Projecting Spanishness: The Golden Age *Comedia* and Film in Spain

By

© 2020

Cayce Woods Elder
M.A., Middlebury College 2009
B.A., Baylor University, 2007

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Spanish and Portuguese and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____

Chair: Dr. Robert Bayliss

_____

Dr. Patricia Manning

_____

Dr. Isidro Rivera

_____

Dr. Jorge Pérez

_____

Dr. Marta Vicente

Date Defended: 1 May 2020

The dissertation committee for Cayce Elder certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Projecting Spanishness: The Golden Age *Comedia* and Film in Spain

Chair: Dr. Robert Bayliss

Date Approved: 1 May 2020

Abstract

At a time in which nations are actively debating the politics of belonging in the face of increasingly porous physical and social borders, a process accelerated by globalization, we increasingly see resistance to the perceived threat to national identities in our globalized world. Artistic production and popular culture are two of the many arenas in which we can observe both reactions to this threat and ongoing negotiations of national identities. The case of Spain is certainly no exception, and by examining its cultural production from several moments of Spanish history, this dissertation shows how such a negotiation, in this case of Spanishness, is not a phenomenon unique to the twenty-first century.

Through an examination of Spain's national theater in the early modern period, the Golden Age *Comedia*, and of subsequent film adaptation of these plays during and since Francisco Franco's dictatorship, I explore the ways that these plays are used to create and project different narratives of Spain and Spanishness. An examination of the early modern period reveals the ways that the cultural and political heterogeneity of the age—which has been effaced in nostalgic representations of the Golden Age over the centuries—inherently inscribed itself in the Spanish *Comedia*, resulting in an emphasis on the theme of identity as well as the inherent plasticity of the plays that has contributed to their suitability as continual objects of adaptation. The narratives of Spanishness projected by these film adaptations are subjective and historically contingent, revealing how Spanishness has been subject to continual renegotiation for more than four hundred years. Although more recent television programming featuring early modern biographies and historical fiction suggests that the early modern period continues to participate in contemporary negotiations of Spanishness, this dissertation focuses on feature-length film adaptations intended for theatrical release, the last of which was produced in 2006.

Acknowledgments

I believe it goes without saying that, much like raising a child, writing a dissertation takes a village. There are so many individuals without whose support this project would not have been possible. To my husband, Denton, I can never fully express my gratitude for the way you have partnered with me on this journey. To my family, thank you for being a source of support and encouragement, especially through countless hours of caring for our precious girls. And to my daughters, Lexi and Nora, I hope one day that you will understand how you have inspired me to persevere and to prove that nothing is beyond your abilities, no matter the obstacles.

I would also like to recognize the invaluable support and direction that I have received from my dissertation director and advisor, Dr. Rob Bayliss. Your faith in my ability to see this through as well as your guidance and feedback on my project have helped me to achieve more than I thought was possible at some points in this process. To the other members of my committee, your feedback on drafts as well as the inspiration and lessons learned in your classes have shaped not only my dissertation but also who I am as a scholar. I must also thank my professor, mentor and colleague Dr. Paul Larson for insisting, at the end of my first study abroad in Madrid (and what I thought was the end of my Spanish studies), that I continue to take Spanish classes. Without your encouragement and direction so many things in my life would be different.

To my friends and fellow graduate students, thank you for your encouragement and collaboration, for commiserating and celebrating with me along the way. All of you are my village. Finally, and most importantly, “to him who is able to do immeasurably more than all we ask or imagine…to him be glory” (Eph. 3:20-21).

Table of Contents

Introduction

On a Monday night in 2015 a young, charismatic, and arguably attractive Lope de Vega, portrayed by actor Víctor Clavijo, charmed audiences of RTVE's popular prime time program *El Ministerio del Tiempo* ("Tiempo de gloria"). The next morning the seventeenth-century playwright was a trending topic on the global social media platform Twitter. This confluence of events—a Spanish public television broadcast based on the nation's cultural history being publicized on a global social media platform—is an example of the paradoxical effect of globalization, as notions of a national culture can be both questioned and amplified at the same time. In this age of mass media communication, the world has never been so connected and national lines are more porous than ever before. But as the recent Brexit and the rise of the political party Vox in Spain can attest, we are also, perhaps paradoxically, acutely aware of borders and the politics of belonging, especially with the foregrounding of immigration as a burning topic for many countries. Brexit and Vox are but two of innumerable examples of pushback or resistance to a perceived threat to national identities in our "shrinking" globalized world.

In light of these ideas, it becomes clear that publicly funded Spanish mainstream popular media is strongly characterized by a fascination with the country's past. One of the best examples of this interest is the hit television series *El Ministerio del Tiempo*. Though the series has been broadcast worldwide by Netflix, it is strongly tied to its Spanish context, examining national history and filled with many cultural references that would likely be lost on viewers not well-acquainted with Spain. This turn to national history in Spanish culture is logically connected to a broader "memory boom" in Spain that includes the passage in 2007 of the *Ley de Memoria Histórica* (Ley 52/2007), a law which seeks to recognize and in some way compensate

those who suffered persecution or violence during the civil war and dictatorship and their descendants.[1] Among other provisions, the law formally condemns the Franco dictatorship and provides state help for locating the missing corpses of victims of Francoist repression, often buried in mass graves, a literal digging up of part of the past that had been more or less swept under the rug in the transition to democracy.

Alongside this archaeological activity, recently Spaniards have minutely explored their past, the civil war and dictatorship of Francisco Franco in particular, through all genres of their cultural production, including the aforementioned television series. It seems clear that Spanish politics and publicly funded popular media are not only examining their country's history, but in so doing they also seek to define the present reality of Spain and Spanishness, whether by comparison with or in contrast to the past. We will see that Spanishness (or its Spanish equivalent *españolidad*), a term used by scholars like Marsha Kinder, Núria Triana-Toribio, Michael Thompson, and Cristina Sánchez-Conejero, is a kind of national awareness that resists a concrete, fixed or stable definition, but its articulation and projection to the world remains a persistent feature of Spanish culture and of its government's cultural programming. In my use of the term, I wish to communicate the idea of some sort of transhistorical Spanish national identity whose pursuit is necessarily interminable, as any absolute Spanishness is a narrative. It is invariably projected from a particular subjective position to contest alternate narratives, and in the case of *Comedia* film adaptations that positionality is often hegemonic. As Triana-Toribio puts it, "[i]t is the sort of term favoured by nationalists and thoroughly discredited by the type of historical analysis of nations carried out by Anderson, Gellner and Hobsbawn" (6). At times I employ the terms "national" or "Spanish identity" in much the same way, with the understanding

[1] For a discussion of the law and of the politicization of memory and history since Franco's death see Boyd ("Politics") or Labanyi ("Politics").

that such an identity is always constructed, despite the many "nationalist" efforts to characterize it as primordial and rooted in some sort of objectively accessible past. In this climate of cultural nostalgia—a term upon which I will elaborate below—and introspective "looking back," then, we find that the twentieth century is not the only period of interest of this "memory boom." As in other moments of its history, one part in particular of Spain's past to which it frequently returns is the so-called Golden Age of Spanish art, literature and theater.

In this dissertation I explore the connections between works of Golden Age theater and the narratives of Spain and Spanishness that they (re)present or project in several key moments of Spanish history. I will refer to the *Comedia*, as it has come to be known, with a capital "C" to designate the popular theater of early modern Spain, despite its frequent combination of dramatic elements that could be considered both tragic and comic. The individual plays will be referred to as *comedias* with a lowercase "c," notwithstanding concerns raised by Matthew Stroud ("Defining the *Comedia*" 291-92), which would be more relevant to studies of the early modern performance of these dramatic pieces. The focus of this dissertation, however, is the comparative textual analysis of canonical *comedias* (playscripts for early modern performance) and their later adaptations to film. These films will serve as case studies through which I aim to demonstrate the ways that Golden Age *comedias* have been used in film as a medium to project certain narratives of Spanishness and to also show how those narratives have changed over time. What we will see is that the narratives are not archaeological discoveries mined from the Golden Age plays but rather they are active constructions and projections of Spanishness communicated through the subjective and historically contingent interpretations of the play texts that they adapt.

I have chosen to focus on film adaptations because the mass appeal of cinema in Spain, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, presents a useful cultural parallel to the popularity of the

early modern theater in Spain and affords an opportunity to comment on the contemporary cultural penetration of names like Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and Tirso de Molina, as well as of theatrical figures like Don Juan. In thinking about an adaptation, I have taken cues from Linda Hutcheon's work on the topic, considering as adaptations films that are:

- An acknowledged transposition of a recognizable other work or works
- A creative *and* an interpretive act of appropriation/salvaging
- An extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work (8, original emphasis)

Therefore, like Hutcheon, I am of the opinion that an adaptation should not be studied as merely derivative or subordinate to the original text, and that often an adaptation is not experienced *as an adaptation*, but rather as a viewer's first encounter with the narrative in question—at times spurring them on to read the "so-called original *after* [they] have experienced the adaptation, thereby challenging the authority of any notion of priority" (xiii, original emphasis).

Hutcheon also employs a "double definition of adaptation as process and product" that I believe emphasizes the participation of a whole team of artists in the creation of an adaptation—not just the director, but also actors, screenwriters, score composers, costume designers, camera operators, and many others (9). It is notable that this participation in adaptation-as-process includes the funding of their production, both public and private. In my analysis of the different films I do at times privilege discussion of elements such as the actors, camera angles, and costume, but I also give great attention to the directors themselves. In all but two of the films that I discuss (both adaptations of *El alcalde de Zalamea*), the director either collaborated on the screenplay or wrote it themselves, indicating that he or she had a direct role in interpreting the adapted text, which in these cases makes more valid the fact that "the director is ultimately held

responsible for the overall vision and therefore for the adaptation *as adaptation*," a fact that Hutcheon criticizes in most cases where a director does not prepare their own screenplay (85, original emphasis). On a related note, I have chosen to incorporate, in some cases, box office data as well as evidence of (film) critic and audience responses to the films discussed. While studying questions of critical and popular success often entails evidence based on subjective valuations of artistic merit (critical reviews, public opinion), for my purposes this data is an important diagnostic tool to indicate the place of the *Comedia* in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Spanish society.

