1561. To that end, in Chapter 1, we saw how *La comedia de Bamba* and *El postrer godo de España* granted the city a certain kind of mythic importance, representing it as the foundational city par excellance. In Chapter 2, Toledo became the epicenter of Christian Spain which would once again be challenged first by Jews specifically in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and then subsequently by the Moorish slave Hamete in *El Hamete de Toledo.* As distinct from the *comedias* studied in Chapter 1, *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *El Hamete de Toledo* emphasized the importance of public spectacles and festivals as a way of reaffirming the audience's faith in their own Christianity, whether it be by praying to the Virgin Mary or by celebrating an auto de fe.

However, as distinct from the chronciles with which Lope dialogued, these historical dramas aimed to provide a more complete cultural vision of the city of Toledo, presenting Judaism as a dramatic problem whenever possible. However, in contrast to the *comedias* we will study in this chapter, as we have mentioned, Lope needed to explore Judaism through the mask of other cultures. Whether it be through the Judaizing King Bamba or through the Moorish slave Hamete, these characters I would argue still posed questions and presented problems which could be applicable either to Jewish condition in the case of Hamete or have Old Christian

audience members explore the limits of their Christian faith in the case of Bamba. To achieve these goals, we have seen how these plays have inserted different kinds of crypto-narrations in order to represent Judaism as a dramatic problem to be resolved by the end of each play. In the case of the Gothic comedias of Chapter 1, the central issue was that of genealogy as we saw with how Bamba Judaizing threatened the Christian purity of Toledo. In Chapter 2, we saw how iconography was used to more explicitly explore Judaism as historiographical problems.

With that said, I would argue that Lope's Toledan period and the ultimate decline of Toledo go hand in hand for as Felipe Pedraza Jiménez explains, another key event would diminish the population of Toledo and Spain as a whole: the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spanish territories, first from Valencia in a decree dated September 22 1609 and subsequently from Seville on the 12th of January 1610. By the middle of July 1610, all of the *moriscos* would have departed (Pedraza Jimenez 166). As we will see, Toledo was not immune to these demographic shifts. Take for example this description taken from the city archives of Toledo where Juan de Toro laments the lack of participation in the 1616 Corpus Christi festival:

…tienen el cabildo de esta yglesia costumbre de hazer fiestas del santíssimo sacramento en su dia con autos y representaciones públicas que se an hecho ansí dentro en la santa yglesia como en las calles y plazas en carros con que la fiesta se solemniza desde que se yntroduxo y mandó celebrar: siendo la esta la primera yglesia que celebró esta fiesta en España y la a continuado con la grandeza que se sabe antepuniendose a todas las demás yglesias y tiniendo pre[v]enidos farsantes para que hiziesen la dicha fiesta por escritura pública por orden de los comisarios de las fiestas de corte se han llevado allá, dexando esta çibdad sin fiestas y muy desconsolados, sus vecinos muchos de los cuales se an ido e van a otros lugares donde se hazen fiestas dexando a esta cibdad de donde se sigue no celebrarse esta fiesta con la devoción

decencia y grandeza que siempre sea hecho y la que se debe a tan grande solemnidad." (AMT Fondo histórico, Signatura 1137).

We see here summarized in this description how these demographic shifts ultimately left Toledo with a lack of public confidence as normal participants in Toledo's festivals would flock to other cities (namely Madrid) to celebrate. As we will see in this chapter, Lope responds to these shifts in a variety of ways. In addition to lamenting the loss of the *morisco* population, the dramatist also takes advantage of the incorporation of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* to depict Judaism more explicitly on stage as a problem which still plagues the Christian purity of Spain. However, in contrast to other *comedias* analyzed in this dissertation, the depiction of the Jew in the comedias of this chapter, *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *La hermosa Ester,* is more varied as the dramatist takes previous representations of the Jew and inverts them. More particularly, in the case of the Jewesses Raquel and Ester, while they are still women who tempt kings, through a series of Neo-Platonic crypto-narrations, Lope is able to depict the Jewess and Judaism as a figure to be remembered and even respected. However, while expanding our notion of how Judaism functions as a dramatic problem to be resolved by spectators, Lope also continues his dramatic historiography of Toledo, this time focusing on how Toledo functions as a city of remembrance where the Jewess and Judaism can be remembered appropriately. In the case of *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo,* Toledo functions as a space where the Jewess Raquel can be remembrered through her physical death. In the case of *La hermosa Ester,* the relationship to Toledo is more complex. While this play does not mention Toledo specifically, I would argue that the play allows spectators to recall and reflect upon the nature of historiographical imitation itself, as spectators see one of the central myths of Crypto-Judaism, the Book of Ester, being performed on stage.

3.1.1. Alfonso, Raquel and Conversion: Skepticism, Love and Martyrdom in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*

When approaching *Los paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo,* critics have centered their attention the relationship on between Alfonso VIII, Christian king of Castille, and Raquel, the Toledan Jewess. On the one hand, some scholars such as Lilia Dapaz Strout and Gustavo Faverón Patriau have interpreted this romance from a psychoanalytic perspective.[1] On the other hand critics, such as Christine Swietlicki, in her 1988 article in the *Bulletin of the Comediantes* "Lope's Dialogic Imagination: Writing Other Voices of Monolithic Spain" (and more recently, Javier Lorenzo in the same journal) reinterpret the clandestine relationship between the two characters from both formalist and political points of view.[2] In Swietlicki's case, she uses the Bakhtinian distinction between monoglossia and heteroglossia to discern the distinctive voices appearing in the comedia to contract the Catholic orthodox view prevalent during the Baroque Period. In the other article, Lorenzo interprets Raquel as a scapegoat (in the sense that René Girard uses the term in his well-known book *Violence and the Sacred*) in order to explain the Jewess' assassination at the end of the play. Antonio Carreño Rodriguez and Juan A. Ríos Carratalá have used the work in comparative studies.[3]

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[1] On the one hand, Dapaz Strout in her article "Piscomaquia o el conflicto de egos y logos en *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*" utilizes the theories of Carl Jung to describe the relationship between Raquel and the king as a clash between masculine and feminine archetypes. On the other hand, in his recently published article "Siete años en el Purgatorio: judíos y cristianos en *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*" Patriau applies the Lacanian distinction between the real, symbolic and imaginary orders in order to discuss how Raquel and Alfonso's romance causes the formation of the social subject.

[2] For more information, see Christine Swietlicki "Lope's Dialogic Imagination: Writing Other Voices of Monolithic Spain" *Bulletin of the Comediantes* Vol 40. No 2. (Winter 1988) pp. 205-226 and Javier Lorenzo "Chivo Expiatorio: Nación y comedia en *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* de Lope de Vega" *Hacia la tragedia aurea: lecturas para un nuevo milenio.* Eds: Frederick de Armas and Luciano García Lorenzo. Navarra: Iberoamericana, 2008. pp. 315-325.

[3] Carreño Rodriguez explores the representation of the court favorite in two of Lope's plays written in Toledo: *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *El último godo.* For more information, see "Privanza y integridad nacional: Lope de Vega y las crisis de poder" RILCE 21:2 2005. pp. 205-225. Ríos Carratalá studies the play comparing it

Taking these critical approaches as my point of departure, I think scholars have ignored two important elements to understanding Lope's play, and, in particular, the romance between Raquel and Alfonso VIII. First, as in other plays studied in this dissertation, the city of Toledo functions as an important semantic field since the play was represented in Toledo between 1604 and 1612, years in which the dramatist lived there.[4] Secondly, although critics have analyzed the role of Raquel in the work, what has not been studied in great depth is her death at the end of the play and how her death affects how we, as critics, classify the play generically. In this section, I would like to propose that Lope dramatizes the relationship between Alfonso VIII and Raquel to underline a contrast between Judaism and Christianity found in the opposition between Raquel and Toledo, understood here as crypto-narrations, which can be interpreted distinctly depending on the religious orientations of the audience members viewing the production. In the case of the *Las paces de los reyes,* Lope presents Toledo as a damaged body politic, which needs violence and the purgation of Judaism to survive. This conservatism is mitigated by the presence of Raquel in the play, which can be interpreted from a variety of perspectives. From the Old Christian point of view, the naming of Raquel as the "judía de Toledo" marks her as an "Other" in Spanish Counter-Reformation society. However, from the Jewish perspective, one can see a change in her character as the play progresses. At the beginning, I would propose that Raquel possesses skepticism common among the *judeoconversos* of Toledo during the 17th century. However, when the Jewess dies at the end of the play, one could say she transforms into a martyr for Jews viewing the performance. I will prove these arguments by analyzing certain references to Toledo found in the first act, particularly in the scene where soldiers imitate a ceremony found

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with other representations of Raquel in the 18th century. For more information, consult "Versiones decimonónicas de la leyenda de la judía de Toledo" *Anales de Literatura Española* 5, 1986-1987. pp. 425-436.

[4] More particularly, in their Chronology of the Plays of Lope de Vega, Morley and Bruerton date the comedia between 1604 and 1612. Additionally, the play also appears as part of the list of comedias Lope cites in the second edition of *El peregrino en su patria*.

in medieval chronicles to answer the question: to what degree does Lope use Toledo as a semantic field to signal to the audience a possible sickness which is infecting the body politic of 17th century Spain? Afterward, I will examine the relationship between Raquel and Alfonso, using humorial theory to demonstrate how their relationship sickens the body politic. In the last part of this section, I will concentrate specifically on the *deus ex maquina* which appears at the end of the play in order to explore the martyrological potential of Lope's *comedia.*

The first act of *Las paces de los reyes* begins with the conquest of Zurita and the coronation of Alfonso VIII as king of Castille, this after a long debate about his legitimacy, given he is only 15 years old when the play commences. The second act begins a few years later, when Alfonso has taken Leonor as her queen. There is political stability in Castille until he meets and falls in love with the Jewess Raquel, whom he sees bathing in the River Tajo. It is not until the third act, when Leonor orchestrates the assassination of Raquel and angels chastise Alfonso, that the state and order is restored under Christian doctrine, symbolized in the play by the fish of kings.

Another problem that has preoccupied critics, in addition to the representation of the Jewess, is the play's unique dramatic structure since it does not follow strictly the Aristotelian precept of unity of time. Given the temporal jumps in the play, certain critics such as David Durst and Frederick de Armas have proposed other possible structures. On the one hand, Durst argues that the *comedia* is organized around the stages of maturation of the ideal medieval hero, particularly "the heroe's royal birth, exile and education away from his people, return and recognition, initiation into manhood, heroic feats, fall, death and spiritual rebirth" (Durst 6; Ctd. De Armas "Passion and Treason" 65). On the other hand, De Armas suggests the following structure, which falls more in line with Lope's classic structure as stated in the *Arte Nuevo* of

restoring order at the end of the play: "Lope de Vega's *Los paces de los reyes* is a panoramic presentation of a monarch's life, commencing with an idealized figure of kingship in childhood, passing through the *mocedades* where war is displaced by lust thus endangering the kingdom, and ending with a restoration of the Christian order previously threatened by Raquel." (De Armas Passion and Treason 73).

There has also been much critical debate about when exactly Lope composed *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo.* Morley and Bruerton initially have dated the comedia between 1604 and 1612. Additionally, Melveena McKendrick, who dates the comedia closer to 1604 since as she argues in *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity, Las paces de los reyes* was simply one of a series of comedias dealing with young kings as their central figures. Examples of these comedias include: *La varona castellana,* (1597-1603) *El príncipe despeñado* (1602) and *La inocente sangre.* (1604-1612, prob. 1604-1608).

But in addition to forming an additional sub-corpus of plays dealing with young rulers, McKendrick also mentions how these comedias were written specifically to teach the young Philip III how to rule as a Christian king. As we will see in this section, I would add that Lope does not only compose *Las paces de los reyes* to teach Philip III about the proper way to rule, but also to dramatize the dialectical relationship between Judaism and Christianity mentioned earlier in this dissertation as well as to lament the decline of Toledo as the Ciudad Imperial.

3.1.2. The Ceremony of Fingers: Toledo as a Broken Body Politic

Given the importance of Raquel in Lope's play, it is surprising she does not even appear on stage until the second act. However, I propose in this section that Lope's goal is to establish the city of Toledo as a city which once again promotes Christian superiority over Islam and

Judaism and legitimizing Alfonso VIII as king of Castille. Toledo is first evoked for this purpose at the end of the first act when Esteban and Enrique present Alfonso with the body of a fallen solder. Alfonso declares upon seeing the soldier,

Quiéresme, Pedro creer? Con nacer como nací,

hoy tengo envidia de ti:

lo que eres quisiera ser.

Más por tan alto interés,

quisiera la fortaleza

de esa herida en la cabeza

que la corona que ves.

Haz cuenta, Pedro fiel,

que esta herida y sangre honrada

es una cinta encarnada

con que has atado el laurel.

Más que las del fuerte al doble honran tu frente esas puertas;

pésame que sangre viertas

porque sin duda es muy noble

mas, pues Diez te apellidas,

llégame ese escudo acá

que con diez dedos hará

una herida diez heridas.

De tu sangre mis dos manos estas diez bandas harán,

y por armas quedarán

a los Diez Toledanos (I, 707-732).

This passage can be interpreted from various religious points of view. From the Old Christian perspective, the ritual dramatized in this monologue conceptualizes the State as a dichotomy between the natural body and the mystical body. When I use the terms natural and mystical bodies, I am thinking about their presence and development in the 12th century as described by Ernest H. Kantorowicz in *The King's Two Bodies.* In that study, the historian explains how many political treatises using that metaphor were circulating in the 12th century. For example, William de Auxerre in England or Pope Innocent III circulated treatises, which distinguished between the natural body (human body) and the Body of Christ, a typology for the Church following Pauline doctrine.[5] The distinction between the natural and mystical bodies was conceived as a dicotomy between the Sacred Host incarnated in the Bread of the Eucharist, and the social body of the Church. However, as the century continued, commentators such as John of Salisbury interpreted the metaphor as a synecdoche for the State as a whole, taking Plutarch as their point of departure (Kantorowicz 199). This application of the metaphor of the King's Two Bodies to the political sphere appeared four centuries later in the works of political theorists in France such as Jean

[5] Paul says more precisely in his First Epistle to the Corinthians: "For by one spirit, we are all baptized into one Body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether slaves or free, and we were all made to drink of one Spirit. Because the Body is not one member but many." (1 Corinthians 12:13-14).

Bodin in his *Les six livres de la Republique*, and Spain in the treatises of Pedro de Ribaneydera (*Tratado del politico Cristiano* published in 1595) and Juan de Mariana (in his *De rege et regis instutione* of 1599). These works theorized the absolutist state as a body politic with the king at its head. Faverón Patriau says the following regarding the corporal political theories expoused by these theorists and *Las paces de los reyes:*

> De hecho, no es difícil suponer que, en *Las paces de los reyes.* Lope esté arriesgando una visión mixta de, por un lado, la idea de convivencia de las partes disímiles, presente tanto en Bodin como en Mariana o Rivadeneyra, pero fieramente negada por las leyes de limpieza de sangre y las actitudes populares antisemitas, y, por otra parte, la idea medieval de convivencia con el judío, concepto agustiniano sobreviviente hasta los siglos XII y XIII, y que sostenía que los judíos "tenían una razón de ser en la sociedad cristiana", en tanto "testigos de la Pasión de Cristo y depositarios del *Antiguo testamento"* (Monsalvo 26): los judíos eran considerados, en la Castilla de Alfonso, vasallos directos del rey y tributarios suyos, como los moros que se sometían a su mando (Faverón Patriau 365).

Although one could theorize there exists a certain amount of *convivencia* in other parts of the play, in the case of the ceremony of the fingers, there exists no such *convivencia*. We could interpret the body presented to King Alfonso VIII as the natural body, which metonymically represents the broken Castillian state. This argument is further demonstrated if we examine the series of semantic fields, which Lope presents to his audience, both in Alfonso's monologue and the stage directions, which accompany it. First and foremost, the "diez dedos" and the "diez bandas" buried in blood could represent parts of the natural or human body, which are broken due to the war being waged against the Muslims. At the same time, with the words "quisiera la

fortaleza de esa herida en la cabeza que la corona que ves," Lope extends this metaphor to the political realm, which we can interpret the head using the theological and biological theory that Kantorowicz proposes, in other words, as a metonymy of the State and the crown as a synecdoche of King Alfonso himself. Furthermore, if we continue thinking of the mortified body as a synecdoche of the body politic, we could also relate this metaphor back to the city of Toledo, taking into account medieval thinkers such as John of Salisbury. Richard Sennet, in his study of the many corporal metaphors utilized in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, says the following regarding the theories proposed by John of Salisbury:

> Juan de Salisbury también relacionó la configuración del cuerpo humano con la de una ciudad: consideraba así el palacio o la catedral de la ciudad como su cabeza, el mercado central como su estómago, las cosas como sus manos y sus pies. Por ello, la gente debía moverse con lentitud en una catedral porque el cerebro es un órgano de reflexión, y con rapidez en un mercado porque la digestión se produce como un fuego que arde con celeridad en el estómago (Sennet 26).

Although the relationship between the body and the city as presented by Salisbury has its limitations (insofar as there is no direct connection between the body and the Church in Lope's work,) we can interpret the bloody soldier's body as broken cities due to the war being waged during the first act. In the context of the play, the city would Castille, but for 17th century audiences, one could extend that metaphor to Toledo itself.

Furthermore, there are other configurations in the Alfonso's monologue which reminds us of the importance of Toledo as a conservative space, motivating the creation of a Christian state opposed to the threats posed in the play by Muslims and Jews. For example, the numerous

references to the "herida y sangre honrada" emphasize for audiences the purity of blood, defining a Christian in juxtaposition to a Muslim or Jew, both in the Middle Ages and in the Spanish Golden Age. Also, the lines emphasizing the birth of the king at the beginning of the monologue further support this claim. Lastly, if we consider these references in the context of the lines uttered earlier by Manrique during the conquest of Zurita, one can deduce the possible relationship to Toledo:

La ley de Dios, Alfonso, su fe santa,

habéis de defender siempre con ella,

y para dilatarla en gloria tanta

habéis de hacer que el moro tiemble Della;

al Betis, al Genil, que se levanta

a ver el Tajo la corriente bella,

habéis de dar un tajo de tal modo

que su cristal se vuelva en sangre todo." (I, 251-258).

Although I recognize the most plausible reading of this passage is as a declaration of war against the Muslims, the connection between "se vuelva en sangre todo" and the various rivers mentioned in the passage, mark Toledo as a city needing Christian blood to become a Christian city and to expel the Muslims who want to occupy it.

We can say at the same time the explicit violence present in both the declaration of war and the presentation of the soldier's body functions cathartically for both Alfonso and the

Christian audiences viewing the production. This claim can be proven if we consider the soldier as a kind of Christian martyr. The body serves both as a model for the exemplary Christian and reaffirms the faith of both the king and the audiences viewing the play. In this sense, we can interpret the soldier's body as a kind of mystical body, which reaffirms Christian doctrine against the threats first by the Muslims in the first act and later by the Jews. Furthermore, if we continue this martyriological reading, one could read the ritual associated with the soldier's body as a way of forging a new Christian community, using the body of the soldier as both cultural symbol of that community and a source of inspiration.

In addition to the numerous Christian readings of this scene, there are certain latent crypto-narrations present, which could be perceived by Jews and possibly the *conversos* viewing the performance as well. Insofar as the martyrdom of the soldier reaffirms the faith of the Old Christian in the audience, it would be interpreted as Christian propaganda by the Jews. In this sense, Lope in this section of the play privileges the Christian readings of the passage over the Jewish crypto-narrations (which, as we will see later in this chapter when we study *La hermosa Ester,* is not always the case).

The repetition of the word "diez" in the monologue is another method Lope uses to emphasize Christian readings over Jewish ones, in effect, uniting all of the readings under one Christian banner for possible Jewish audiences. This point is reinforced if we consider the importance of the number ten in the Bible. According to its numerological system, the number ten refers to the perfection of either Man or any other element associated with that number. In this sense, we can say that any mention of the number ten in the monologue alludes to the perfection of that particular element. For example, the reference to the "diez dedos" valorizes the soldier/martyr who has died for his Christian homeland. Secondly, the lines "Diez te

apellidas" represent Alfonso as the perfect king, if we follow the numerological reading of the passage or allude to the King's wisdom, if we consider diez as referring to Alfonso X, the medieval king considered both powerful and wise by medieval tradition. Lastly, the reference to the "diez Toledanos" refigures Toledo as the perfect city in Christian terms.

3.1.3. Toledo as a Culmination of the Mythic Genealogy: The Marriage of Alfonso and Leonor

If we can say Lope through the presentation on stage of a Christian body, propagates a purely Christian state using Medieval principles, the dramatist translates this conservative purity when Alfonso marries Leonor. When the king marries Leonor, he exclaims:

Pues si yo viera, Leonor,

a Troya en su libertad,

a Grecia en su gran valor,

a Roma en majestad,

a España en su antiguo honor;

aunque no hubiera en los dos

este lazo con que Dios

quiso juntarnos aquí,

no me pareciera a mí

lo menos que miro en vos (II 1061-1069).

More specifically, Lope signals the place of Toledo in the mythic genealogy created by Alfonso in these lines. When I utilize the term "mythic genealogy" in this context, I am recalling the way in which Marie Tanner employs the term to describe how both the Carolingian line and the Habsburgs envisioned their own reigns. Tanner explains in her book *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Habsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* how certain kings created mythic genealogies in order to reinforce the theory of the *translatio imperii*, where the emperors conceived of themselves as descendants of the great Classical empires, beginning with Troy and moving West. She writes:

> The emperor's Trojan ancestry was not neglected in the development of his Davidian kingship and in the later Middle Ages. Charlemagne's genealogical tree was extended beyond secular history to incorporate both Homer and Genesis. For it was the synthesis of these two divine heritages that constituted the mythic image of the medieval king. By consolidating these traditions, the emperor's pagan forbears were joined in a single root to the ancestors of Christ. In this way, wielding both Aaron's rod and Latinus' scepter, the ruling emperor was confirmed as the blood kin of Christ, the new Aeneas of the Christianized legend of Troy (Tanner 80).

Returning to Lope's play, from a Christian point of view, we can highlight how Alfonso explains his marriage to Leonor as the political union of Spain and England, and by extension the union of Troy, Greece Rome and Spain, following faithfully the political theory of the *translatio imperii* just explained. In my view, when Alfonso alludes to "España en su antiguo honor" he refers particularly to Toledo as one of the old capitals of Spain. We can say that Lope, as he did in the previous scene with the soldier, conceives of Toledo as the conservative Christian city, uniting it with the great capitals of Greco-Roman Antiquity.

Although Tanner explains how the theory of *translatio imperii* is for the most part a theory utilized by the Carolingian kings in the Middle Ages, Tanner also emphasizes how Philip II followed the traditions of these medieval and Biblical kings to represent himself as a New Solomon. It is in this relationship with Solomon where there appears a possible Jewish interpretation to the passage. Tanner analyzes the Davidic and Salomonic iconography used at Philip II's coronation to prove her point. On this iconography, as she points out, there lies the inscription: "As David, a true prophet before his death made Solomon king, so Caesar has his son crowned" (Tanner 134). In other words, both in this inscription and in Alfonso's monologue, we can see how the theory of *translatio imperii* conceives the relationship between empires as a teleology where Counter-Reformation Spain governed by Philip II from his Escorial is the culmination of conquering the West and denoting the Christian king Philip II as the universal ruler.

One could say that by uniting Biblical and Greco-Roman precepts in the *translatio imperii*, it presumes a more syncretic relationship between Judaism and Christianity rather than a conflictive one as we saw earlier in this chapter with the soldier. However, in my point of view, the relationship between Judaism and Christianity continued to be polemical even in this scene, if we take into account the eschatological reading of the passage relating to the propaganda of Philip II and his Escorial to the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. Tanner emphasizes how inside the Escorial there exists two kinds of temples represented iconographically. The first is the Temple of Solomon, constructed by the Jews in 1 Kings Chapters 6-8[6] while the second is the one constructed by Ezekiel with the help of a divine vision. In this second representation, Tanner

[6] There also exists versions of the construction of the Temple in 1 Chronicles 28:29 and 2 Chronicles 3.

indicates how the architects of the Escorial conceived the palace as a consummation of the Temple constructed by the Jews in Kings, following the biblical commentaries of Origen.

With this information about the figurative potential of the *translatio imperii* in mind, we can now return to Lope's play and the monologue of Alfons. We will see how Lope privileges the Christian reading once again over the Jewish one. In my point of view, both a Christian and a Jewish audience would recognize the presence of Solomon in the monologue. In the case of the Jews, they would only be able to recognize the fact that both Solomon and Ezekiel constructed temples in Jerusalem and not the typological significance of them as the Christians would. Nevertheless, if we examine the syntax of the monologue which begins with "Troya" and culminates with "España en su antiguo honor" one could read "España en su antiguo honor", that is to say, Toledo, as a culmination of the *translatio imperii*, in line with the political propaganda of the time. By interpreting this passage in this way, we see another example of how Lope Christianizes Jewish traditions and privileges Christianity over Judaism.

3.1.4. The Suspicious *Conversa* Configured in the Jewess Raquel

With these Christian readings imposed on the Jews in the first act in mind, this section will develop how Raquel, the Jewess of Toledo, mitigates and refigures the representation of Toledo and the conflict between Judaism and Christianity in Lope's comedia. More specifically, I propose in this section that the character of Raquel refigures both this religious opposition and the configuration of Toledo earlier in the play by way of a certain skepticism, which can be associated with a certain set of conversos living in Toledo during the 17th century. This argument is corroborated if we consider the dialogue between Raquel and her sister Sibila at the

beginning of the second act when Raquel discusses her status as Jewess in the Spanish state. Raquel reflects:

¿Es posible que te aguarda

aquella nave del norte?