Film represents a useful object of study in questions of national identity because "[f]ilms … do not simply represent or express the stable feature of a national culture, but are themselves one of the loci of debates about a nation's governing principles, goals, heritage and history" (Hjort and Mackenzie 3-4). I analyze films adapted from, or in some cases based more loosely upon, the *Comedia* and which are also ostensibly set in (or before) the early modern period.[2] I have limited my selection of films quite significantly in the period of the Franco dictatorship to include only five. This decision was made for the obvious reason of needing to limit the scope of the project, but also because looking specifically at different adaptations of the same play, from the *primer* and *tardofranquismo* periods, creates a useful comparative analytical framework. The fifth film, José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's *Don Juan* (1950), was chosen because it diverges significantly from the rest of the corpus of *Comedia* adaptations made during the dictatorship. I have likewise chosen to exclude the significant number of *Comedia* adaptations that were made strictly for television, for programs such as *Estudio 1*. While televised recordings of *comedias* both during and after the dictatorship are worthy of study in their own right, my choice to limit

[2] This would exclude, for example, Alejandro Amenábar's *Abre los ojos* (1997), which has been compared by some to Calderón's *La vida es sueño*.

this dissertation's scope to feature-length films avoids the complicating technical features of such television programming, which would presumably affect the adaptor's ability to deviate from a published play text and realize his own interpretation of that text through the verbal and visual discourses of feature-length dramatic films. As is clear from the anecdote at the beginning of this introduction and from further analysis to be presented at the conclusion of this dissertation, Spanish television programming is a very different mode of cultural production that merits further study in terms of its own treatment of the *Comedia* and of the Spanish Golden Age. In the period studied in Chapter Three, the post-dictatorship period, there are only two adaptations that have been made for the big screen that fit my criteria, although I briefly mention three other films—*Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* (1990), *Don Juan en los infiernos* (1991), and *El rey pasmado* (1991)—as precursors to a return to cinema for the Golden Age *Comedia* after a considerable absence.[3]

These examples of films about Don Juan that bear little resemblance to *El burlador de Sevilla* point to the need to further clarify how the term "adaptation" will be used in this dissertation. My interest was initially sparked by Pilar Miró's *El perro del hortelano* (1996) and discussions in academic (literary) journals of the film's "faithfulness" to Lope's text. Naturally, scholars have argued that the film both is and is not faithful to Lope's play, and the arguments, of course, present different criteria for fidelity.[4] As I began to study the films from the dictatorship, I found that some, like *Don Juan* (1950), take more artistic license, and do not claim to adapt directly but are rather inspired by one (or more) plays based on a certain figure. Of all the films

[3] *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* (1990) and *Don Juan en los infiernos* (1991) are based on the Don Juan figure but the first is set in contemporary (1990s) Spain and the second is based on Molière's version of the Don Juan myth.

[4] See, for example Alonso Veloso, Mañas Martínez, Nieva de la Paz, Cortés Ibáñez, and Fernández and Martínez-Carazo.

that I analyze in this project, *Don Juan* is certainly the most freely adapted, but none of the films follows the plays' original text word for word. The same is true, however, of almost any staging of a play from this or any period.

As intimated before, the present interest in Spain's Golden Age figures is nothing new, though its manifestation has varied throughout history. Indeed, Spain's Golden Age theater has, since its original production, been a regular touchstone of Spanishness, most especially in moments of national tension and crisis, and notwithstanding the resistance of the many and diverse articulations of Spanishness to adhere to any single definition. As constructivists such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Eric Hobsbawm have argued, nationalism or national identity (or, in this dissertation, Spanishness) is an active social fabrication of collective identity, culture and values rather than an unchanging, primordial, and historically revealed set of characteristics. In Stuart Hall's words,

> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power. Far from being grounded in mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. ("Cultural Identity" 225)

Similarly, Triana-Toribio wrestles with this very idea when she comments that

> 'Spanishness' proves to be an astonishingly slippery signifier. It may hold out the promise of an essence, but as soon as we examine it historically, we discover that this essence has had innumerable different manifestations. It is in fact an entirely contingent

> concept, a sort of empty vessel to be filled with the nationalist ideology of any particular moment. (7)

Since Spanishness is continually reinvented and renegotiated, to the extent that we can perceive changes in attitudes toward cultural patrimony—in particular, toward the Golden Age *Comedia* in this project—as indicative of broader changes to the perception of Spanishness, the evolution of the interpretation of the Spanish *Comedia* is a symptom of its ever-changing nature.

The very denomination of a golden age is significant because it reveals the way that the period, its most famous figures, and their works have been spun by influential individuals and groups to "mean" something for Spanish history, demonstrating through the changing interpretations the changing nature of identity and, in this case, Spanishness. However, as Mariscal prescribes, "the aestheticizing and universalizing impulse of much contemporary critical thought requires that we continue to problematize the concept of the Golden Age, that we repeatedly expose the notion to the light of historical discontinuity" (13). Works from this period have been frequently (re)presented and adapted not merely to entertain but to foster a sense of national solidarity, or to promote a particular narrative of Spain and Spanishness. Though many scholars today focus on Spain's national crisis in the wake of their 1898 military defeat, the quest to define Spanishness does not spontaneously emanate from the nineteenth century. Eighteenth-century Spaniards had also turned to Spain's Golden Age as a source of their own history and hence their identity, as Carolyn Boyd suggests in the context of nineteenth-century conflicts over Spanish historical production: "Liberal historians derived the alleged elements of this [unchanging "Spanish"] national character from the same sources mined by the traditionalists—the historical literature of the Habsburg era, much of which had been reissued in the eighteenth

century to meet the demand for history among the new reading public" (*Historia Patria* 71). Likewise, Henry Kamen comments that the

> eighteenth century contributed in many ways to a revival of interest in the past among thinking Spaniards, but it also split them firmly down the middle over politics, culture and ideals, offering them in the end little to hold on to that was solid. If they wanted roots, identity and security, they had to forget about the age they lived in and to burrow farther back into their past. (*Imagining Spain* xii)

In many instances, then, it became the norm to praise the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a glorious age of Spain's greatest national unity, which served as a rallying cry for contemporaries to unite and get back to their proverbial roots.

The eighteenth century can be considered a time of marked literary tension in Spain. After the end of the Hapsburg dynasty, which had ruled since the sixteenth century in Spain beginning with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, the more "Europeanized" Bourbon dynasty began to see changes in Spain's cultural and literary landscape. European Enlightenment literature and Neoclassicism (itself influenced strongly by French and Italian Classicism) on the one hand competed with notions of a *castizo* Spanish identity on the other. Much of the cultural production of the century was viewed at that time and subsequently as un-Spanish, the products of *afrancesado* intellectuals who could not embody "true" Spanishness. As the century marched on and the Spanish intellectuals sought solutions to Spain's declining monarchy, they were criticized for looking to the rest of Europe, particularly France, in their search. José Álvarez-Junco argues that their motives and the century itself were not unpatriotic: "however much conservative historians persist in defining the eighteenth century as 'anti-national', it was a

patriotic century when the old *amor a la patria* became the impulse for individuals to sacrifice their private interests for the public good" (72).

However, the *leyenda negra* that took hold outside of Spain and which compelled the enlightened Spanish thinkers to both defend their *patria* and to try to reform its people created a divide between them and their more conservative fellow Spaniards, who only saw these liberals as anti-Spanish *afrancesados*, an attitude that resulted in the entrenchment of a certain xenophobia in this conservative view. As the intellectuals realized too late, "[h]owever much they invoked the name of 'Spain' in their proclamations, and however much warmth and sincerity they displayed, the ability to juggle in a progressive way with the mythical identity born of the Counter-Reformation was beyond them" (Álvarez-Junco 83-84). The struggle for Spanishness so prevalent in the eighteenth century became a recurring theme in the political and cultural life of the nation, a theme which we can see played out in the (re)interpretation of Golden Age texts. This tension between *afrancesados* and *castizos* carried into the nineteenth century and the rise of Romanticism, which drew inspiration from legendary and historical themes, celebrated Spain's Golden Age, and furthered debates on *casticismo*. As these different movements of writers developed and changed the ways they viewed Spanishness, their methods of reading texts by Lope, Cervantes, and Calderón were subject to continual shifting to fit contemporary needs. In his analysis of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *refundiciones* of Lope's *La estrella de Sevilla* as *Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas*, Charles Ganelin states that "[t]he fact of recasting and of performing this play emphasizes, too, its role in reestablishing, for each successive age, how the past is to be interpreted and how tradition is to be incorporated in developing the past's influence on contemporary life" (79).[5] Without a fixed meaning, different

[5] For example, Ganelin focuses on how the two different *refundidores* in question use their recast plays to promote their (and their contemporaries') views on the role of the monarchy, which varied from one

readers will negotiate meaning according to their cultural time and place, a phenomenon that clearly resonates with Stanley Fish's notion of "interpretive communities" (14).

After the "Disaster" of 1898 Spaniards in general were finally forced to recognize that their cherished identity as an imperial power had slipped away, and the intelligentsia in particular responded to this new identity crisis by yet again searching for the definition of Spanishness. Writers of the so-called Generation of '98 turned to the traditional words of the old kingdom of Castile and tried to revive distinctly Spanish literary myths, like that of Don Quijote, that were linked to what they saw as an essential *hispanidad* (or Spanishness) and to Spain's "superior cultural and spiritual values" that had been lost throughout the years (Britt-Arredondo 3). Spain's Golden Age texts and the world they depicted could, it was believed, show how to recapture this lost identity and help Spain to move forward and discover its destiny, perhaps transforming the idea of Spain's loss into a sort of victory. According to Britt-Arredondo's study *Quixotism*, it was this rearticulating of Spanish myths "that helped lay the cultural, ideological, and imaginative groundwork for Spanish National-Catholic fascism" (3). He argues that,

> [i]nspired by the example of Don Quixote's quest to recuperate the Golden Age of chivalry, they [the writers of the Generation of '98] suggested that modern Spain also needed to revive its chivalric values and seek to recuperate its Golden Age. Only for these modern Spanish intellectuals, the chivalry of Spain's Golden Age had little if anything to do with the humanist values upheld by Cervantes' Don Quixote and a great deal more to do with the heroic, warring values that had led to the conquest and colonization of Spain's European, American, and Asian empire. (Britt-Arredondo 6)

---

century to the next: "Implicit in both *refundiciones* is political, social, and literary indoctrination as each author/recaster advances his particular vision concerning the monarch's role in establishing political and social order" (79).

This aggressive nationalism certainly assists in making the link between the Generation of ’98 and Francisco Franco’s later, more violent deployment of a nationalistic ideology. Even if, as Britt-Arredondo recognizes, these early twentieth-century writers could not foresee the ways that their ideas would be co-opted later by the fascists, we will see that the open-ended nature of the *Comedia* that I will posit in Chapter One, in other words the *Comedia*’s propensity for being interpreted in multiple and often contradictory ways, lends itself directly to this shifting ideological deployment of the texts centuries later, highlighting the (unintended) consequences of such open-endedness. It is also important to note that the use of the early modern texts during the Franco dictatorship, which Britt-Arredondo sees as inherited or co-opted from the Generation of ’98, elaborated upon an ideology inscribed in them by these writers, who likewise inherited the texts with cultural baggage from the century before, exemplifying Marvin Carlson’s argument of the “haunted” stage:

> It [theater] is the repository of cultural memory, but, like the memory of each individual, it is also subject to continual adjustment and modification as the memory is recalled in new circumstances and contexts. The present experience is always ghosted by previous experiences and associations while these ghosts are simultaneously shifted and modified by the processes of recycling and recollection. (2)

While Carlson’s description applies specifically to theater and performances on stage, his notion seems particularly suited to discussions of how the Golden Age in general, and its theater in particular, have “ghosted” Spanish cultural memory for centuries.

During the Second Spanish Republic and leading up to—as well as during—the Spanish Civil War, the Golden Age and the *Comedia* became types of political and cultural pawns used by both the Republicans and the Nationalists to show that their interpretation of Spanish

identity—via interpretations of the plays—was the one that flowed naturally from tradition and could therefore revitalize Spain. The theater group La Barraca was created in 1931 with help from the government of the Second Spanish Republic. Its main objective was to take classical Spanish theater to rural areas of Spain, those with less access to "cultural" activity—a mission that obviously implies a certain understanding of what was and was not representative of Spanish culture. The motives behind this ambulatory theater were partially educational, part of the "Misiones Pedagógicas" of the period. They sought to correct some of Spain's educational "backwardness," a recognized problem since the end of the previous century, in a time when much of Europe was far ahead of them in this respect. The twentieth-century poet and dramatist Federico García Lorca was the first director and one of the key figures of the theater group, which was founded with state subvention in 1931 ("Chronology" 428). As Alfonso Guerra describes, Lorca had a strong desire to save Spanish theater and expressed that "para salvar el teatro español es preciso, lo primero, encontrar un público para él. El público existe: es el pueblo. A él le representaremos obras de Cervantes, Lope, Calderón, de los clásicos" (Guerra 10). In a sense, the members of La Barraca picked up where the 1898 "Quixotists" left off, embodying a similar spirit of the value of the Golden Age, but aligned more with left-leaning, liberal political ideology.

As a visible, government-funded group, La Barraca was subject to conservative criticism: "The Right felt convinced that the Barraca was not simply a Republican organization whose function was to take plays to the people, but a propaganda machine serving the interests of 'Marxist', 'Jewish' and 'Communist' agitators determined to bring the Red Revolution to Spain" (Gibson 344). There were certainly pedagogical and artistic motivations behind the group's activity, but it was inevitable that they ultimately fulfilled a propagandistic role to a certain

extent, improving the Second Republic's public image, if not in the rural populations for which they performed, certainly in the world beyond Spain.

The anti-monarchical Second Republic brought many changes to Spain very quickly, and as Stanley G. Payne summarizes, "[t]he left Republican groups intended to go well beyond the primarily juridical reformism of classic liberalism to remold major aspects of society, culture, and national institutions. This involved the separation of church and state and a severe restriction on Catholicism in order to refashion national character" (81). In the years of the Second Republic before the outbreak of civil war, politics became highly polarized, with right-wing conservatives trying to undo many of the socialist reforms put into effect in the first years. After the moderate parties practically disappeared following the 1936 elections, increased violence between left and right provided an environment for the development of the Falange Española, the fascist-inspired ultra-right Nationalist party headed by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera.

The Falange's use of the Golden Age *Comedia*, the subject of Chapter Two, depends on the *Comedia*'s plasticity, which I argue in Chapter One to be intrinsic to the *Comedia* itself, in order to project a vision of Spanishness determined by the ideological and historically contingent details of that twentieth-century movement. Like the beginning of the twentieth century, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed significant cultural and political change in Iberia, the response to which entailed cultural production that would project a narrative of national unity and coherence for the emerging Spanish state and empire. This projected, Castile-centered early modern narrative was constructed through a complex web of discourses and agendas, the analysis of which in Chapter One will afford us an informed perspective from which to study the adaptation to film of *comedias* during the Franco regime. What both periods share is a strategy of

leveraging cultural nostalgia to project a narrative of Spain and of Spanishness in response to political change.

In her book *Performing Nostalgia*, Susan Bennett explores this very kind of cultural nostalgia and "the performance of the past in different agencies of public meaning" (3). In her study she analyzes how interested parties "project their desires for the present (and, indeed, the future) through a multiplicity of representations of past texts," and though Bennett's study is focused on modern representations of Shakespeare in England, many of her ideas lend insight into an evaluation of representations of the Spanish *Comedia* undertaken in the different historical moments since its inception (3). In particular the notion of the artificiality of the nostalgic past resonates strongly with the trajectory of Spain's modern nostalgia for an idealized Golden Age. Susan Stewart sums up precisely the implications of this nostalgia: "the past it seeks has never existed *except as narrative*, and hence, always absent, that past continually threatens to reproduce itself as a felt lack. Hostile to history and its invisible origins, and yet longing for an impossibly pure context of lived experience at a place of origin, nostalgia wears a distinctly utopian face" (qtd. in Bennett, 6; my emphasis). It is this constructed, utopian narrative that we must now examine by looking at the early modern context in which the Spanish *Comedia* was born.

Despite the fact that Spanishness is not a stable signifier over time, the Spanish *Comedia* is continually evoked as embodying or representing some Spanish national essence, demonstrated by these plays' common designation by Spaniards as "nuestros clásicos." In other words, in all of these historical moments the narratives of Spanishness are different, but the inspiration behind reviving the classics remains the same. How can something that is unchanging (generally speaking, the printed play texts do not change) continue to represent an idea that is

ever-changing? Through an exploration of the *Comedia*'s original context, Chapter One demonstrates that the idealized "unified" image of Spain in the Golden Age has always been a fiction, an anachronistic narrative of national unity that ignores the cultural tensions and heterogeneity of the kingdoms comprising what would not become the nation-state of Spain until several centuries later. As I will argue, the cultural complexity that characterized the context for the birth of the Spanish *Comedia* is a decisive factor in what I posit and describe as the *Comedia*'s inherent plasticity, an openness to interpretation that is deeply ingrained in the theatrical production of the period.

This plasticity is both a result of and a response to the unfixed idea of Spanishness in early modern society. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to "early modern Spain" and "early modern Spanish society," with the acknowledgement that this terminology oversimplifies the territorial, political, and cultural complexity of the period in question, as it is really more accurate to describe sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain as an emerging union of kingdoms that would politically organize a heterogeneous society (both culturally and racially) in flux, an idea supported by the work of scholars such as Barbara Fuchs, Henry Kamen (*Imagining Spain*) and Mary Elizabeth Perry (*Handless Maiden*). The Spanish monarchy set in motion a centuries-long project of proto-national identity formation based largely around Spanish Catholicism, an internal model that would later come into opposition with modernizing humanistic and economic trends from outside Spain.

Internal changes in the Spanish court during the reign of Philip III (1598-1621) fomented a culture of unsustainable opulence among the nobility. This shifting model of the nobility—away from martial activity and governance of the land—as well as Spain's descent from the zenith of its imperial power, created a perception of national crisis, especially of Spanish

masculinity. Scholars like Sidney Donnell and Elizabeth Lehfeldt have studied this perceived crisis of masculinity, which I explore further in Chapter One. Donnell specifically studies how this preoccupation with declining Spanish masculinity manifested itself in a proliferation of cross-dressing characters on the early modern stage and Lehfeldt analyzes various facets of the discourse on decline, including the *arbitrista*s' complaints of the decrease in the nobility's martial activity in favor of idleness and excessive consumption. In both cases we can see how imperial decline, encoded in declining masculinity, is actually one of the concerns at the heart of this perceived crisis. At the same time that Spanish masculinity was being questioned, however, the social and cultural politics of women's place within Spanish society were also being challenged. Given the social and cultural turmoil of the time, it appears that even as the notion of a "Spanish" identity was being fashioned in the first place, it was already in crisis. In other words, Spanishness has always been articulated in response to the perception of an existential threat. With so much changing in the early modern period, it becomes all the more intriguing to examine the point of origin for which Spaniards have expressed cultural nostalgia ever since, as well as the concrete historical circumstances of early modern Spain that such nostalgia tends to efface. We will see that the perceived splendor that this cultural nostalgia assigns to Golden Age Spain is in fact rooted less in the historical record than in the period's own attempts to project Spanishness.