¿Qué cosa habrá que reporte,

con una hermosa helada,

el gusto de quien la mira?

Oh talle, oh brío español!

No pica al nacer el sol,

ni al tiempo que se retira;

al mediodía parece

que tiene fuerza mayor.

En España vive amor;

su brío y gusto merece

que reine Venus en ella.

La Chipre que celebró

la antigüedad pienso yo

que llevó hermosuras della.

Yo Sibila, aunque no soy

cristiana, soy española,

que basta gracia sola."[…]

Es porque no la queremos.

Como vemos los cristianos

huir de la sangre nuestra,

¿de qué sirve darles nuestra

del brío en lengua ni en manos" (II 1125-1143, 1149-1152).

Critics have studied this part of the dialogue between Raquel and Sibila extensively. On the one hand, Swietlicki argues that this speech serves as an example of the dialogic vision that Lope maintains in a number of his works. The scholar writes that in the case of Raquel's first monologue:

> Lope lets Raquel speak with an authentic voice allowing her to reveal her own personality, warm, vivacious and intelligent. As she speaks with a mixed voice of a Spanish Jewess, she is not a second Cava but a believable character and a living example of the most positive extreme of convivencia. For Raquel, the cold English born queen Leonor, although a Christian can never be as Spanish as the Spanish Jewess (Swietlicki 216).

At the same time, while Favreau recognizes the possible dialogism that exists in this passage and the possible metaphorical relationship with Leonor that Swietlicki mentions, due to the romance that Raquel will begin with Alfonso, she cannot be integrated into Spanish Counter-Reformation society, conceived once again as a body politic. He writes: "Lope subraya la intrínseca asechanza del mal del judío al subrayar su ubicación dentro del cuerpo del Estado, y llevará la noción hasta el abismo cuando diseñe, más adelante, la velada relación sexual del rey y la judía" (367).

Although I agree to a certain extent with what Swietlicki and Favreau argue, I would like to add here a few additional points. Regarding Swietlicki's arguments, there is a certain dialogic vision being imagined in this passage. But this dialogism does not necessarily imply that Raquel is free. Rather, Raquel's declaration "aunque no soy cristiana, soy española" reflects the character's religious skepticism, a skepticism typical of the *conversos* as a group and the *conversos* in Toledo in particular. When I use the term "skepticism" in this context, I use it to name and three types of conversos described by David Gitlitz, all of whom possessed certain levels of doubt about their Christian identity given that, according to Gitlitz: "any manifestation of Crypto-Judaism was simultaneously an expression of skepticism, one that was, however, cloaked in hypocrisy." (Gitlitz 89). The first type, called "syncretic *conversos*" attempted to recognize aspects of both religions in an effort to reconcile the political division imposed by the limpieza de sangre statutes. The second group, called "vacillating conversos" alternated between the two religions by calling themselves Christians within certain social groups and Jews in others. According to Gitlitz, the vast majority of these *conversos*, were born Christian initially and later acknowledged their Crypto-Jewish status when they reached maturity. The third type

called themselves "skeptical conversos" or, in other words, those conversos who doubted philosophically the doctrines of both Judaism and Christianity.

If we reexamine the conversation between Raquel and Sibilia, we can see how Raquel and Sibila refigure certain virtues of all the types of conversos. For example, one could interpret Raquel's declaration: "Yo Sibila, aunque no soy Cristiana, soy española, que basta gracia sola" as a way of expressing religious syncretism insofar as by requesting the grace of God, she marks herself as a Christian in theological terms. Furthermore, the term "española" also lexicalizes her as a Christian in the Siglo de Oro. With that said, I don't believe Raquel reflects the same syncretism as Gitlitz describes it given that Gitlitz conceives of the term in theological and not political terms as Raquel does. If we analyze the first clause of that sentence "aunque no soy Cristiana" the "aunque", I would say, opens the doors for a syncretic political reading if not a religious one as Gitlitz would suggest, depending on how the audience wishes to read it.

Additionally, one could see a similar sort of political vacillation in Sibila's answer. As distinct from Raquel, who conceives of her Jewish status in political and sociological terms, we see in Sibila's answer how she conceives of her Jewish status in more theological terms.

En tu pensamiento estoy, que es a fe que no tenemos,

hebrea de nación,

de briosas opinión (1144-1147).

The way Lope uses the phrase "hebrea de nación" is quite suggestive. It alludes to the status of the Jews as the Chosen People of Yahweh, a trope we will see later developed in *La hermosa Ester.* In this sense, one could say that for a certain group of Toledan judeoconversos

viewing the performance, Sibila's words reflect a kind of theological oscillation, which contrasts with Raquel's words and announces her status as Jew in sociological terms. With that said, if we accept there exists a certain theological oscillation in these lines, I do not want to suggest Raquel or Sibila oscillate in their faith in the way Gitlitz describes, just that certain audience members may see in these lines a reflection of the way in which they approached their faith.

Taking this conversation between Raquel and Sibila into account, I would qualify Gitlitz's category of skeptical converso even further. Although I agree that to call oneself a converso implies a certain religious hypocrisy or doubt, I would say the kind of philosophical doubt Gitlitz describes is not present in this dialogue. In fact, when Raquel mentions that Christians "[huyen] de la sangre nuestra" she recognizes implicitly her social status as the Jewess of Toledo will define her as the "Other" throughout the play. It is for this reason I would call Raquel a "suspicious conversa" because this category can encapsulate all of the sociological terms mentioned by Gitlitz (the syncretic converso and the vacillating converso) and the philosophical categories (the skeptical converso). Ultimately, we can say that through this initial presentation of Raquel, Lope presents to his audience a more inclusive way of understanding the status of the *converso* in 17th century Toledo.

3.1.5. The Nymph of the Tajo: Toledo as a *locus amoenus* and the Destruction of the Body Politic

As the play continues, we come to realize that Raquel's presence forces Alfonso to reconsider his ability to rule, thus threatening the body politic established in the first act. At the same time, we can say that on the hermeneutic level, Raquel's presence forces the audience to reconsider the Christian hermeneutic imposed on them in the first act. We see the first

complication of this hermeneutic when Alfonso initially sees Raquel on the banks of the river Tajo:

Por aquí ven, pasa,

ansi te guarde, Gracerán, el cielo

y aumente las grandezas de tu casa.

¿No ves en los cristales, vuelta en hielo,

una ninfa del Tajo, que porfía

hacer del agua a todo el cuerpo un velo?

¿No ves del dulce Ovidio la poesía,

verdad en las riberas del Toledo

como él en las de Arcadia la fingía? (II 1232-1240)

We can deduce through this passage that Alfonso not only falls in love with Raquel but for the purposes of our argument, revalorizes the Jewish perspective for Old Christian and converso audiences. This elevation can be ascertained if we consider the degree to which Alfonso valorizes his sense of sight in his description of Raquel, which following the Neo-Platonic principles exposed by Marcelo Ficino, is the most valued human sense because it permitted human beings according to Frederick de Armas, to "represent ineffable ideas or complex concepts" (De Armas *Writing for the Eyes* 10-12). Using De Armas' description, when Alfonso privileges his sense of sight in describing the Jewess of Toledo, he paints a picture of her in his

mind as the Platonic Form of the ideal woman. Later on in this chapter, we will see how King Ahasuherus idealizes Ester using the same technique when he falls in love with her.

While valorizing the Jewess using Neo-Platonic principles, this passage also forces the king to doubt whether he can rule faithfully as the Christian king of Toledo. This argument is demonstrated most forcefully if we consider the pastoral metaphors Lope inserts into this passage in the context of the *rota virgilii*, a trope that Ernest Robert Curtius highlights as central to medieval rhetoric and emphasized by De Armas as essential to understanding the literary career of Cervantes.[7] Under this system, the poet first when he is young writes pastoral novels in a clear style, imitating the Bucholics of Virgil. Later in his career, when the poet has matured, he continues to compose pastoral novels or begins to write epics modeling Virgil's Georgics. Finally, when the poet has aged even more, he can culminate his career with an epic in an elevated style such as that used by Virgil in the *Aeneid.*

While De Armas specifically relates this concept of the Virgilian Wheel to Cervantes' literary career, we can also make the same claims about Lope de Vega during this period. As both Elizabeth Wright and Joaquin de Entrambasaguas have explored, when the capital was moved from Madrid to Valladolid between 1601 and 1606, Lope was still able to maintain a high literary profile participating in *Justas poéticas* in Toledo. One such *justa poética* was celebrated in honor of the birth of the future Philip IV in 1605 where Lope during a keynote address described himself as the "Spanish Virgil" to admonish the king for moving the capital to Valladolid.

[7] For more information about the relationship between medieval rhetoric and the *rota virgilii* see Ernest Robert Curtius *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* 54. In addition, De Armas explains how Cervantes with his *Galatea,* the first part of *Don Quijote* and *Persiles y Segismunda* follows the Virgilian Wheel as well. For more information, please see "Cervantes and the Virgilian Wheel" *European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance.* Eds: Frederick de Armas and Patrick Cheney.

Ni Octaviano César fuera Agusto,

Ni descendiera del troyano Eneas,

Si no hubiera a Virgilio honrado tanto,

Que aqueste es justo oficio del Poeta,

Y digno de las plumas de la fama (ctd. Wright 73).

In this speech, we see how Lope once again uses the metaphor of the *translatio imperii* through the references to Octavius Caesar and Eneas. However, instead of granting sole political power to the king and his court, he inverts the Virgilian Wheel claiming that it is only through the poet, in this case, Lope, that the king and his courtiers are able to maintain power.

As there is a reversion of the *translatio imperii* in favor of the poet in Lope's speech, I would argue that the references to "la ninfa del Tajo" and "al dulce Ovidio la poesía" there is a similar sort of metaphorical reversion on the Virigilian wheel to emphasize the youth-like qualities of King Alfonso. Additionally, instead of representing Toledo or, in this case, the "rio Tajo" as the border of a great imperial city and the culminating capital of the *translatio imperii*, here we see how Alfonso resituates the importance of the Rio Tajo within a pastoral context, given that the Tajo may also allude to the Río Tajo in Italy, a common *locus amoenus* found in the pastoral novels.[8] Instead of representing Toledo as the Catholic imperial city, Lope transforms that conservative Catholic space into a *locus amoenus* where a young king can fall in love with a Jewess. In conclusion, from the Greco-Roman and Old Christian point of view, these references also problematize the stability of Alfonso's kingdom, transforming Toledo into

[8] In fact, the most famous reference to the Río Tajo appears in Cervantes' *La Galatea* of 1585.

a *locus amoenus* similar to Arcadia, and transforming Alfonso himself into an "Ovidio español", the classical authority on matters of love for the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

3.1.6. The Melanocholy of Alfonso and Raquel: Humorial Theory vs. Converso Melancholy

Simultaneously, this political and aesthetic instability is not only expressed in Virgilian terms but, as we shall see in this section, Lope represents the disorder caused by Raquel using classical humorial theory, representing Alfonso as a king who suffers from melancholy due to an inbalance in his humors.

We see the effects of his melancholy when Alfonso leaves his palace at the end of the second act and laments about how he cannot express his love for Raquel due to his status as king of Castille:

El que tanta gloria goza

como en tus brazos espero

¿qué puede, Raquel, temer?

Perdioseme Gracerán

por volver por un gabán

viendo empezar a llover.

Es tan grande mi deseo,

que aguardarle no pudiera

un punto si me trujera

más riquezas que poseo.

Que terrible escuridad!

Que relámpagos y truenos!

Y están los cielos serenos

sobre la misma ciudad.

Solo en la huerta parece

que el cielo muestra su furia;

debe de ser que mi injuria

siente, riñe y aborrece.

Hablan las nubes tronando,

y rasgándose los cielos

mi amor tienen cielos,

y lloviendo están llorando.

Los relámpagos con fuego

muestran el que ya me espanta;

el viento el polvo levanta para decir que soy ciego.

Brama el Tajo por salir

a templar aqueste ardor;

pero no es fuego el amor con quien puede competir.

Tiemblan los árboles juntos,

sus hojas llaman Alfonso,

como el ultimo responso

que se dice a los difuntos.

Válgame el cielo! Otra nube

tan negra desciende allí…

Más ya se aparta de mí,

y por donde baja sube (1800-1835).

We see in this delusional dream of Alfonso various attributes of the melancholic king. First and foremost, he exhibits an excess of desire and sensibility when he begins with "es tan grande mi deseo." Second, when he declares that "otra nube negra desciende allí" it can refer to the humor, which causes melancholy, or according to classical humorial theory, black bile.

In addition to these concrete bodily references, what is more important for our purposes is how the representation of Toledo transforms as a result of Alfonso's melancholy. One can see from the very beginning a stark contrast between the passion which blinds the King and "los cielos serenos sobre la misma ciudad". As his lamentation continues, Alfonso transforms the

city around him, so that it reflects his melancholic state and his suffering. This argument is best demonstrated at the end when Alfonso declares: "otra nube desciende allí": Alfonso's bodily passions are so strong that the serene Toledo, which he governs and represents, has to change to reflect his torment.