To explain this difference between perception and historical reality, in Chapter One I examine the different socio-cultural factors at play during the early modern period. When the independent kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were merged politically, and we might argue superficially, the notion of a particularly Spanish homogenous identity had to be actively projected by the State in order to ideologically unite a diverse population that had never truly

existed as a single political unit, *España* or *Hispania*, but rather only as a series of smaller kingdoms. The othering of both Jews and Moors served to create a common ground for the new Spaniards who, in the wake of the Reconquest, were first formed and then united as such through the ideology of Spanish Catholicism. Indeed, scholars have argued that consolidation of Isabel and Ferdinand's power was a principal motivating factor behind the conversion of Spain to a Catholic nation. Thus, this conversion and the many steps that it required, such as the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478, the forced conversions of Jews and Muslims at the end of the Reconquest, the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609 are also symptoms of anxiety regarding the deeply-engrained and persistent cultural heterogeneity of early modern Spain.

After the Reconquest, the Counter-Reformation would coincide with the emergence of the *Comedia*, as notions of Renaissance individualism aligned with Protestantism's emerging emphasis on the individual spiritual experience in a way that in Spain was perceived as a threat to both traditional Catholic corporate worship and ecclesiastical authority. This confluence of events has been identified by *Comedia* scholars like Thomas Austin O'Connor (*Love*) as pivotal to understanding the popular theater's ideological complexity. There were forces of economic change elsewhere in Europe—burgeoning capitalism—as well as an internal nascent Spanish bourgeoisie that clashed with the ostensibly absolutist monarchy and traditional hierarchies of power and privilege. As discussed by Anthony Cascardi, those whose power and privileges were threatened by all of these modernizing forces in society sought different ways to maintain the status quo in their favor, and we can begin to see how this clash between tradition and change was literally played out on the stages of the public theater.

Despite ideological opposition to the growing bourgeoisie and their aspirations of social mobility, changes to the Spanish court in the period actually fostered and facilitated such upward

movement for many individuals. The court that grew up around King Philip III was marked by luxury and ostentation—in stark contrast to the more austere court of Philip II—and these changes had a profound impact on Spanish literature, as a culture of royal and noble patronage of the arts took hold in the capital city, Madrid. Noble patrons and the artists they supported mutually benefitted from the exchange, as nobles displayed their wealth and good taste and artists cultivated their popularity and social standing. The social mobility that was increasingly a reality at court also found expression in the period's cultural production, especially as a popular theme on the stage of the *corrales*. Spanish moralists viewed the decadence of courtly life as a threat to Spanish masculinity and Lehfeldt stresses that the critique of masculinity was not an isolated discourse but rather "a central part of a larger debate about Spain's experience of decline in the seventeenth century," a decline influenced by epidemic disease and decreased population, a weakened domestic economy and military failure (465). In this way, we can see a preoccupation with imperial decline encoded in the discourse on masculinity, an encoding which is readily seen in the Spanish *Comedia*, where foppish "lindo" male figures and cross-dressing characters were regularly featured.

Finally, the shifting early modern politics of women's role in society further contributes to the unfixed nature of Spanishness at the time. The changing position of women in Spanish society as represented in the *Comedia* can, when analyzed critically, lend significant insight into ongoing cultural tensions. As Melveena McKendrick has argued, the not uncommon fear of execution for unfaithful or deceived females in the plays does not necessarily correspond to historical reality, nor do the many *Comedias* featuring female cross-dressed protagonists, but the frequency of such representations can help decipher early modern attitudes toward women ("Identities"). The gendered hierarchy of Spain's patriarchal society signified the institutional

subordination of women, but, as scholars like Lisa Vollendorf (*Lives*), Teresa S. Soufas, and Margaret Boyle have demonstrated, this does not mean that all women in early modern Spanish society passively accepted their prescribed social roles, an idea borne out by examples of real and fictional females who transgressed their society's gendered divisions. In addition to plays penned by female playwrights, in many male-authored texts female characters acted with more agency than might be expected during the Counter-Reformation. While this does not automatically equate to early modern reality, reinterpretations of the *Comedia* throughout the centuries have revealed inherent ideas that seventeenth-century women were beginning to advocate for themselves and to find support in some sympathetic parts of society. So ultimately, the many tensions in early modern Spanish society manifested themselves on the stage of the public theater, where playwrights, *autores* (or the early modern equivalent of the director/producer of the theater troupe), actors and audience members alike interpreted meanings in line with their own situations and desires.

The theater, then, represents a microcosm of early modern Spanish society, in which these social and cultural tensions are literally visualized on stage. Reception of the theater, both positive and negative, was also subject to competing perspectives and ideologies. While on the one hand the theater, and the *Comedia* in particular, was actively instrumentalized—through patronage and performances in the royal palace—to project a sense of good taste and cultural splendor, on the other hand, the theater was the source of great polemic for Spain's traditionalists, inside and outside the church. Those opposed to the theater saw in its Renaissance individualism a threat to Catholic ritual and conformity that smacked of heretical Erasmian influence. The history of debates over the lawfulness (or *licitud*) of the theater in Spain concerns not only the moral appropriateness of the plays themselves but also their manner of

representation, especially with women acting on stage. Opponents of the theater also argued that the growing popularity of theater contributed to the feminization of the male populace, who enjoyed idle entertainment instead of pursuing their masculine duties. Therefore, when the theaters were periodically closed—for example, in times of mourning after a royal death—debates intensified in attempts by moralists to keep them closed. The debates, which continued for two hundred years, are evidence of the persistent cultural anxiety caused by changes to traditional authority and culture (already underway) perceived in the *Comedia*'s focus on individual consciousness, an idea O'Connor studies at length in his monograph *Love in the "Corral."*

Because theater and literature were popular media through which to negotiate competing discourses and ideologies of Spanishness, identity is a recurring and central theme in many of the best-known texts from the early modern period. And while it dramatizes the obsession with identity, the *Comedia* itself plays a role in the process of defining the emerging Spanish nation. The view of the *Comedia* as a subversive, destabilizing cultural phenomenon—proposed by scholars such as McKendrick (*Playing*), Donald Gilbert-Santamaría, and David Gómez Torres—stands in contrast to those who defended it as a tool of official propaganda and cultural control, like José María Díez Borque and José Antonio Maravall in the 1970s and early 1980s. The early modern debates over the *Comedia*'s lawfulness are paralleled, centuries later, in contradictory scholarly interpretations of the tradition. However, the more important conclusion to draw from these seemingly contradictory views is the idea that the *Comedia*, born into this era of cultural tension and change, is characterized by an inherent openness to interpretation, the plasticity that I have proposed above. Because the theater in early modern Spain privileges identity in crisis in a way that allows for such interpretive flexibility, these plays have been a mainstay for adaptors

throughout the centuries, particularly in times of cultural tension. As Hutcheon's approach to adaptation studies reminds us, *how* these play texts have been interpreted is largely a function of *who* the interpreter is, and from *where* and *when* the interpretation is made.

At the end of Chapter One I perform a close reading of Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, as the *Comedia*'s plasticity and the different critical interpretations that it has elicited can be examined more concretely in what is certainly one of the period's most playfully complex texts. A play like *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, with its chaotic and confusing emphasis on identity, can be read as a symptom of the early modern search for Spanishness. Its emphasis on gender and gendered roles illustrates the ways that early modern anxiety over masculinity was inherently tied to concerns about the loss of Spanish imperial prosperity and ultimately, as noted above, the failure of a still-emerging proto-national identity (Spanishness) to withstand these challenges. Throughout this play both personal/individual and sexual identity are extremely fluid—no fewer than four characters pass for the invented suitor "Don Gil" at different points in the drama, two of whom are women—, and the nature of the court society makes it nearly impossible to really know anyone's true identity. If *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* is symptomatic of fluid identities in early modern Spain, then just as decrees, laws and expulsions of the "Other" did for the Spanish society, the play's ending—a traditional tying up of loose ends through multiple marriages—is really only superficially satisfactory. There is no magic resolution once the curtain falls, just as the cultural struggle for defining Spanishness is far from resolved in this or any other Golden Age text. It is precisely this instability and questioning of identity—and, by extension, Spanishness—that has drawn artists, intellectuals, and those in power to the *Siglo de Oro* over the last four hundred years. In *Don Gil*, gender is one of many performances used to navigate the crisis of identity in early modern Spain; however, as we will see in Chapter Two,

adaptations of these plays in subsequent centuries suggest that the anxieties that they address continue beyond the early modern period.

In Chapter Two I discuss the ways in which the Franco regime sought to justify its government in part through comparison to Spain's "glorious" past, claiming an inherent ideological alignment between Golden Age works and the dictatorship. What we see, however, is that, despite Franco's desire to control the interpretation of the Golden Age, it was easily manipulated in subversive directions, especially through the medium of film. It was a slippery signifier, even for film directors who were ostensibly making movies that aligned with regime ideology. Especially between the *primer* and *tardofranquismo* the *Comedia* was utilized to communicate vastly different and even contradictory narratives of Spain and Spanishness.

Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* and Calderón de la Barca's *El alcalde de Zalamea* deal with gender and power relations in ways that reflect the early modern crisis discussed in Chapter One. My analysis of film adaptations of each from the earlier part of the Francoist era suggests that the twentieth-century regime's treatment of gender and power was very much informed by early modern sensibilities. Due to their designation as Spanish "classics," Lope's and Calderón's plays were exploited as cultural authorities, as the films attempted to legitimize the regime's traditional patriarchal emphasis. However, this same cultural authority or capital allowed more oppositional directors in the *tardofranquismo* to critique or contest Francoist articulations of these and other issues through film adaptations of the same plays. The last part of the chapter focuses on the 1950 film *Don Juan*, an adaptation based on several versions of the Don Juan figure, to further demonstrate how the *Comedia* resists strict interpretation and exemplifies the inherent plasticity of the genre, even when adapted under the censorial control of the Franco regime. By examining these films from the dictatorship period, Chapter Two argues and

demonstrates that such adaptations are invariably a function of the cultural and historical moment in which they are made. In other words, as case studies, *Fuenteovejuna*, *El alcalde de Zalamea* and *El burlador de Sevilla* and the films based upon them reveal that the Golden Age adaptations are just as informed by the socio-historical context of their production as were the original plays themselves. The changing circumstances throughout the nearly forty years of the Franco regime directly impacted how these plays were reimagined and transformed to film, and consequently we can trace a narrative of the regime's rise and fall by analyzing them comparatively.

Of the five films discussed in the chapter, two are based on Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* and two on Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* (although we will also see that Mario Camus' 1973 film *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* draws as well upon Lope's lesser-known version of the play). In both plays, masculinity/power as well as class/power are important themes and, naturally, in their twentieth-century adaptations the same is true. After close readings of these plays to highlight themes and other elements that are prominent in the films, the films themselves are analyzed and compared. We will see how the differences between two film versions of the same *comedia*, which in both cases roughly correspond to the early and waning periods of the dictatorship, reflect and promote societal changes, particularly regarding the regulations and perceptions surrounding gender, that occur between the *primer* and *tardofranquismo*.

Beginning with Antonio Román and José Gutiérrez Maesso's earlier adaptations of *Fuenteovejuna* and *El alcalde de Zalamea* respectively, I analyze ways in which these films serve the ideology of the regime—in part by aligning the nationalists with characters that punish the illegitimate usurpation of political power—but how they also, likely unconsciously, expose weaknesses in that ideology, especially as regards the relations between gender and power. The

unconscious undermining of the earlier films is made intentional in Juan Guerrero Zamora's and Camus' later adaptations of the plays, coinciding with the regime's decadence and the relaxation of censorship that takes place in this era of marked social change. Finally, I analyze José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's 1950 adaptation *Don Juan*, which takes cues from both Tirso's early modern *Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* and José Zorrilla's nineteenth century *Don Juan Tenorio*. As an adaptation from the *primer franquismo*, this film—which in many ways subverts Francoist ideology of gender and power relations—curiously contrasts with its arguably more conservative counterparts and reinforces my argument of the *Comedia*'s plasticity and how it resists the ideological control to which its adaptation during the dictatorship tried to submit it.

In order to set the stage for my analyses of the films I first discuss some aspects of the Franco regime—the particularly gender-inflected ideology and emphasis on traditional patriarchal order—that became recurring points of tension in the films. In turn, these tensions within the films consciously or unconsciously exposed cultural tensions surrounding gender and power relations during the dictatorship. The Golden-Age discourse that Franco used to legitimize his rule exemplifies the belief that the plays from that period inherently aligned with the regime's ideology and therefore films based on these plays easily passed censorship regulations. However, because identity in early modern *comedias* is fluid and open to contradictory interpretations, the practice of holding up the *comedias* and the Golden Age in general as shining examples of Nationalist ideology which "inherently" aligned with their ideals paradoxically allowed the same texts to be utilized by oppositional directors to undermine and criticize those ideals in an officially sanctioned capacity.

I discuss the popularity of cinema in the period and the way that it was theorized and instrumentalized by the regime as a tool of ideological indoctrination, promoting, through

various film genres including the *comedia* adaptations, the Francoist breed of Spanishness, especially as contrasted with the anti-Spanish Second Republic. The chapter concludes by noting that, despite examples of directors and films that utilized the *Comedia* to contest and critique Francoist ideology, the genre has been indelibly marked by association with the regime but also a social ambivalence. After an absence from the big screen that lasted two decades, Chapter Three explores the *Comedia*'s return to film—including factors affecting such a delay—in a newly democratic Spain.

The Spanishness articulated in the Franco-era films was not the same Spanishness that directors in the new democracy believed themselves to embody, and Post-Franco, the broad economic, political, and cultural reforms, combined with increasing autonomy of the different regions, yielded a far less coherent vision of Spanish identity and culture. As directors were granted a degree of artistic and political freedom unknown in Spain since at least the 1930s, and with the installation of Pilar Miró as Director-General of Film once the Spanish Socialist Party, the PSOE, came into power after the 1982 elections, the film industry underwent a significant transformation. Although the Transition period is strongly characterized by a political forgetting of the past, artistic production of the period, including cinema, emphasized Spain's past. However, the upsurge in historical films excluded, for several decades, the *Comedia*. This was due in part to the guilt by association with Franco that is explored in Chapter Two, and also, I argue, to the perception that the *Comedia* projected a sense of the cultural hegemony of the capital, based on the fictional projections of unity and splendor explored in Chapter One. Before its return to the big screen, therefore, the *Comedia* had to be very intentionally supported by the state to maintain a degree of cultural relevance.

Before examining how directors in democratic Spain once again explored Spanishness through their interpretations of two of Lope's plays, *El perro del hortelano* and *La dama boba*, I examine this state support and then trace the Golden Age's reemergence in mainstream popular culture that leads to Pilar Miró's 1996 adaptation of *El perro del hortelano*. 1992 was an incredibly important year for Spain's reestablished democracy with the 500th anniversary of Columbus' "discovery," the Seville Expo, Madrid's designation as the European Capital of Culture, and the Summer Olympics in Barcelona. Publicity created for all of the 1992 events was critical to Spain's re-branding as a democratic nation, and though Spain sought to be seen as modern, it also emphasized the prestige of its past, its Golden Age in particular. The Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico (CNTC) had been established in 1986 to preserve and promote Spain's pre-twentieth-century theater, with special emphasis on the Golden Age and classic verse, and in 1991 the Spanish government created the Instituto Cervantes to promote the Spanish language universally.

The founding of the CNTC and the Instituto Cervantes reveals how Spain drew upon its cultural patrimony, especially the Golden Age, as part of these re-branding efforts, in effect communicating the Golden Age's continued value as a unifying cultural force. Nonetheless, these efforts that Golden Age theater received from the government were not echoed in the film industry. Instead, in this period Spanish cinema was mostly seeking to recuperate the silenced narratives of the Civil War and the dictatorship. It is clear from the popularity of historical films, novels, theater, etc., that a nation's past is never far from the national imaginary and that the past is inextricably linked to a nation's identity. Though Spain's immediate past was the most frequent subject historical film, the Golden Age's cultural value and influence did not disappear altogether, though their expression for several decades after the dictatorship was more nuanced.

To demonstrate the latent persistence of the Golden Age, I discuss three films made during the *Comedia*'s absence from the big screen—*Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* (1990), *Don Juan en los infiernos* (1991), and *El rey pasmado* (1991)—that reveal traces of its influence and Spanish cinema's ongoing fascination with the Golden Age and its theater. The first two films, as their titles would suggest, are based on the Don Juan figure, while *El rey pasmado* is a literary adaptation, based on the 1989 novel *Crónica del rey pasmado* by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester. Though not based on a *comedia*, the film is set during the Golden Age, and its success in the box office is evidence that Spanish cinema and audiences were beginning to warm to the Golden Age once again, setting the stage for Pilar Miró's *El perro del hortelano* (1996), a film based on Lope de Vega's play by the same name. Miró's film was deemed a success with audiences and critics alike and is analyzed, in part, as the culmination of the state efforts to preserve interest in the *Comedia*, especially given the political commitment of its director.

A close reading of Lope's play reveals an emphasis on themes of sexual desire, the mutability of identity, and examination of the gendered hierarchy of the playwright's society. These topics, which are just as prominent in twentieth- and twenty-first-century Spain, significantly inform Miró's selection of this particular play and strongly influence the interpretation in her film. Miró's film was partly successful, I argue, because it attempted to reconcile the cultural heritage represented by the *Comedia* with Spain's contemporary identity. Her adaptation moved away from the more ideologically utilitarian mode of the regime-era films. This is not to say that her film was apolitical, quite the contrary, actually, but rather that while Miró's film did interpret *El perro del hortelano* in a way that spoke to contemporary social issues, it also celebrated Lope's play and the cultural value of the Spanish *Comedia* in general. Miró sought to elevate the *Comedia* as "high art" while performing a social commentary that

privileged the female protagonist and suggested a proto-feminist Lope de Vega. In effect, by harmonizing the play with the values of democratic Spain Miró recovered the popular spirit of the genre that Lope himself championed.

More than two decades have passed but Miró's film is still partially credited for the continued presence of Spanish classical theater in contemporary Spanish culture. It is also recognized, however, as a benchmark against which subsequent projects have been or will be measured, paradoxically making it harder to successfully adapt other *comedias* for film. Ten years later, Manuel Iborra, brought another Golden Age *Comedia* to the big screen. However, in those ten years there were significant changes to the Spanish film industry, which had shifted away from a model of state sponsorship to one of multinational private financing. The ideals of artistic quality and political commitment characteristic of Miró's legislation as Director-General of Film and of her adaptation of *El perro del hortelano* now had to respond to the demands of the free market. The film industry also had to address the increasingly diverse culture of Spain, resulting in the difficulty, noted by Barry Jordan, of speaking of a singular Spanish cinema (68). In this climate, Iborra's *La dama boba* and its relative failure partly reflect how the medium of Spanish film has become too globalized/commercialized for even a Spanish classic to resonate with Spanish audiences. At the same time, 2006 saw at least four other films set in early modern Spain, a fact that is indicative of renewed interest in Spain's past. However, unlike his contemporaries, Iborra's film failed to present a more critical and less idealized approach to the period.