As with other monologue examined in this chapter, the humoristic reading of Alfonso's vision can be refigured distinctly if read by Old Christians or judeoconversos. In the case of the Old Christians, they would consider Alfonso's love sickness not only problematic for how it impacts Toledo, but also would affect their reading of Raquel given that Classical humor theory is instrinsically related to theories of the devil during the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation. Mario Muchembled, in his History of the Devil, explains to us how during the Renaissance:

> …la naturaleza femenina pertenecía al lado oscuro de la obra del Creador, más próxima al diablo que la naturaleza del hombre, inspirada por Dios. No es posible comprender las descripciones medicas sin referirse a esta división explicativa. En términos históricos fundamentaba la superioridad masculina y explicaba la sujeción exigida a las mujeres en el conjunto de la sociedad. Pero los contemporáneos no habrían admitido esta idea. Para ellos, la mujer era inferior por naturaleza, es decir por voluntad divina" (Muchembled 100).

Taking this religious dimension of the humor theory into account, additional interpretations of Alfonso's vision arise if taken from the Old Christian perspective. First, in addition to the humorial reading of "es tan grande mi deseo", these lines would also hint at the inferiority of women in comparison to men, and, more importantly for our purposes, would also emphasize Raquel's demonic nature. In other words, as distinct from Alfonso, who as King of Castille is

inherently inspired and directed by God, Raquel is the diabolical woman who is condemned by God for being the woman who seduces Alfonso. Furthermore, insofar as Raquel is the "judía de Toledo" (a semantic field which will be discussed in a few moments), one could interpret Raquel and by extension everything that is Jewish as something diabolical, which has the potential to destroy Alfonso, and, by extension, his body politic.

At the same time, Alfonso's melancholy presents us with a possible converso counter-reading given that melancholy can also reflect the sadness of the conversos living in Spain during the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation. In the 15th and 16th centuries, many medical treatises associated melancholy with the condition of being Jewish. For example, Johannes Reuchlin in his *De verbo mirífico* (1494) associated Jews with Saturn, the Greco-Roman God of melancholy. Additionally, according to Roger Bartra, various authors of *converso* origin such as Mateo de Alemán in his *Guzmán del Alfarache* and Fernando de Rojas in his *Celestina* gave the sickness of melancholy to their Jewish characters. Given this proliferation of the relationship between melancholy and the converso status in other genres, I would think it very probable that a potential judeoconverso audience would refigure Alfonso's monologue as a reflection of their sadness as being like Abraham strangers in a strange land. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that only the Jewish character Levi uses the word "melancolia" explicitly to describe Alfonso's love sickness. He says to his father David:

Siempre los viejos soñáis

tragedias, melancolía

propia de la sangre fría

que a los espíritus dais (II 1749-1752).

3.1.7. Resolution or Martyrdom: The Death of Raquel

If we accept that Lope presents the Jew as a dramatic problem through the figure of Raquel, one question remains: "If *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* follows the Lopean structure where the first act presents the characters, the second the conflict and the third resolves the conflict, how does the third act resolve Lope's "Jewish problem"? In order to respond to this question, we now have to consider the impact of Leonor, a character we have largely ignored. When the Queen appears at the beginning of the third act, she immediately recognizes the threat Raquel could pose to the Spanish state.

Siete años ha que, encerrado

con aquella hebrea hermosa,

segunda Cava de España,

vive retirado a solas.

No se acuerda de si mismo

ni puede, ni acude a cosa

de su reino, de su vida,

de su fama y de su honra.

Raquel reina, Raquel tiene

de Castilla la corona,

da banderas a las armas

y a las letras nobles ropas.

Ella castiga, ella prende,

y ha sido tan rigurosa

que a vuestro Rey tiene preso

sin darle tan sola una hora

de libertad en siete años (III 1964-1980).

First, in my opinion, when Leonor describes Raquel as the "hebrea hermosa", these lines hint at a certain recognition of Raquel's influence over her husband, if we consider it in light of the distinctions made by Ruth Fine in the article mentioned in the introduction. In that piece, Fine distinguishes between three terms utilized frequently in the comedias and autos sacramentales of the Siglo de Oro to refer to Jews and Judaism. First, Counter Reformation audiences socially and theologically accepted the term "hebreo" because it referred to Jews as the chosen people of Yahweh. In contrast, the term "judío" was not theologically nor socially accepted since it referred to those Jews expelled from Spain in 1492. The contrast between these two terms appears most often in the autos sacramentales of Calderón where the allegorical characters of Hebraísmo and Judaísmo often appear.[9] The third denomination, converso or confeso has a similar connotation as Fine explains: "Una situación similar puede apuntarse respeto de la categoría de los conversos. También de modo en cierto sentido anacrónico, el distanciamiento respeto de la conversion se ve compensado en el ambito literario por la creciente

[9] See *El día mayor de los días* (1678) or *El nuevo hospicio de pobres* for examples of the presence of Hebraismo. For an example of the appeareance of Judaismo, please see *El nuevo palacio del retiro.* Also, for more information about this topic in the autos of Calderón, please see the study by Dominique Reyre *Lo hebreo en los autos sacramentales de Calderón.*

referencia al cristiano nuevo, hacia el cual se han desplazado las marcas funcionalmente degradantes que correspondían al judío" (Fine 440). Therefore, when Leonor uses "hebrea" instead of judía in this passage, she also acknowledges the power of the skepticism and melancholy from which her husband suffers, given the king, when he met Raquel earlier in the play also called her "hebrea" instead of "judía".

But at the same time, one could say that this lexical recognition is artificial, given the presence of the word "encerrado", which can also refer to the encarceration of Alfonso by Raquel earlier in the play. In fact, Leonor's entire explanation of Raquel's influence reminds us of the cave in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* insofar as Juanico Pasamontes is encarercated so that the Jews can assassinate imitating *Ecce Homo*. Leonor also fears that the "judía Raquel" will kill the Castillian body politic, represented by the Body of the King, through her clandestine affair with Alfonso. In order to restore Christian order and expel all Jewish traces from the kingdom, she instructs Belardo and Ilan to break into Raquel's house and assassinate her. Ilan declare as he enters Raquel's house:

Entrad, hidalgos,

y muera la Circe que el Rey cautiva,

y la hechicera Medea! (2408-2410).

Recently, Javier Lorenzo has interpreted Raquel's death utilizing Rene Girard's theory of the scapegoat. Lorenzo writes:

> La ejecución de la judía a manos de la reina Leonor y los nobles castellanos en el acto tercero tiene, como discutiré en estas páginas, el mismo efecto regenerativo sobre el corpus político que el filosofo y critico literario Rene Girard atribuye a la inmolación del chivo expiatorio en los mitos y rituales de diversas religiones: supresión de tensiones internas en el seno de un grupo y afianzamiento de las diferencias religiosas y etnicas que definen la identidad del mismo. En efecto, la muerte de Raquel en el texto de Lope, permite, por un lado, la reconciliación matrimonial de los monarcas (como indica el propio titulo de la obra) y por otro, el relanzamiento de la política de guerra santa y sangre limpia que define la identidad del reino de Castilla (Lorenzo 316-317).

At first glance, Lorenzo's reading is suggestive beause it takes into account, utilizing Girard's theory, the martyriological dimension of Raquel's death. However, from my point of view, this issue is far more complex, given one can interpret Raquel's assassination and Elan's subsequent monologue from a variety of religious perspectives. From the Old Christian, and in this case, Pagan perspective, the reading would be rather straightforward. All of the women who Ilan refers to: Circe, Medea, and later on Helen, were women who almost destroyed their respective nations due to clandestine affairs In this sense, we can say that Circe, Medea and Helen form a referential trinity, fighting symbolically against the figure of Raquel, with the intention of permanently expelling her from the Spanish nation and restoring order.

But at the same time, from a Jewish perspective, Raquel's death could configure a kind of Jewish martyrdom. This has its roots in the Middle Ages and particularly in the Halacha, or the rabbinical commentaries found in the Talmud. In particular, one section of that book teaches Jews that is better to die with the teachings of Yahweh instead of refusing to recognize them (Goldin 69). A group of Jews in Late Antiquity utilized these teachings to justify their own

martyrdoms for the Jewish faith. In the same sense, one could read Raquel's death as martyrdom in the medieval sense. When she dies, she maintains her marginal status as the "judía de Toledo" instead of being incorporated as a conversa. In this way, Raquel could serve as a model for those radical Jews who want to maintain their faith even while not being accepted in Early Modern Spain.

Yet a question arises if we accept this martyriological reading of Raquel's death. If martyrdom depends on the open and public declaration of Christian or Jewish faith then is there such a declaration in *Las paces de los reyes?* As we shall see now, it is Alfonso himself who, in his defense of his Raquel in the Toledo Cathedral, fulfills this function for Lope's audience. Let's consider the following monologue:

Raquel hermosa, más que el cielo clara,

yo moriré muy presto: aguarda, espera.

Parece que me escucha y que se para.

Ya pensarás que de tu muerte fiera

no he de tomar venganza; espera un poco,

que no ha de quedar hombre que no muera.

Dichoso yo si me volviese loco!

Señor valedme, que me voy perdiendo

mientras que más en mis desdichas toco.

Parceme que estoy a Raquel viendo,

que, abierto el pecho muere con mi nombre.

No me culpes, mi bien, pues no te ofendo.

No ha de quedar de todos vivo un hombre.

Blasco muera el primero, y Illán luego,

de muerte tan cruel que a España asombre;

Beltrán de Rojas arderá en un fuego,

y aun este Garcerán me ha parecido

que no está libre. A que locuras llegó!

Aguarda, hermoso espíritu, vestido

del resplandor y del hermoso cielo;

desnudo quede amor, su cifra y nido

o llévame contigo deste suelo

teñido de tu sangre, que en cualquiera

parte que estés la quiero por cielo.

Qué luz es ésta? Si es Raquel? Espera! (2595-2619).

It is interesting to see how the Toledo Cathedral is used distinctly in this play in comparison to other dramas we have seen. In *La comedia de Bamba* and *El Niño Inoncente de la Guardia,* the

Toledo Cathedral is used a space where Christians can explore the veracity of their Christian faith. In the case of *La comedia de Bamba,* spectators are overwhelmed by the majesty of the Christian figures presented to them. In *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia,* the Ciega goes through a process of divine illumination such that her Christian vision is restored. While Alfonso does undergo a similar transformation insofar as he is cured from the melancholy that is ailing him, I would claim that Judaism is more recognized here than in other places in Lope's Toledan corpus. More specifically, this monologue is one of the best examples of what Swietlicki calls "the dialogic vision" of Lope, or what I would call "the dialectic relationship" which exists between Judaism and Christianity in these Toledan comedias. On the one hand, we can claim that there is a certain dialogic quality to the passage given that a Christian king is lamenting the loss of the Jewess Raquel, expressing feelings that she is incapable of expressing. From an Old Christian perspective, these feelings would simply be another effect of his melancholy, but I would add that through the repetition of the palabra "espera", there is a certain transcendental quality implied typical for martyrs. In other words, through "espera," Alfonso may be announcing Raquel's martyrdom for the audience.

With that said, in addition to the dialogic and transcendental qualities of this speech, I also believe by the comedia's end the relationship between Judaism and Christianity remains a polemical one given the arrival of the Angel after Alfonso's monologue. As distinct from the allegorical characters Razón y Entendimiento who arrive at the conclusion of *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia,* this Angel arrives to chastise and punish Alfonso for offending the Christian God by having an affair with the Jewess Raquel. In the end, the most suggestive lines come when Alfonso says to Garcerán.

Haz cuenta que a Pablo ves

Derribando del caballo (III 2655-2656)

In other words, as Saul converts to St. Paul when he falls from his horse after seeing Jesus, Alfonso, through this reference to Acts, performs his own conversion from a king afflicted by a Jewish sickness (configured in the character of Raquel) to a proper Christian king.[10] With these lines, according to the Old Christian perspective, Alfonso can become a proper Christian king and transform himself into a sort of St. Paul for all Christians, ie: teach doctrine to those who might stray away from the Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, from a *converso* perspective, this line is more suggestive because it can model the proper way for a Jew to convert to Christianity post 1391. In this sense, it is Alfonso (and not Raquel as some critics such as Faverón Patriau would claim) who performs Judaism through his conversion at the end of the play.

3.2.1. Ester as Crypto-Jew: Alternating Hermeneutics in Lope de Vega's La hermosa Ester (1610)

While it can be argued that there are crypto-narrations in *Las paces de los reyes* which hint at potential Jewish readings, I recognize that in essence, *Las paces de los reyes* is structured so that the Jewish problem, configured in Raquel, is resolved at the end of the play. However, as we shall see in this section, in the case of *La hermosa Ester,* the Jewish problem is solved in a potentially more uncomfortable way for Christian audiences for not only is Esther, as we shall see, accepted into Ahashuerus' court, but Lope utilizes what I will call an "alternating

[10] In fact, it is interesting to note that there remains a comedia attributed to Lope called *El vaso de elección San Pablo* which expands upon this idea of Pauline conversion. However, since it is considered by critics to be a *comedia apocrifa,* I have decided to limit my dissertation to those comedias that have been designated by critics as being definitely by Lope.

hermeneutics" which permit him to privilege certain Jewish readings over Christian ones.

When considering Lope de Vega's *La hermosa Ester,* one of the most studied of Lope de Vega's biblical *comedias*, critics have focused on four key issues. Initially scholars such as Elaine Canning and Edward Glaser have explored the relationship between Lope's *comedia* and its various Biblical sources[11] (that is, the story told in the Apocryphal Book of Esther in the Hebrew Bible and the Greek deuterocanonical version of the story)[12] Others, such as A.A. Sicroff, German Vega García Luengos and Pilar Concejo, have performed comparative studies between Lope's drama and other comedias with similar themes. Lastly, there are those who have used both queer theory and semiotic approaches to analyze the role of Esther in both Lope's *comedia* and various Biblical versions of the story. [13]

However, for our purposes, the most important question considered by Golden Age critics in relation to this comedia is whether Lope represents the Persian Jews, central to the Biblical story, in an overtly anti-Semitic fashion. For example, Sicroff believes that the mere choice of the Book of Esther as the source of his first biblical comedia and the manner in which Lope adapts the tale to the stage raises doubts about the stance taken by critics that Lope was indeed an Anti-Semite.

El hecho mismo de escoger la historia bíblica del Libro de Ester hace dudosa la idea de

[11] Both Glaser and Canning believe that Lope relied far more on the Greek additions to the Esther story than the apocryphal version from the Hebrew Bible. However, Glaser's most notable contribution in my view is not his glosses of the Biblical source material but rather his discussion of the mariological aspects of Esther's character. For more information, see Canning and Glaser.

[12] In his *Introduction to the Apocrypha,* Bruce Metzger explains what distinguishes the Greek version of the Esther story from the Hebrew version is the inclusion of "six additions" which include references to God. It is due to these references that critics generally agree that Lope preferred the Greek version to the Hebrew one and utilized it as important source material for his comedic adaptation.

[13] On the one hand, Diane Sacks in her book *Breaking the Silence: An Archetypical and Feminist Analysis of La hermosa Ester and La mal casada* examines the figure of Esther using as her point of departure queer theories developed by Eve Sedgwick, Michel Foucault and Jacques Lacan. On the other, María del Carmen Artiga analyzes Esther using semiotic approaches.

> un Lope conformista respeto al anti-semetismo de sus contemporáneos. Es inconcebible que un Lope antisemita–en cualquier grado que lo fuera–se propusiera dramatizar el máximo triunfo que conoció el pueblo israelita en el Antiguo Testamento contra sus perseguidores. Resulta, además, que Lope no se limitó a presentar una comedia cuyo desenlace reflejara sencillamente lo que leemos en Ester sino que introdujo detalles de su propia invención (Sicroff 7).

Using these considerations as the point of departure, I would propose in this section that critics have ignored a series of questions necessary to consider when analyzing *La hermosa Ester*. These questions can be divided into four groups. The first group is taxonomical in nature and deals with whether Golden Age Spanish dramatists and their audiences considered the Bible to be a compendium of historical facts or a work of fiction which dramatists such as Lope could adapt. Patricia Festini, in her book on the Biblical comedias of Calderón, discusses various problems critics of the Siglo de Oro have had in finding a precise name for these comedias due to this tension during the Counter Reformation. Nineteenth century critics, such as Juan Eugenio de Hartzenbuch, called these comedias "historical" because they contained stories not invented by the author. In the twentieth century, there appeared other names such as "comedias de tema religioso" to refer to certain types of works (thanks to Menéndez Pelayo in his 1910 book). In 1967, Francisco Ruiz Ramón classified them as "biblical dramas". In light of the categories presented, the following questions arise: First, can we apply this same nomenclature, utilized frequently by critics of Calderón to Lope's biblical comedias and *La hermosa Ester* in particular? Second, can we say that Lope considers the Bible to be a historical document or a fictional narrative source? Third and most importantly, can we consider *La hermosa Ester* to be a mere recapitulation of Old Testament events retold in dramatic form, as Menéndez Pelayo proposes, or does Lope change the Biblical story in some way? In other words, how does Lope manipulate Biblical tropes present in the Book of Esther to enrich his comedia?

Secondly, a series of chronological and biographical questions also arise. According to Menéndez Pelayo, Lope finished *La hermosa Ester* April 6, 1610 and published it as part of the XV Parte of his *Comedias in* 1621, and is a work which reflects: "un entuasiasmo por la ley Antigua, una penetración tan Honda del tenacismo y perseverante espíritu hebreo, de su constancia en la persecución y en el martirio, que verdaderamente maravilla en poeta de la suya" (Menendez Pelayo 179). At the same time*, La hermosa Ester* is not only considered Lope's first biblical comedia but also the first in a series of theatrical reinterpretations of the Esther story in the 16th and 17th centuries. Taking this information into account, we can formulate the following questions: why does Lope choose the Esther story as the source for his first biblical comedia? Is it only due to his "amor por la Ley Antigua" as Menendez Pelayo would claim or are there other reasons? Also, it is worthwhile to mention that similar to comedias such as *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*, *La hermosa Ester* was written while Lope was living in Toledo working as a secretary for the Duke of Sessa. In these other works, Toledo serves as a powerful symbol of conservatism and Christian superiority over Judaism. Can we say that Toledo serves that same function in *La hermosa Ester*?

Finally, there are a series of questions related to the representation and reception of Lope's comedia. The Siglo de Oro comedia formed a central part of the Baroque theatrical festival where all levels of society participated. For this reason, we can assume that a diverse number of audiences saw *La hermosa Ester* in 1610. This diversity was not only social in nature, but I would claim, religious as well. Toledo was well known as being a particularly diverse cultural and religious center during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recognizing the social and religious diversity of Toledo during the Baroque Period, this chapter will also consider the following questions: How do the configurations of Esther, Mordechai and King Ahasuerus

comment on the status of Jews in the Early Modern Period? How do these representations or configurations compare to other configurations found in other comedias written during the same period? Finally and most importantly, how would a cristiano viejo interpret or refigure certain passages distinctly from a judeoconverso or a Crypto-Jew?

I would like to propose one should interpret *La hermosa Ester* from both an Old Christian and a Cripto-Jewish perspective. More specifically, if we consider the play from a Crypto-Jewish perspective, it is possible to interpret it as a theatrical converso lament where Queen Ester configures certain qualities of the Crypto-Jews viewing the performance. Furthermore, in contrast to *Las paces de los reyes*, Lope utilizes what I will call a alternating hermeneutics which privileges Jewish readings over Christian ones. To prove this thesis, I will analyze the semantic fields that Lope creates to configure Esther as a typical Crypto-Jew of his time. Finally, I will reflect on how Lope manipulates certain tropes common to both the Bible and Siglo de Oro comedias, such as beauty, pride and humility to offer his audience a Jewish reading of the Bible which treats Old Testament events as culminations of New Testament ones.

La hermosa Ester is not only considered one of the first biblical comedias in the history of Siglo de Oro theater, but also the first in a long series of works which focus on the Jewish queen of Persia. First, there are the series of works, which represent Esther as a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary. These include: *El codice de autos viejos* (1550-1575) and *La reina Ester* of Solomon Usque (1558). Furthermore, *converso* dramatist Felipe Godinez also took an interest to the tale writing *La reyna Ester* (1613), *Amán y Mardoqueo* (1653) and *el auto del rey asuero quando descompuso a Basti, el Auto del Rey Asuero quando ahorco a Aman*. Joan Pinto Delgado's also published a series of poems based on Esther entitled *poema de la reina Ester en sexta rima* in 1627. Outside of Spain, Jean Racine wrote a version of the Esther story in 1689

and David Cohen de Larra published in 1699 *La comedia famosa de Amán y Mardochay* in Italy and Amsterdam.

The Lopean version begins with the abdication of Queen Vashti after she disobeys a direct order from King Ahasuerus to appear at the King's banquet. As a result of this dismissal, the King becomes melancholic and decides to hold a contest to select a new queen. Among the women who come is Esther. Under the advisement of her uncle Mordecai, she decides to hide her Jewish identity and becomes queen of Persia. Simultaneously, the chief adviser of King Ahasuerus, Haman, decides to exterminate all Jews living in Persia, since he is obsessed with purity of blood.

The second act underlines the important role played by Mordecai in the comedia, as he offers the audience an apocalyptic prophecy prefiguring the victory of the Jews over Haman and the Persians. Also, Mordecai persuades Queen Esther to defend Jewish interests at court. The third act focuses on these efforts, and, in particular, a feast where Esther confesses she herself is a Jew, asking the King to halt the extermination of her people. Due to the "hermosura" that Esther possesses in the King's eyes, King Ahasuerus decides to kill Haman instead of the Jews and declares Mordecai his new adviser. During the banquet, a Chorus also sings a melody designed to teach the audience about the dangers of pride, using the myth of the Tower of Babel as the chief parable.

Critics have debated extensively about the specific sources of Lope's *comedia.* According to Menéndez Pelayo, the only source Lope used to write the play was the Hebrew Bible's version of the Book of Esther (or what he calls the protocanonical version of the story). Others, such as Jack Weiner and Glaser, believe that Lope also used Josephus' Jewish Antiquities as an

important source. However, the textual source accepted by critics is the Vulgate, the Bible written by Saint Jerome in the fourth century, which later formed a quintessential part of the Catholic biblical canon when the Council of Trent included it in the accepted canon, along with six "additions" derived from the Greek Bible written in the second century AD. For the most part, critics have posited that *La hermosa Ester* was performed in 1610 as a response to the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain a year earlier and the arrival of Portuguese conversos into Spain. Furthermore, Elizabeth Wright has proposed that *La hermosa Ester* was performed in front of Philip III and his court and thus should be read as a reflection of court intrigue.

I would like to propose in the following pages that it was not only these historical events which influenced Lope's drama but also that his stay in Toledo between 1604-1610 also served an important role. Although there are no explicit references to Toledo in *La hermosa Ester* (as we see in *Las paces de los reyes*), if we understand Toledo as a semantic field alluding to Lope's Christian conservatism, the fact that Toledo is not present is significant, insofar as Toledo's silence in the play allows the converso lament to be heard more strongly by audiences.

3.2.2. The Jewish Orphan: Esther as Crypto-Jew

The first series of signs that can be read from a semiotic point of view relate to Esther, the drama's protagonist, and a character who reflects and comments upon the Crypto-Jewish condition in Toledo during the Baroque Period. We see this preoccupation in her first monologue to Mordecai:

No siento tanto el duro cautiverio,

amado mío, aunque sentirle es justo,

ni el ver a nuestro pueblo en vituperio,

pues fue a su Dios ingrato por su gusto...

como el ver que me voy quedando sola

entre enemigos de mi pueblo hebreo,

que el mar de mi tristeza de ola en ola

me lleva al golfo en que morir me veo.

Tú donde el oro puro me acrisola

de las virtudes que limitar deseo,

en tanto mal me sirven de coluna

al peso del rigor de mi fortuna!

Murió mi padre y tu querido hermano!

Qué amparo puede haber ya que me cuadre,

en duro cautiverio del persiano,

si no es tenerte por mi asilo y padre?

Perdí mi bien para mi mal temprano

en los consejos santos de mi madre:

huérfana estoy, pero decir no puedo

que donde quedas tú, huérfana quedo (110).

On the one hand, if we interpret this first monologue from an Old Christian point of view, one could say that Esther reflects certain aspects of the character of Esther found in the Vulgate of St. Jerome. First, as in the Vulgate, Esther appears as an orphan who needs the care of her uncle Mordecai. Secondly, as in the Greek additions to the Vulgate approved by the Council of Trent, God appears prominently in the monologue. However, if we read more carefully, we could also say that Esther sheds light on a possible crypto-Jewish reading of the passage, which supersedes the Christian one.

First, we could consider Esther's status as "huérfana" in light of Gitlitz's remarks about how the limpieza de sangre laws defined Jews based on the religious beliefs of their mothers. Second, the appearance of the term "hebreo" is noteworthy especially if we consider it in light of the terminological distinctions Fine mentions that we developed earlier in the chapter. The fact that Esther refers to herself as "hebreo de nación" insinuates a certain theological acceptance of Jews on the part of Esther and perhaps by Lope as well.

At the same time, one could also say that through this monologue, Esther begins to become aware of her own theatricality. In other words, as is the case with the Crypto-Jews, Esther will need to hide her true religious identity in order to survive not only as Queen of Persia later in the comedia but also as a Jew in a society of pagans who wish to exterminate her. The significance of this point becomes clear if we consider the philosophical underpinnings of the word "fortuna" in the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation. Anthony Cascardi, in his study of *la vida es sueño*, discusses how human beings were considered inherently susceptible to illusion, or forces outside of our control that human beings try to manage as best they can. The

Renaissance conception of illusion is expressed textually and metaphorically most often through the word "fortuna." In Calderón's plays, illusion is a dangerous force because it causes an inblance in a person's emotions, which causes characters like Segismundo to be controlled by their passions instead of by reason. Similarly, it also causes characters such as King Basilio to attempt to control fortuna through his knowledge of astrology and science.