A close reading of Lope's *La dama boba* demonstrates that Manuel Iborra's decision to adapt *La dama boba* was informed by many of the same factors that influenced Miró's choice of *El perro del hortelano*. The play features themes such as female agency vis-à-vis the patriarchy,

women's intellectual potential, and intergenerational conflict, concepts popularly debated in Lope's time as well as throughout the centuries since. Through the dramatization of ideas of love, materialism, and women's education in *La dama boba* Lope de Vega reveals some of the tensions present in his society. Though a patriarchal order is ultimately affirmed, the events of the play allow for a decidedly progressive (for the era) exploration of the value and capacity of female intelligence. Iborra's decision, however, to focus on the materiality of the play (especially the bodily/erotic materiality) allows for only a superficial contemplation of female education and consequently leaves untouched some of the play's details that are most ripe for a twenty-first-century revision. Feminism served as an important marketing buzzword, but it was largely unaddressed, and even undermined, in the film itself. Instead, the film depended on exaggerated erotic humor and spectacle, contrasted with the more subtle suggestion of *lo erótico* found in Miró's film.

So, in addition to the efforts made by the Spanish state, Miró's film showed that "nuestros clásicos" could be successfully re-deployed to advance a more modern, democratic, and feminist vision of Spain, both to Spaniards and to the rest of the world. However, the increasingly market-driven and globalized nature of Spanish cinema—and of cinema in general, as globalization has affected most if not all national cinemas—led Manuel Iborra to choose Lope's *La dama boba* not out of political consciousness or a commitment to particularly Spanish culture, but rather as an attempt to capitalize on Miró's successful model that, it was thought, would be profitable in that marketplace. Currently, no other film adaptation of the *Comedia* has been made for the cinemas, which is indicative of a cultural crossroads at which Spain, like many other societies, finds itself. The chapter closes by contemplating Paul Julian Smith's observation that television has displaced cinema as the ideal medium to shape national consciousness

(*Dramatized Societies* 3). In light of this shift, I argue that television is the realm in which the Golden Age will (and has already begun to) reaffirm its role in defining Spanishness.

What we see as we trace the *Comedia*'s trajectory from the early modern period (Chapter One) to Franco's dictatorship (Chapter Two) to the transition to democracy and up to the present (Chapter Three), is how the centrality of identity as a theme in the genre lends itself to seemingly infinite interpretations that can be shaped according to the needs of its adaptors. In each instance the *Comedia* projects a certain notion of Spanishness, but contrary to what adaptors may (or may not) claim, that Spanishness is neither natural nor unchanging, a fact that becomes clearer when considering the current polarization of the nation's political system. As I demonstrate throughout the pages to follow, Spanishness in each case is a carefully constructed narrative that responds and reacts to the contemporaneous condition of Spain, according to the subjective understanding of the circumstances held by the *Comedia*'s adaptors. This sheds light on the way Spain's Golden Age is currently being deployed in the mainstream popular media, including *El Ministerio del Tiempo* and Twitter, and it should cause us as scholars to more critically and self-consciously evaluate our own interactions with the period's literary and cultural production.

Chapter 1: Early Modern Project(ion)s of Spanishness and the *Comedia*

1.1 Introduction

Judging from the ubiquity of popular comedies dealing with the theme of identity, it is safe to say that the topic had become something of an obsession in early modern Spain's *corrales de comedia*, and for good reason. It was not merely the theater and its playwrights that were taken with this theme but society as a whole. As this chapter will explore, early modern Spanish society and its best-known form of popular entertainment, the *Comedia*, coexisted in a curious time of art imitating life (as Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias* explains) and, one can argue, vice-versa. As explored in the introduction, the richness and complexity of these early modern play texts have given rise to innumerable adaptations and reinterpretations throughout the centuries that have passed since the Golden Age, including into the twenty-first century. This chapter revisits the circumstances informing this phenomenon of exploring the theme of identity in the early modern *corral* in light of the often-polarized treatment of the *Comedia* by twentieth-century scholars—some of whom have argued for the tradition's propagandistic use by the Spanish state, while others have interpreted it as a means of subverting its authority. This chapter's exploration of how the public theater staged a broader cultural crisis of identity aims to account for these contradictory scholarly interpretations as a function of that early modern crisis itself, through an analysis of Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* as a case study of a play whose treatment of identity both engages early modern cultural anxieties and allows for such diverse interpretations.

Although in subsequent centuries Spaniards have tended to view Spain's early modern period as the quintessential moment of their nation's glorious past, such an idealized image both clashes with the historical reality and taints our scholarship by projecting an anachronistic

narrative of national unity on a period that by all accounts predates the modern concept of nationhood. As reported by scholars such as Barbara Fuchs, Henry Kamen (*Imagining Spain*) and Mary Elizabeth Perry (*Handless Maiden*), it is more accurate to describe sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain as an emerging union of kingdoms that would politically organize a heterogeneous society (both culturally and racially) in flux. At the level of the State, the Spanish monarchy set in motion a project of proto-national identity formation that would gradually develop over the course of several generations. On an international level, modernizing humanistic and economic trends from outside Spain struggled with resistant traditions and systems within, a process studied in depth by Anthony Cascardi.[6] Internal changes in the Spanish court during the reign of Philip III (1598-1621) dramatically changed the cultural landscape, for better or for worse depending on one's point of view. A culture of unsustainable opulence among the nobility as well as Spain's descent from the zenith of its imperial power led to a perceived national crisis, especially of Spanish masculinity. Alongside this preoccupation with what it meant to be a Spanish man, the politics (both social and cultural) governing women's place and movement within Spanish society were also being challenged. With so much transformation taking place in such a relatively short period of time, it is more appropriate to see this as an age of the refashioning of Spanish proto-national identity, if not an age of ongoing identity crisis.

1.2 Creating Spaniards: The State, Catholicism, and the Individual

During the early modern period, the notion of a particularly Spanish homogenous identity was actively projected by the State, and, though we are speaking of a decidedly pre-national

[6] See *Ideologies of History*.

period of history, it is not completely anachronistic to speak of a pre-national (or pre-nineteenth-century) Spanish identity, as Álvarez-Junco argues:

> [A]t the beginning of the early modern age, the Catholic Kings held the crowns of most of these [independent] kingdoms, thus forming a monarchy whose borders coincided almost exactly with those of present-day Spain, thereby providing an example of extraordinary territorial stability in view of the constant changes to European frontiers over the last five hundred years. This is sufficient for us to consider that, in principle, Spanish identity—and I stress, not Spanish *national* identity—has endured in a manner comparable to the identities of the French and the English, which were the earliest in Europe (and, at the time, not national either). (20-21; original emphasis)

We can state, then, that a particularly Spanish identity was under formation well before anything resembling a modern nation-state existed, and it would certainly inform Spanish identity in later centuries. To construct their Spanish identity out of these independent kingdoms, which merged superficially with the union of Ferdinand and Isabel, the monarchy needed a common ground to bring them together and the othering of both Jews and Moors served this end.

In the wake of the *Reconquista* the Spanish monarchs, beginning with Isabel and Ferdinand, aimed to unite their kingdoms under a single crown by first forming and then uniting their subjects through religious ideology, parallel to what John Beverley and Cascardi have examined as a process of "subject formation" undertaken by the theater and other literary forms of the period. As George Mariscal has proposed,

> early modern culture produced subjects through a wide range of discourses and practices (class, blood, the family, and so on) and … to view any of these as autonomous and

> originary is to efface the ways in which the construct of the individual was emerging from competition between discourses and was being constituted within writing itself. (5)

In his book *Transnational Cervantes* William Childers discusses the notion of "internal colonialism," or the idea that, much like the colonization taking place in Spain's New World settlements, non-dominant racial and ethnic groups within Spain were being indoctrinated into—if not forced to profess—a hegemonic ideology. In a process that took place over hundreds of years, not only were all of the autonomous populations comprising Castile and Aragon converted into "Spaniards," but as such they became defined by their relationship to Catholic Christianity: they were *cristianos viejos*, *conversos* or *moriscos* (until the latter were expelled in 1609); they could document a pure Christian bloodline (*limpieza de sangre*)—or had enough money to buy one—or they were descended from New Christians and therefore less privileged in society. Whatever an individual's or family's circumstances, their identity as Spaniards had become wrapped up in their inherited or created connection to Catholicism. As Childers describes it,

> [w]hile this internal colonialism initially focused on the Jewish and Islamic ethno-religious minorities, it eventually spread to other groups, including non-Castilians generally, *cristianos viejos* in rural areas, and movements antithetical to the goals of the Counter-Reformation, such as Erasmian humanism and *alumbradismo*. No sector of society remained entirely unchanged, and the organization of the entire society was irrevocably altered. (4)

And while Isabel and Ferdinand are remembered most famously as Spain's Catholic Kings, scholars have argued that consolidation of their power was a principal motivating factor behind the conversion of Spain to a Christian nation; in other words, Catholicism became endemic to Spanish identity due to its political utility. As Childers notes, "the ideological function of purity

of blood [to consolidate national unity around religious identity] far outweighed its role as an operative social category," which is confirmed, as scholars such as Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto and Henry Kamen (*Spanish Inquisition*) have documented, by the exclusions that were made and the fact that concern with *limpieza* declined toward 1600, "[o]nce that goal was well on the way to being achieved" (Childers 12). Thus, the fashioning of Spain into a Catholic nation and the many measures taken to get there—the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition by direct authority of the crown in 1478, the forced conversions of Jews and Muslims at the end of the *Reconquista*, the expulsion of the *moriscos* in 1609, etc.—should be seen as symptomatic of a deeper anxiety regarding both persistent cultural heterogeneity and the centuries-long process that attempted to erase it. While the concerns over racial and religious belonging were perhaps some of the most prominent of the period, the so-called Golden Age was a critical period in other ways for these kingdoms that were in the process of becoming the nation of Spain.