We see a similar conception of fortune in this passage from *La hermosa Ester* but with slightly different overtones. Instead of condemning fortune as something dangerous, Esther is resigned to the fact that fortune will control her as a Jewess in Persia. Another theatrical or Crypto-Jewish characteristic present in Esther's character is her humility, which she demonstrates to King Ahasuerus when she presents herself at the King's beauty pageant.

Mi humildad, poderoso rey Asuero,

no es digna de besar tu rico estrado;

mas la obediencia por quien ser espero

admitida en tus ojos, me ha forzado

a osar ponerme en tu real presencia,

que el mejor sacrificio es la obediencia.

Supe tu intento y ofrecí mi vida

y sangre a tu remedio, aunque temiendo mi indignidad, (115)

As with Esther's first monologue, Lope presents his audience both with an Old Christian

and Jewish reading to this passage. From an Old Christian point of view, the fact that Esther exhibits humility and obedience to the King could refer to a typology common in the Siglo de Oro that relates Esther to the Virgin Mary. Glaser, in his article about the Mariological aspects of Lope's play offers the following opinion on the passage:

> By a number of touches, Lope [through this monologue] changes radically the feature of the Biblical figure. The latter, at best an indifferent adherent to Judaism, who raises no objection to concealing her religion or to marrying a Gentile, is transformed into the model servant of the Eternal. Fittingly, the protasis ends with an exclamation that underscores Esther's power of salvation (Glaser 321).

Furthermore, one could interpret the lines "supe tu intento y ofrecí mi vida y sangre a tu remedio" in sexual terms, if one follows the reading of the Biblical story offered by Eve Sedgwick and the queer reading of Lope's play by Sacks. When Esther says she will offer her life and blood to King Ahasuerus, this implies she will offer her body so the King's melancholy can be remedied.

Taking these critical positions as my point of departure, I would like to propose there is another reading that should be taken into account, which relates Esther's crypto-Jewish status to her relationship with King Ahasuerus. When we refigure the lines "el mejor sacrificio es la obediencia" from a Crypto-Jewish perspective, these words could reflect the obedience that Crypto-Jews must demonstrate to survive in Counter-Reformation Spain. At the same time, we could offer a similar reading of the lines "ofrecí mi vida y sangre a tu remedio." However, in this case, the line would comment upon the skepticism towards their religious beliefs that marks their identity as Crypto-Jews, given that blood serves as a metaphor for religious and sexual identity in the Spanish Golden Age.

Perhaps an even more important semantic field, which arises from this passage, which

relates to the possible Crypto-Judaic status of Esther and Lope's view regarding Crypto-Judaism, is the line "mas la obediencia por quien ser espero admitida en tus ojos." Read from a Crypto-Jewish point of view, we can see how Esther manipulates the Neoplatonic system of love developed originally by Plotinus and elaborated by Ficino. On the one hand, As Alfonso does with Raquel in *Las paces de los reyes*, Ahasuerus privileges his sense of sight to paint an idealized picture of the Jewess Esther. But if we consider Esther as a configuration of the Crypto-Jew, her petition to become Queen of Persia manipulates the Neoplatonic conception of love since what the King actually sees is not a pure Christian woman in Neoplatonic terms but rather a Jew masquerading as a Christian. This implication of Esther's theatrical identity is seen later when the King refers back to Neoplatonic philosophy in his response to Esther:

Por el supremo Dios que rige el suelo,

hermosísima Ester, que no pensara

que se pudiera hallar fuera del cielo

de hermosura y de luz fénix tan rara;

das de mirarte consuelo,

toda memoria en tu belleza para;

que cual huye del sol la noche oscura (116).

In my view, when King Ahasuerus alludes to Esther's "belleza pura" and her "hermosura", he creates a semantic field, reconfiguring the identity of Esther as a Crypto-Jew and refashions her as the prime example of the good Christian woman, representative of God on

Earth. Instead of being an "Other" in the play, as the Jewess Raquel appears in *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*, when this King utilizes Neoplatonic language to describe Esther's beauty, it represents an acceptance of Esther within the Persian/Christian society.

3.2.3. In a State of Permanent Exile: Esther as a Diasporic Figure

In addition to her Crypto-Jewish qualities, there is another discourse prevalent in the play establishing Esther as a diasporic figure. If we return to Esther's first monologue and examine the connotations surrounding the term "cautiverio," we can see Esther as a character who suffers in a state of permanent exile, a term which carries connotations that derive from the Hebrew Bible but also could speak to a potential Crypto-Jewish audience. In *Enduring Exile: The Metaphorization of Exile in the Hebrew Bible*, Martien A. Halvorson-Taylor analyzes the Books of Jeremiah, Isaiah and Zechariah finding two opposing historiographic traditions present in those Books. First, there is the vision of finite exile, which derives from Jeremiah's prophecy that the Babylonian Captivity is finite ending in 70 years. The second is the vision of permanent exile, which originates principally from the Books of Ezra and Second Isiah and proposes the Hebrews continue to be slaves even after the construction of the Second Temple. Halvorson-Taylor affirms in respect to Ezra's vision of permanent exile:

> Ezra expresses both the idea that exile is, in essence, slavery, (as it is described too in Second Isaiah) and the idea that exile has continued. This Israel can still be in exile even though the people have returned to the land that Yahweh promised to their ancestors. In the exodus typology that informs Second Isaiah's account of the return, Yahweh rescued Israel from slavery from Egypt and established them in Canaan, where they would serve him alone. But in Ezra's view, even after the return to Judah, Israel has not been released from servitude to foreign powers (Halvorson-Taylor 7).

Taking into account these visions of history, we could interpret the word "cautiverio" in Esther's first monologue as an announcement to the audience that, similar to the Biblical Jews of

Ezra, Esther lives in a state of permanent exile. In my view, Esther demonstrates the permanence of her exiled status textually since there is no reference in this passage nor in the drama as a whole to a particular number of years defining Esther's captivity. Instead, there only appear references to the "duro cautiverio" or "nuestro pueblo en vituperio". At the same time, we could say something similar regarding the status of the Crypto-Jews who are possibly in the audience. As Esther in her opening monologue, the Crypto-Jews do not have the opportunity to live legally as Jews in Counter Reformation Spain.

Furthermore, although there are no explicit references to Jeremiah's prophecy in the passage, both Jeremiah and Esther utilize the term "cautiverio" to describe their own exiles and their statuses as prophets of the Jewish people. In this sense, the question arises: "Can we say that Esther serves as a prophet for the Crypto-Jews possibly viewing this production in 1610?" Perhaps one of the most noteworthy examples in the text of the prophetic dimension of Esther's character comes after her introductory monologue when she explains to Mordecai:

Alto y soberano Dios

que del rebelde gitano

y de la robusta mano que quiso oponerse a vos

sacastes del pueblo vuestro

libre de tanto rigor

mostrando poder y amor

al bien y remedio nuestro

vos por quien iba seguro

por tanta mar desigual

en canceles de cristal

que le sirvieron de muro;

vos que en áspero desierto

el blanco maná le distes

con que la compaña hicistes

de nieve del cielo puerto

vos, que le distes victorias,

donde para siempre están en las piedras del Jordan

los libros de sus memorias

y vos, que para castigo de sus idolatras pechos

habéis postrado sus hechos,/a los pies de su enemigo,

y humillado al cautiverio,

las cervices levantadas,

con sus heroicas espadas

ganaron tan grande imperio,

Cuando os habéis de doler de aquellos mismos que amastes a sufrir y padecer?

Cuando volverá, Señor, vuestro pueblo a libertad?

Cuando a la santa ciudad/a vuestra gloria y honor?

Cuando a vuestro sacro templo/ y al alcázar de Sión,

para dar desta prisión

a la sucesión ejemplo?

Doleos señor, de mí,

aunque la minima soy

de cautiverio en que estoy (112-113).

As in her earlier monologue, Esther presents herself as a Jew in captivity, using the term "cautiverio" at the end of the speech. But at the same time, with the references to the "piedras de Jordan" "los libros de sus memorias" and "para castigo de sus idolatras pechos" one can also see a strong prophetic agenda in this passage. This can be seen if we consider these lines in the context of the typology of Moses as Lawgiver, a trope present in many medieval, Renaissance and Baroque biblical sources. For our purposes, we will use *The Biblia Pauperum,* a series of biblical commentaries etched in stone, which were popular between the 13th and the 15th centuries and known in the Baroque Period. In an article about the Biblia Pauperum, Tarold Rasmussen points to a few common features of these commentaries. First, in addition to the use of wood for their construction, there also existed an intimate relationship between text and image in these Bibles given the commentators often included images of the biblical scenes they

described in writing. Second, and more importantly, the *Biblia Pauperum* employed a prefigurative hermeneutics to the Bible. In other words, they conceived of the New Testament as the culmination of events that transpired earlier in the Old Testament. A typology central to this exegetical system is the concept of *ante legem* and *sub lege*, or before and under the Law of Moses (what Baroque dramatists would later call "la ley hebrea" following the Augustinian and Neothomist paradigms of the Three Ages of Man). In an analysis of a page in a *Biblia Pauperum* of 1450, Rasmussen offers the following reading of a picture depicting Moses:

> The Moses episode, on the other hand, is interpreted in terms of allegorical hermeneutics: 'rubus ardens... significat beatam virginem. Here the text of the legio does not speak of the figura pointing toward a fulfillment in Christ, but of a Signum, pointing to a different meaning in addition to the meaning the episode has within its Old Testament context (Rasmussen 82).

The double hermeneutic which Rasmussen offers in the context of the *Biblia Pauperum* can also be applied to Esther's words to Mordecai. We see, in my view, an intellectual conflict expressed textually between Christian exegetical practices and Jewish readings of the passage. Beginning with the Jewish reading, we are confronted with the words "alto y soberano Dios," words that allude to Yahweh, a God who protects and governs his Chosen People instead of promising them salvation after death as the Christian God does (or at least the way Jesus perceives him in his Sermon on the Mount). Secondly, the references to the "áspero desierto" and "el blanco maná le distes" guide us to episodes in Exodus where Moses led the Israelites toward the Promised Land. Thirdly, the allusion to the "libro de memorias" could refer to the Ten Commandments that established the Age of Written Law on the one hand, or it could refer to the Torah, which Moses compiles in Deuteronomy.

Within the context of Lope's play, these Biblical references shed light on a series of

readings. On the one hand, the allusions could serve as a metaphor for the state of punishment that Esther refers to earlier in the monologue and that defines the status both of the Jews within Persia within the context of the play and also the Crypto-Jews possibly viewing the production during the Spanish Counter-Reformation. On the other hand, these references could also force audience members to relate Esther to the Mosaic traditions, that is to say, the references could pave the way for Esther to become a prophet for the Jewish people.

In contrast, when Esther refers to the "castigo de sus idolatras pechos," we can see how Christian hermeneutics conflicts with the Jewish reading established earlier. While these lines could refer to the sin of idolatry espoused in Exodus 32:4, Rasmussen offers a Christian reading using once again the Biblia Pauperum of 1450: "On the third double page (e and f) to the left is the central theme of the flight to Egypt and is accompanied on the right side by a page with a titulus: 'In the presence of Christ the idols suddenly fall down" (86). Although this Christological reading of the story of the Golden Calf does not appear in the Synoptic Gospels, it does appear in certain Medieval Gospels such as the Pseudo-Matthew or as it was called then, the liber de infantia, a text perhaps Lope and his Old Christian audience would have read.

Taking these arguments into account, the question arises: does Lope privilege one reading over another? In other words, should we read the figure of Esther from a Christological lens or as a prophet for the Jewish people? Perhaps the answer comes if we consider the line "Cuándo volverá, Señor, vuestro pueblo a libertad?" within a prophetic context. Although the text demonstrates in other moments that Esther lives in a state of permanent exile, here we see how Esther begins to act as a prophet for her people, asking God to save the Jews from their captivity. In this sense, Esther transforms into another type of prophet, a prophet akin to Jeremiah who believes exile is not permanent. If we interpret the line in this way, Lope does

privileges the Jewish point of view offering Jews a path towards salvation.

3.2.4. The Victory of the Humble over the Strong: The Apocalyptic Vision of Mordecai

However, it is not only through Esther and her prophecies and actions on stage by which Lope communicates a possible crypto-Jewish message. Perhaps the most prophetic character in the play is Mordecai, who tells Isaac about the following dream at the beginning of the second act:

Tieneme un sueño Isaac, tieneme un sueño de confusión...

Por sobrenatural le temo y siento,

yo vi romperse el cielo por mil partes

con horrisonos truenos, y hacer guerra

uno con otros dos dragones fieros

a cuya confusión vi que salían

dos ejércitos fuertes a batalla

campal contra los justos inocentes,

los cuales, viendo la tragedia tristes

de sus amadas vidas, con mil lagrimas

pidiendo estaban su remedio al cielo.