In addition to racial and cultural concerns that were driving changes in Spanish society there were other socio-cultural and political trends against which the Spanish State attempted to define itself. As we will see, the *Comedia*, like other artistic genres from the period, is characterized by an emphasis on the individual and his or her experiences. In the visual arts, painters embraced the portrait, with artists like Velazquez reaching great importance by representing individual subjects. In literature Miguel de Cervantes' psychologically-complex Don Quijote sallied forth into the Spanish imaginary on the heels of other famous—or perhaps infamous—literary representations of problematic individual subjectivities, the *pícaros.* Not merely an artistic convention, however, this focus was representative of a trend in Spanish and European society at large. As is the case with most facets of early modern life, this trend is

inextricably linked to questions of religion, and thus points to the pitfalls encountered when trying to understand the "secular" as separate from the "sacred" in this period.

After effectively realizing the Spanish monarchs' goals of uniting their subjects under the umbrella of Catholicism, and with the *Reconquista* ostensibly behind them, the Counter-Reformation became the next pressing religious struggle, as Protestantism and its emphasis on interior piety threatened traditional Catholic corporate worship and, more importantly for Church officials, traditional ecclesiastical authority. As O'Connor succinctly explains, the "god within us all" was "a far more threatening prospect for an imperialistic political regime and ritualistic church that, together, sought to combat Protestantism abroad and pietism at home" (*Love* xii). And though the "god" to which O'Connor refers here is the individual in the *Comedia*, theologians and moralists of the period were quick to take up their pens against the theater, fully aware that art imitates life and *vice versa*. The public theater's immense popularity was thus seen as a threat to institutional authority (not to mention morality). Nonetheless, the *Comedia* survived well into the eighteenth century, defended by many as a source of beneficial recreation and diversion as well as of instruction and edification (O'Connor, *Love* 59). The *corrales* of Madrid were also backed by the crown and an addicted public, and they supported charitable causes, hospitals in particular (Fernández, "Los corrales" 75).

Elsewhere in Europe, this focus on individualism could be seen in the development of capitalist modes of production that began to displace the feudal system. However, the economic transformation and modernization that was taking place across Europe during the early modern period was curiously—or perhaps not so curiously—late in taking hold in Spain. As Anthony Cascardi notes

> … no other Absolutist State in Western Europe remained so resistant to bourgeois development. Thus if classical Marxism frequently comes to grief over the peculiar "lag" that occurs between any transformation in the modes of production and a corresponding transformation of social relations, these factors were exaggerated in the case of Spain to the degree where it would be more accurate to speak of a resistance to the culture of modernity than of the simple persistence of traditional values during early modern times. (20)

In early modern Spain, then, external socio-cultural trends of Renaissance individualism and forces of economic change as well as an internal nascent bourgeoisie were at odds with the ostensibly Absolutist monarchy and traditional hierarchies of power and privilege, especially the Catholic Church. The caste system that had been so firmly in place in the Spanish kingdoms was at odds with an increasingly capitalist Europe. As Cascardi explains, “the very notions of profit or the increase of value are alien to the axiology of caste, which functions in concert with social hierarchies that are racially fixed” (24). As members of the less privileged castes sought to change their fortunes by increasingly participating in capitalist modes of production, those who enjoyed the privileges of caste resisted such modernizing forces in society, including emerging capitalism. Those whose way of life was threatened sought different ways to maintain the status quo in their favor. For example, old families who could prove their *cristiano viejo* lineage had privileges and positions in society unavailable to those descended from New Christians. As I explore below, this clash between traditional and modernizing forces found the public theater to be an important battleground. While we should not conflate historical reality and representations in art, literature and theater, the latter are a valuable means to consider historical experience, rooted as they are in their historical, cultural and social context.

1.3 A Flourishing Court and Perceptions of Decline

Although the monarchy and nobility were ideologically opposed to the growing bourgeoisie and the social mobility to which they aspired, as we will see, changes to the Spanish court actually fostered and facilitated such upward movement for many individuals. The reign of Philip II "*el Prudente"* (1556-98) contrasts greatly in this regard with that of his son Philip III (1598-1621). As Harry Sieber describes in his article "The Magnificent Fountain: Literary Patronage in the Court of Philip III," Philip II was "a monarch renowned for his love of solitude, his suspicion of the aristocracy and his austerity in dispensing royal favors" (92). He had been brought up on his father's instructions to exercise "piety, patience, modesty, and distrust" as Martin A. S. Hume notes, and "[t]hese were Philip's guiding principles for the rest of his long life" (25). Life at court was more strictly ceremonial and the monarch kept more distance between himself and his subjects, spending much of his time at El Escorial, a sober locale for this serious king. The succession of Philip III in 1598 brought many changes to the Spanish court, not the least of which was a flair for the ostentatious.

As Sieber describes, the court that emerged after the death of Philip II was "a court where luxury, ostentation, spectacle, and public festival were funded by extraordinary expenditures from the royal treasury" (94). These changes to the court had a profound impact on Spanish literature, as the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite, liberally dispensed royal funds as a patron of prestigious writers, dramatists and artists, many of whom took up residence in the capital city, Madrid. In Spain's blossoming court society, such an outpouring helped the arts to flourish in ways hitherto unprecedented, with the court becoming a "magnificent fountain" of patronage (Sieber 87). Other nobles, such as the Count of Saldaña, sponsored literary academies attended by the likes of Lope de Vega and Cervantes, commissioned works, and began to include poets

and playwrights as members of their entourages in ceremonial processions, hoping to capitalize on the growing notoriety of the literary figures to enhance their own names as patrons of the arts (Sieber 101, Wright 13-14).

In her study *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598-1621,* Elizabeth Wright describes these developing relationships as "an uneasy alliance" between literature and politics for which Lope de Vega "appeared as both an agent and emblem" (13). Although this culture of patronage of the arts was a means of displaying wealth and good taste for the nobles, it also cultivated the popularity and elevated the social standing of many of the best writers, dramatists and artists of the period—who benefitted from association with the nobility and also from the growing renown of their own names—, and to a certain extent this also inverted the notion of patronage, or at least gave it a more symbiotic nature, as we can ask whose name was benefitting whom. This idea of social mobility also made its way into the cultural production of the period, becoming a popular theme especially on the stage of the *corral* where it played out somewhat ambiguously before mixed audiences. Because the public theater's boom coincided with the rise in prestige of poets and a broader escalation of spectacle at court, Madrid became the site of an intensely theatrical cultural milieu.

Writers, dramatists and artists, however, were not the only ones to migrate to the city. Much of the nobility, seeking royal favor, also took up residence at court, abandoning their country estates to be close to their king and to the bustle and action all around him. The opulence and spectacle of the court could be seen not only in events and lifestyle, but also in the dress of men and women alike. The behavior of the male nobles at court became a great concern for many Spanish moralists, who viewed the decadence of courtly life as a threat to Spanish masculinity. In her article "Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain"

Elizabeth Lehfeldt explores the various facets of a perceived crisis of masculinity in early modern Spain. She refers to the Dominican Francisco de León, who "deplored the nobility's idleness and impiety, their abandonment of their martial responsibilities, and their indulgence in excessive consumption" and cites his opinion that "[a]ll of these shortcomings 'converted them into women,' the ultimate failure of masculinity" (474).

This crisis of masculinity provides insight into yet another aspect of the early modern period that highlights Spain's instability and self-consciousness, and thus the problems surrounding identity that I explore in this chapter. In seventeenth-century Spain this prominent discourse of crisis, voiced chiefly by moralists and *arbitristas*, criticized the failure of Spanish masculinity and, through the promotion of examples such as saints' lives, classical figures and the *libros de caballerías*, prescribed actions to restore Spain's code of masculine conduct. Lehfeldt stresses the importance of this context of cultural crisis, as the critique of masculinity was not an isolated discourse but rather "a central part of a larger debate about Spain's experience of decline in the seventeenth century," a decline influenced by epidemic disease and decreased population, a weakened domestic economy and military failure (465). Lehfeldt attributes this vivid debate to a process by which "Spaniards themselves described, understood, and sought to remedy the challenges they faced" in the seventeenth century, and she further argues that "gender—specifically, codes of manhood—stood at the core of this discourse" (465). In this way, although the state of Spanish masculinity was at the forefront of all of these discussions, we can also see that it was Spain's identity as an imperial power that was truly in crisis. This encoding of imperial crisis in terms of a crisis of masculinity is readily seen in the Spanish *Comedia*, where cross-dressing characters became something of a commonplace.

Sidney Donnell, in his book *Feminizing the Enemy: Imperial Spain, Transvestite Drama, and the Crisis of Masculinity*, studies the relationship between this crisis and the proliferation of cross-dressing characters in the Spanish *Comedia*. Donnell describes his work as an "investigation of identity formation in the early modern period" in which he

> [privileges] theater and transvestite drama because it is [his] contention that cross-dressing in both text (reading and writing) and stage performance served as one of the principal means of exploring variant signs of identity and of interrogating the dominant discourse that supported the ruling elite in the Golden Age. (26)

Donnell's work recognizes this phenomenon of questioning the dominant discourse as central, not peripheral, to the larger issues of identity that I am exploring. Through his examination of the use of drag in the Spanish *Comedia*, Donnell connects Spain's preoccupation with declining masculinity to the ruling class's anxiety over the other "problematic" identities we have discussed (such as Jews, Moors, *moriscos*, etc.) and "Spain's incomplete transfer to absolutism" (30). He points out that,

> [w]hether gender is understood as performative or essentially determined by one's anatomy, the two camps tend to ignore other important identities that intersect with gender identity on the same body. Although class, ethnicity and "race" operate under very different systems than gender, drag in the *comedia* often involves one body assuming another class, clan, national allegiance or skin color in conjunction with an alternative gender. (30)

As Donnell further explains, the use of drag not only served to question Spanish identity—who belonged and who did not—but also to signal shifts in the patriarchal nature of Spanish society: “Gender reversals like drag were highly disruptive to men's control over women as well as to

hierarchical relations between men under patriarchy" (31). Since "[t]imes were changing and very unstable in Spain during the 1500s and 1600s … transvestite dramas serve to mark the uneven paradigm shifts taking place in the cultural milieu in which they were performed" (Donnell 31). The early modern politics of sex and gender to which Donnell refers form another integral piece in the puzzle of early modern Spanish culture and further reveal the unfixed nature of Spanish identity at the time. Though discussions of sex and gender cannot and should not be limited to the binary man/woman, as scholars in the field of Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies have argued, the changing position of women in Spanish society is certainly germane to the broader crises of identity under discussion here, and their representation in the *Comedia* can be an invaluable source of insight into these ongoing cultural tensions[7]. Through the analysis of Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* below we will see just how gendered some aspects of Spain's identity crisis had become.