Entonces, una humilde fuentecilla

iba saliendo con pequeña fuerza,

pero creció de suerte, que extendiendo

las márgenes floridas con las aguas,

se vino a hacer un cadaloso río;

el sol salió con mil hermosos rayos,

y dándoles mil géneros de muertes,

los humildes vencieron a los fuertes (116-117).

As with other passages in the text, Mordecai's prophetic dream can be interpreted from both a Old Christian and a Jewish perspective. According to the Christian tradition, the prophetic dream, or the prophetic vision, occupies a central place in Neoplatonic and Augustinian epistemology. In *The City of God,* Saint Augustine develops a theory of knowledge that distinguishes three types of visions: corporal, spiritual and intellectual visions. It is interesting to note how Saint Augustine privileges prophecy as the highest type of intellectual vision, using as his prime example Jacob's prophecy in Genesis. R.A. Markus explains the importance of prophecies in the Augustinian system in this way:

> The prophet is a prophet in virtue of a special quality of his understanding or judgment; not in virtue of the material on which that judgment is exercised... Some prophets are vouchsafed both a special vision or experience and an understanding of its meaning, through divine impulse they receive a sense-experience, or in dissociated states such as

> sleep or ecstasy, a dream or a vision; and in addition, their minds are enlightened to understand the images presented through sense or imagination. This constitutes the highest level of prophecy; but the divine provision of images-of present, past and future realities-to spiritual visio is, so to speak, an extra bonus (Markus 206).

At the same time, if we think about a possible Jewish reading to the passage, prophecies also play an important role in Jewish hermeneutics as well. Rasmussen explains once again in the context of the *Biblia Pauperum*:

> In this way, a Biblia Pauperum page often presents to the reader three levels of Old Testament tradition (the tradition prior to the Covenant at Sinai, Mosaic tradition and the rest of the Old Testament under the label of prophetic tradition) attributed to the New Testament fulfillment by means of up to three different hermeneutical strategies: typology, prophecy and in some cases, also allegory (80).

With that said, it is very possible that when Lope was conceptualizing this scene, he was thinking more so about the Neoplatonic system than other prophetic systems given the importance Saint Augustine and other Church Fathers have in the Jesuit education system. However, what distinguishes *La hermosa Ester* from the rest of Lope's works is his treatment of Jews in this play. Even if Lope were privileging Augustinian epistemology, the fact that Mordecai, a Jew, becomes one of the story's primary prophets valorizes him in some way.

In addition to establishing Mordecai as a prophet, if we examine the semantic fields that are present in the prophecy, we can see how Lope develops a "hermeneutics in reverse" which begins with Revelations and ends with the story of Babel. For example, in the case of Mordecai's dream, I believe one of the original sources is the Vulgate version of Revelations where a dragon

appears to destroy the Earth before the arrival of Jesus. The story is relayed more specifically in Chapter 12 of Revelations:

> And there appeared in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her crown of twelve stars… And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the Earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. … And there was a war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not: neither was their place found anywhere in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceivth the whole world. He was cast out into the Earth, and his angels were cast out with him. (XII, 4, 7-9).

According to Simon Vosters, Lope uses the dragon frequently as a satanic metaphor in many of his poems and epics and especially in *La Dragontea*, an epic that Lope finished while he lived in Toledo. Nevertheless, instead of assigning a diabolical power to the Jews or to Protestants as he does in *La Dragontea*, in Mordecai's dream, the dragons are not Protestants nor Jews but rather the Christians themselves. This point is clearly proven if we consider the importance of the line "Los humildes vencieron a los fuertes," a declaration which clearly prefigures the salvation of the Jewish people against Haman. We know that when Mordecai refers to "los humildes" he is referring to the Jews because Lope calls Mordecai "humilde" as well in other parts of the play. Let's take for example one monologue from earlier in the second act: "Ay de ti, pueblo de Dios/si no lloras noche y día!/Oh misero pueblo hebreo/Hoy vuestros

ojos verán/triunfar al soberbio Aman/del humilde Mardoqueo." (123). For both a Crypto-Jewish and an Old Christian audience, the contrast between pride and humility carries great importance, given there are many parts of both Testaments where the two concepts are contrasted. Let's consider these examples from Proverbs: "By humility and the fear of the Lord are riches and honor and life." (Proverbs 22:4) and "A man's pride shall bring him low: but honor shall uphold the humble in spirit." (Proverbs 29:23). If we think about Mordecai's dream in light of the teachings in these Proverbs, we can deduce various qualities that define Mordecai's character. First, the fact Mordecai envisions an apocalyptic scene demonstrates the fear he has towards God. Secondly, we can say that if this dream proves Mordecai's humility both for a Crypto-Judaic and a Christian audience, one could also argue then Mordecai is endowed with honor, since the audience would probably make the same associations between humility in the face of God and honor taught through the Proverbs. The only difference for an Old Christian audience would be that Mordecai's humility would serve as a prefiguration for Jesus' humility present through the New Testament.

Furthermore, if we reflect on how the prophecy functions in typological terms, we see how Lope offers his audience a new hermeneutic that views Old Testament events as culminations of the New instead of vice versa. This point is seen most clearly if we consider Revelations and the Apocalypse as the culminating typology. The fact the apocalyptic dream of Mordecai predicts the salvation of the Jews in the third act signifies we could interpret the Apocalypse as a prefiguration of an Old Testament story, told through a song in the third act detailing the hubris of King Nimrod as he constructs the Tower of Babel. The Biblical story of Babel serves as the culmination instead of the prefiguration, thus giving it a privileged status in the play. Additionally, if we are to say then that Lope privileges the Old Testament story of

Babel over the New Testament, the fact Lope inserts the word "humilde" to describe the Jews (and Mordecai in particular) implies both the Jews within the play and the Crypto-Jews watching the production are equally humble and by extension honorable.

Although it is definitely possible to interpret the roles of Mordecai and Esther as simple prefigurations of the Virgin Mary or of Christ, the fact "los humildes vencieron a los fuertes" symbolizes not only the victory of the Jews over Haman in the play but also presents a sort of hermeneutic valorization of the Jews and of the Jewish sacred texts due to the humility that the Jews within the play exhibit.

3.2.5. The Fall of Nimrod: The Pride of Haman in Hermeneutical Terms

As Mordecai's humility can be interpreted in hermeneutical terms, so can the pride of Haman. The typological significance of Haman's pride is seen most clearly during the banquet scene in the third act when the character hear the following song:

Dios ensalza los humildes

y derriba los soberbios.

Ciento y treinta años después

que con el diluvio inmenso

castigó Dios a los hombres,

comenzó Nembrot su reino;

fabricó muchas ciudades,

pero soberbio y blasfemo,

persuadía a los vasallo,

negasen a Dios eterno,

de tan altos beneficios,

de justo agradecimiento,

porque se lo atribuyesen

todo a su fuerza e ingenio;

obedicieronle muchos,

y porque si acaso el cielo

volviese a anegar el mundo,

tomaron por buen consejo

hacer una inmensa torre,

cuyo inaccesible extremo,

excediendo las estrellas,

tocase el sol los cabellos...

[Dios] no castigó su locura

con agua, viento ni fuego,

sino por las distancias

del primer fundamento,

a la altura donde estaban

se confundiesen con ellos

no entendiéndose las lenguas,

con que confusos y ciegos

se esparcieron por el mundo

fabricándole de nuevo.

En el campo de Senar

cuando aquel monstruo,

a quien dieron

el nombre de Babilonia,

que confusión en hebreo.

Dios ensalza los humildes

y derriba los soberbios (132).

This song alludes to Genesis 10:10 where King Nimrod constructs the Tower of Babel. In addition to Genesis, critics have also mentioned *The Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus as a possible

source for this song. For our purposes though, there are two semantic fields, the reference to King Nimrod and the Tower of Babel itself, which have been related to the sin of pride in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish literature. Let us take as an example Stanza 88 of the *Libro de Alexandre*: "Ya contava por súa la Torre de Babilón, India e Egipto, la tierra de Sión, África y Marruecos, quantos reinos y son, quantos que Carlos ovo bien do el Sol se pon!" In the medieval epic, as it is well known, the poet refers to the myth of Zion and Babel in order to prefigure the tragic downfall of Alexander the Great. However, in *La hermosa Ester*, Lope utilizes the same myth as an anti-type or a culmination to the work in order to teach his audience about the dangers of pride and in order to demonstrate the danger of Haman's pride. This point is proven most clearly if we recall that Haman had been associated with King Nimrod in other parts of the play as well. Take for example Mordecai's monologue in the second act:

No pienso Dios de Israel,

hacer a tu culto ultraje...

Yo sin temor quedé cubierto y en pie...

Dios de mis padres, no es soberbia mía

no me rendir a Amán, tan arrogante

como Nembrot, aquel feroz gigante

que escalar vuestros cielos pretendía: (117)

Lope conceptualizes the Chorus' song as a culminating anti-type because he uses as the refrain: "Dios ensalza los humildes y derriba los soberbios," which can be interpreted as

realizing textually the prophecy dreamt by Mordecai in the second act. At the same time, the hermeneutic dimension of the song is augmented if we concentrate on the word "lengua" which appears so that the audience can think and reflect upon the content of the song both in linguistic and exegetical terms. At the same time, the song also warns viewers that they should perhaps begin or at least emphasize the reading of the traditional Hebrew texts instead of conceiving the Hebrew Bible solely as a prefiguration or a shadow of the New Testament.

Simultaneously, the use of the word "lengua" I would claim could also be a commentary on the nature of historiographical imitation itself. While Higuera and his contemporaries would ask audience members to emphasize those myths which bolster Toledo's purely Christian image, by including the Book of Ester and the myth of Babel in particular in his dramatic historiography, Lope challenges that assumption by claiming that often times the nature of historiographical imitation is confusing. As such, it would behoove chroniclers and dramatists to perhaps include other kinds of myths, even the ones, which hint at a potential Crypto-Jewish meaning, such as Esther, in order to enrich the narratives being told.

With these ideas in mind, one question remains to serve as a meaningful conclusion to this chapter: if both Esther and Mordecai function as prophets, is there a way to reconcile the hermeneutic argument proposed by Mordecai and the Crypto-Jewish subtext which we saw in Esther at the beginning of the paper? A possible answer could arise if we analyze Esther's last monologue where she confesses her true Jewish identity to King Ahasuerus:

Ester: Cuando vine a tu palacio

obediente al mandamiento

de mi Rey y mi señor,

callé por muchos respetos

el decirte que era hebrea,

de aquel desdichado pueblo

que Nebucodonosor

trajo cautivo a tu imperio...

Revoca, señor, te ruego,

este decreto cruel,

por ser de las manos hecho

de un hombre tan envidioso

y por ser tu esposa dellos:

que si no mandas que cese

el riguroso decreto,

la primera seré yo...

Duélate señor, mi llanto,

que aunque soy río pequeño,

van al mar de tu piedad

estás lagrimas que vierto.

Asuero: Oh humilde Ester, cuanto hermosa... (134-135)

In my view, one could find in this last dialogue a resolution if we take into account the dramatic theory espoused by Lope de Vega one year earlier in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias:*

En el acto primero ponga el caso

en el segundo enlaze los sucesos

de suerte q[ue] hasta el medio del tercero

Apenas juzgue nadie en lo que para. (298-302).

Yet if the dramatic function of the third act is to provide a seamless resolution to the comedia, what resolution or resolutions does Lope propose in this play? On the one hand, Esther's last speech to the King resolves the issue of religious identity that Esther has been struggling with for the entire play. Now instead of hiding her Jewish identity, she can express her faith openly in front of King Ahasuerus with words that mark that identity, such as "hebreo" "aquel desdichado pueblo" "el riguroso secreto" and "van al mar de tu piedad estas lágrimas que vierto," Although Glaser may propose that these references to tears signify she has completed her dramatic function as a figuration of the Virgin Mary, for me, these lines are an open expression of Crypto-Jewish identity. These words are also ones, which define conversos and Crypto-Jews in the Early Modern Period. However, we could also say that through his last lines and in particular the word "hermosa", the King is able to recognize and accept Esther's Jewish identity because he continues to employ the same vocabulary he used earlier when he fell in

love. Finally, one could interpret "humilde" and "Hermosa" as part of a hermeneutic solution; these words unify the hermeneutic and the Crypto-Jewish interpretations of the play. By naming Esther humble and beautiful, the King not only recognizes her as a Jew, but also as the sole prophet of her people.

Conclusion: The *Comedia nueva* as a *Comedia Judaizante*

In this dissertation, we have explored how Lope de Vega in the historical dramas written in Toledo creates what I call a Judaizing dramatic historiography. In other words, by historiographically imitating the Toledan chroniclers with whom he came into contact (namely Jerónimo Román de la Higuera) the dramatist used his *comedias* to remythologize Toledo in a number of ways. In *La comedia de Bamba* and *El postrer godo de España,* as we saw in Chapter 1, Lope dramatized various myths to represent the city as the foundational city *par excellance.* In Chapter 2, we saw how Toledo was transformed into a city of tragedy as Juanico Pasamontes was ritually murdered by Jews in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* and the Moorish slave Hamete was burned at the stake in *El Hamete de Toledo.* Finally, in Chapter 3, we observed how with the expulsion of the *moriscos* and the incorporation of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* back into Spain, Lope was able to represent Toledo more so as a city of remembrance, recalling not only Toledo's past glory as a city but also the Jews' place in that history. In the case of *La hermosa Ester,* we analyzed how Esther dramatized the Hebraic tradition's voice in that history. As it pertained to *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo*, Raquel's martyrdom permitted audience members to reflect on the death of Jews and Jewish culture through her martyrdom at the end of the play. Through these arguments, I have shown how drama and historiography could be considered as sister genres in the Early Modern Period (similar to painting and poetry).

In addition to fashioning a dramatic historiography designed to popularize certain key myths for Toledan audiences, this dissertation explores how specifically Judaism was incorporated into Lope's dramatic historiography by showing how certain characters Judaize on stage. Through this performance of Judaism, I argue in this project how crypto-narratives are created that can be interpreted distinctly depending on the religious orientations of spectators.

However, due to the importance of the debates surrounding the role of the *moriscos* and the *judeoconversos*, up until 1609, I argue that Lope had to explore Jewish questions through the mask of other cultural representations. It is for this reason that we observe in Chapter 1 how the dramatist incorporates genealogical crypto-narrations but voices them through the Gothic king Bamba in *La comedia de Bamba* or Don Rodrigo in *El postrer godo de España*. In Chapter 2, we see the Jewish historiographic voice beginning to take shape, but only as a menacing figure in *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* as Benito and Fernando historically imitate Jewish chroniclers lamenting the expulsion of the Spanish Jews in 1492. I also argue that in the process of getting their revenge on Christendom by ritually murdering Juanico Pasamontes, iconographic crypto-narrations are inserted into the play allowing spectators to see Jewish questions be asked through an aesthetic lens. In contrast to the Gothic comedias explored in Chapter 1 or *El Niño Inocente de la Guardia* where interpretations of these hidden readings are overtly suggested, I show how in *El Hamete de Toledo,* audience members are given more agency to interpret these crypto-narratives on their own, specifically in the culminating auto de fe where Hamete is forced to convert to Christianity. It is only after the expulsion of the *moriscos* the reincorporation of the Portuguese *judeoconversos* that the *morisco* fervor dies down and Lope is able to dramatize Jewish questions directly on stage. By analyzing *Las paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* and *La hermosa Ester* in Chapter 3, we show how Neo-Platonic crypto-narrations can give both the Jewess (Raquel) and the Hebrew (Esther) credence by depicting them as ideals of beauty both to be desired and feared. Through these arguments, I have attempted to develop a spectrum of interpretations that go beyond the mere lexical and social distinctions highlighted by Fine and Castro and demonstrate how Judaism actually functioned as literary figures of thought for Lope de Vega and his contemporaries.

In addition to broadening our ways of examining Judaism in the Early Modern Period, this project also opens up a series of avenues for further research. Firstly, there are a series of questions related to our theme of historiographical imitation. For instance, given the fact that Lope traveled extensively throughout his career, producing *comedias* in not only Toledo but in Valencia, Sevilla and Madrid, it would be interesting to see whether Lope practiced this kind of historiographical imitation in other *comedias* written for other cities. Does he similarly attempt to enhance the representation of Sevilla or Valencia when practicing his craft in those cities or does he have other motives? Similarly, we have simply explored the existence of historiographical imitation in Lope's early historical dramas, is it possible to see similar kinds of imitation at work in other genres written during the Toledan period (take for example *Jerusalen Conquistada* of 1609 or *Las rimas* published at the end of the Toledan period in 1614)?

Similarly, a series of research questions could be explored related to the performance of Judaism in Lope's dramatic works. In this dissertation, we were only able to explore six plays. It would be interesting to see how Judaism is incorporated in other dramas, both historical and non-historical, in his Toledan period. Do other crypto-narrations emerge? I would argue that in the case of the *comedias* studied in this project, Lope prioritizes a certain kind of crypto-narrative to depict Judaism as a dramatic problem to be resolved by the end of the play. Do we see a similar kind of prioritization in other dramatic works written by Lope in this 25-year span?

Lastly, it would be fascinating to develop further how historiography and Judaism impacted the development of the *comedia nueva* especially if we take into account that Lope's major theoretical treatise *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias* was published as part of his *Rimas* in 1609 during his Toledan period. Taking this into account, to what degree can we say for example that his notion of the comedia nueva as being a monstruous genre which imitated and

expanded upon the genres popular before it, was actually inspired by the historiographical imitation Lope was practicing in Toledo? Could we see the *Arte nuevo* as the culmination of his experiment with historiographical imitation? At the same time, to what degree can we say that the comedia nueva is actually a treatise offering a dramatic theory of race, especially given the fact that Lope's driving hermeneutic of his new theory of playwrighting is to "engañar con la verdad?" When he proposes to members of the Royal Academy that dramatists must appeal to the masses and deceive with the truth, is he proposing that dramatists allow characters to Judaize on stage? If so, what does that say about how different ethnic identities are supposed to be represented in these new kind of play?

By exploring these and other questions, hopefully we will be able to see how influential chronicles were in the development of the Golden Age's most popular genre but also analyze to what degree Lope, by appealing to the masses with his new kind of comedy, fashions a new kind of interlocutor and theatergoer that is pensive about the political, social and religous problems facing Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Appendix: Figures

Figure 1: Berruguete, Pedro (c.1450-1504) St. Dominic Presiding over the Burning of Heretics (oil on panel), / Prado, Madrid, Spain / The Bridgeman Art Library

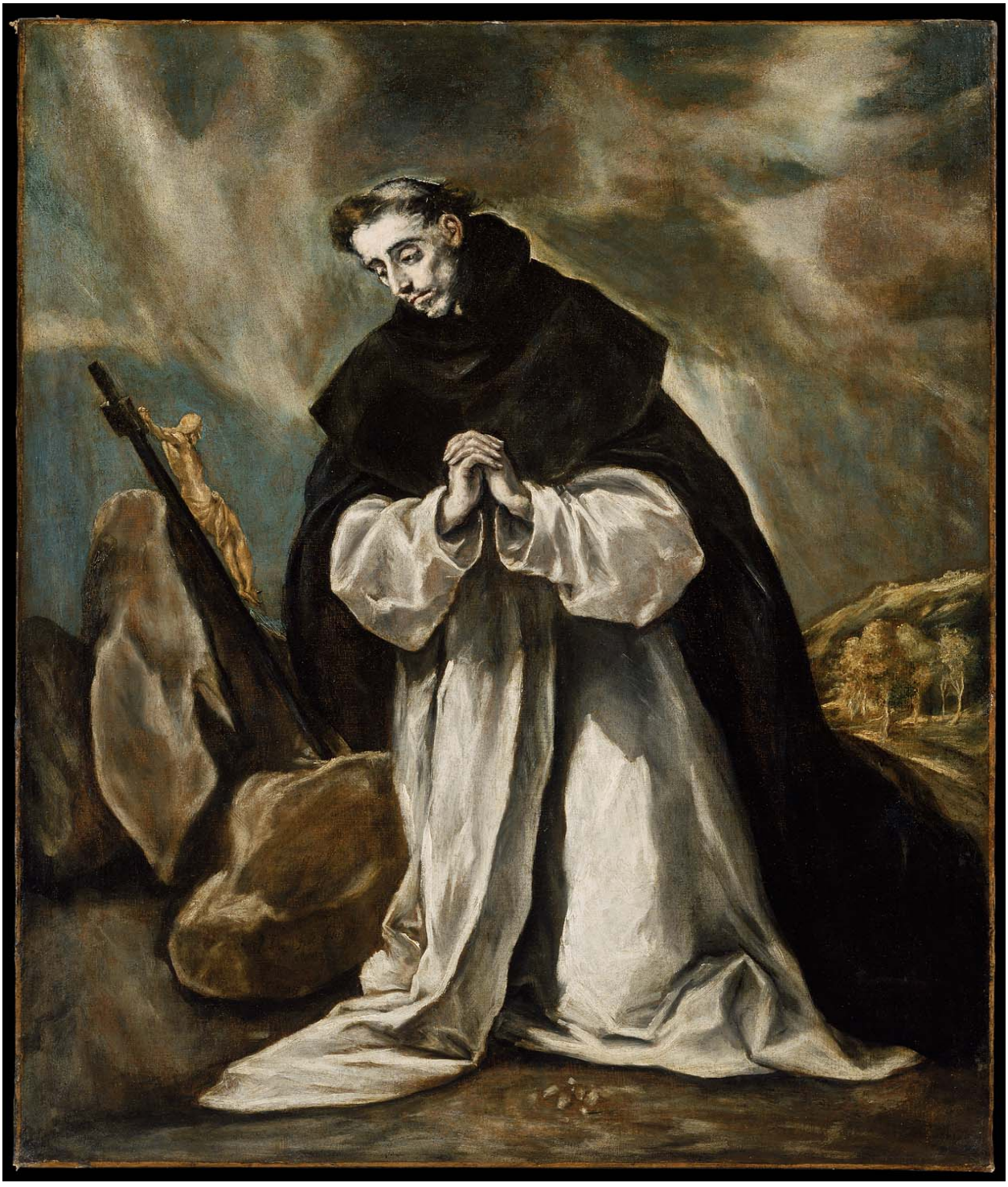

Figure 2: El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos), Greek (active in Spain), 1541–1614 *Saint Dominic in Prayer,* about 1605 Oil on canvas 104.7 x 82.9 cm (41 1/4 x 32 5/8 in.) Photograph © Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Figure 3: (Unknown Architect) *Puerta del Perdón, Toledo Cathedral.* c. 1222-1223. Source: University of Chicago Art History Department Image Collection.

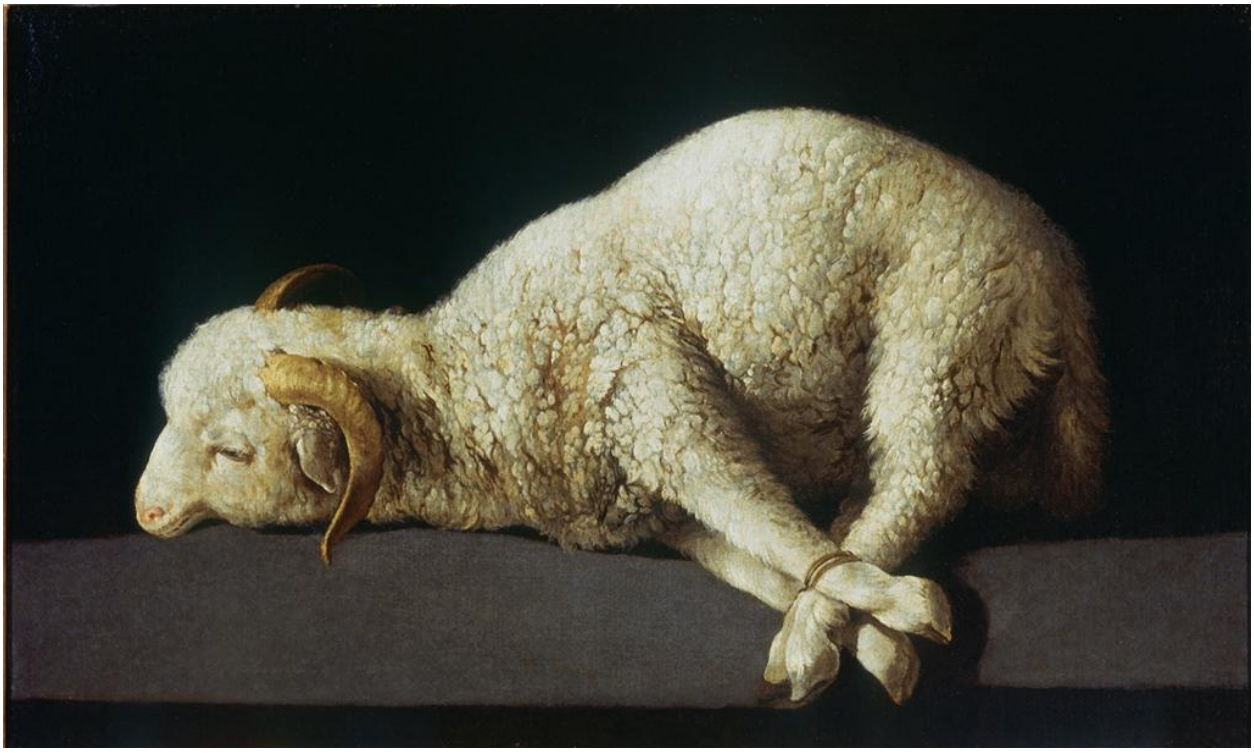

Figure 4: Francisco de Zurburán: *Agnus Dei (*1635-1640) Oil on Canvas. 373 x 62 cm. Prado Museum, Madrid, Spain/ARTSTOR.

Figure 5: Titian: *Ecce Homo* (1543) Oil on Canvas 242 x 361 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna/Bridgeman Art Library.

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