1.4 The *Comedia* and Cultural Tensions

The world of seventeenth-century women was undoubtedly more restricted than that of men, and, as work by scholars like Lisa Vollendorf (*Lives*) and Teresa S. Soufas has shown, the world of the noble woman was oftentimes narrower still, with much of women's agency restricted by the politics of a patriarchal Catholic society. The sixteenth century was characterized by a shift in ideas about women, their education, and their worth and place in that society, all in women's favor. Writers like Erasmus and Fray Luis de León can be credited with

[7] Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* is foundational to much of the contemporary discussions of gender in its argument of gender as a kind of performance. Phillips and Reay (*Sex Before Sexuality*) and Sherry Velasco (*Lesbians in Early Modern Spain*) explore, from a historical perspective, topics of sex and sexuality in early modern society, which is a useful complement to the studies of these topics in the literature of the period by scholars like Donnell and Vollendorf (*Lives*).

helping to create an opening in ideological debates about the female sex in Spain, regardless of the patriarchal orientation of their particular arguments. Cruz Petersen notes that

> with the flourishing of Neo-Platonism in the Renaissance, defenders of women, such as Vives, Erasmus and fray Luis de León, championed for the education of women. Fray Luis de León's construction of the model wife in *La perfecta casada* conceded to women an equality of nature—a revolutionary defense of women's roles in society at the time. However, as scholars such as Lisa Vollendorf warn, it is important to note that this notion of equality extended out only to the upper class and only within the realm of their house, and perpetuated the Virgin Mary stereotype that marginalized women. (64)

However, scholars like Melveena McKendrick have pointed out that "seventeenth-century writers seem to have retreated from enlightened opinion in the sixteenth century," which presumably would imply reverting to more traditional and misogynistic representations of the female sex (*Woman* 13). As McKendrick notes, however, we must be cautious not to rely too heavily on literature for faithful representations of women's place because the "writings of the Golden Age provide a wealth of detail regarding contemporary customs, but imaginative literature is a dangerous basis for generalizations about real life" (*Woman* 3).

The rampant slaughter on the Spanish stage of unfaithful or deceived wives, daughters and sisters does not necessarily correspond to historical reality, nor do the many *Comedias* featuring female cross-dressed protagonists, like those explored by Donnell. Literature can help us, however, to determine attitudes of the age, as McKendrick explains: "While literary evidence must be approached with care if we are to establish the social *reality* of woman's life in any previous age, it is our most important source of information with regard to *attitudes towards* the concept of woman" (*Woman* 4; original emphasis). The patriarchal nature of early modern

Spanish society meant that women were subject to an institutionally supported ideology that saw gender as hierarchical. Nonetheless, just as the notion of a culturally homogenous, unified early modern Spain is largely a fiction imposed from above, scholars like Vollendorf (*Lives*) and Perry (*Gender*) have shown that the passive acceptance of their prescribed role by all early modern women is an inaccurate assumption contested by examples of both real and fictional female voices penetrating the gendered lines dividing society, speaking from the economic margins as well as from within the ruling class. Female writers, poets and playwrights such as Teresa of Ávila, Ángela de Azevedo, María de Zayas y Sotomayor, Ana Caro de Mallén de Soto, Leonor de la Cueva y Silva, Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, as well as characters like Tirso de Molina's Juana in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* are anything but passive bystanders in a "man's world."

In her study *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain*, Vollendorf describes this situation, which was not unique to Spanish society: "[l]ike many countries around the world, the emerging Spanish nation sought to silence women. The textual record confirms that this goal was met with frustration, as women of different class and ethnic backgrounds ignored dicta on their silence" (xiii). Vollendorf writes primarily about female authors of the period but in male-authored texts many female characters of the age were also being portrayed as having more agency in their own lives than would appear to have been the status quo during the Counter-Reformation. However, Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano points out the important caveat that, "[i]n a period in which the culture's ideal of masculinity was in crisis, fascination with and fear of aggressive women in literature does not necessarily mean that gender roles were changing or that women were becoming more assertive, but that men may have felt more threatened by the possibility" (104-5). Nonetheless, the ways in which seventeenth-century women were beginning

to advocate for themselves and to find support in some sympathetic parts of society can be detected in the *Comedia*, thanks in part to re-interpretations throughout the various centuries that have exposed such inherent ideas, perhaps unnoticed by older, more traditional studies. McKendrick describes that while much moralist and creative writing in seventeenth-century Spain became characterized by cynicism about women, "the theatre by its nature needed heroines, and heroines it usually got. And its anti-heroines answered the demands of plots and themes which were, if anything, feminist in implication" (*Woman* 12). All of these shifts taking place in society made their way onto the stage of the public theater, where playwrights, *autores*, actors and audience members alike created meanings in line with their viewpoints, personal experiences, fantasies or anxieties.

The theater in early modern Spain is not only a microcosm where many of these competing cultural tendencies—individualism vs. group conformity, cultural heterogeneity vs. the illusion of cultural "purity," a growing middle class and capitalism vs. the caste system and noble privilege, shifting ideas on female agency vs. traditional patriarchal restrictions—can be observed but is itself a curious specimen of competing theories and ideologies. At the same time that the writers and the works they produced—the *Comedia* in particular—were being deployed to project an image of Spain's cultural splendor, they were coming under fire from other quarters of society. As we have seen, Spain was by no means an ideologically unified nation, and, as noted above, the moralists of the period attacked the *Comedia* for its emphasis on the individual and his/her actions, viewing it as a dangerous deviation from early modern Catholicism's emphasis on conformity. In the atmosphere of the ongoing Counter-Reformation, conservatives associated this individuality with the (then) heretical Erasmian notions of interior piety as opposed to the Church's ritual acts of worship. This was one of the problems faced by

Teresa of Ávila during her lifetime due to her ecstatic visions and her practice and advocacy of mental prayer. Teresa was beatified in the seventeenth century, but we can see that ideas of individuality were still quite contentious, as evidenced by the late and contested publication of her writings.[8] We can discern this same tension and polemic of the emphasis on the individual through the ongoing criticism of the *Comedia*. As O'Connor explains in *Love in the "Corral,"*

> [t]he *Comedia*, therefore, and opinions concerning it by conservatives and progressives alike, became the cultural battleground where two fundamental views of life contended: the characteristically Western, stressing the individual, a tradition given great impetus by the power and force of Renaissance ideology; and the typically oriental and biblical understanding of one's importance and character as deriving from membership in a group, in this case corporate Spanish Catholicism. (4-5)

There is a long history of debates over the lawfulness (or *licitud*) of the theater in Spain that has been exhaustively catalogued by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. The debates not only concern the moral appropriateness of the content of the plays themselves but also the manner in which they were presented, especially once women were allowed to join men as actors on stage.

As Spain descended from the high point of her imperial pursuits at the end of the sixteenth century, the general anxiety of emasculation discussed above became more pronounced. Not only was it morally questionable for women to perform on stage, but the culture of the growing theater industry, it was feared, was contributing to a problematic feminization of

---

[8] Erin Kathleen Rowe comments that "[i]nward and silent prayer were sources of controversy during Teresa's lifetime, as many clergy believed that such experiences flirted dangerously with Protestantism. Both the Holy Office of the Inquisition and Teresa's male confessors kept a close eye on her throughout her public career, with a particularly critical focus on her written work ... Although Teresa managed to avoid serious involvement with the Inquisition, church authorities did not allow her writings to be printed until thirteen years after her death, and then only after lively debate, which included opposition from some theologians who considered Teresa's ideas either potentially dangerous or downright heretical" (50-51).

the Spanish male populace. Women were ultimately allowed to act on stage as a result of this same fear of feminization because it was thought that male actors, by portraying female roles, were damaging their masculinity. It still remains, however, that female appearance on stage was morally problematic. Clergy of the time petitioned the king to close the theaters in passionate words such as those of the "Consulta que hizieron a S.M. el Rey D. Felipe II García de Loaysa, Fray Diego de Yepes y Fray Gaspar de Cordova sobre las comedias":

> Destas representaciones y comedias se sigue otro gravisimo daño y es que la gente se da al ocio, deleytes y regalo, y se divierte de la m[a]licia, y con los bailes deshonestos que cada dia inventan estos faranduleros y con las fiestas, banquetes y comedias se haze la gente de España muelle y afeminada e inhabil para las cosas de travajo y guerra. (qtd. in Donnell 68)

There were periodic closings of the *corrales* following the deaths of members of the royal family, during which times debate about the theater was especially heated, with moralists seeking to prevent their doors from reopening, "particularly in 1598, 1646 and 1665" (O'Connor, *Love* 61).

These criticisms levied at the public theater and the *Comedia*, which would persist for the next two hundred years, indicate deeper cultural anxieties caused by societal changes to come (and already underway in some respects) that hint at the *Comedia*'s role as cultural harbinger, as O'Connor suggests: "[t]hose who advocated a traditional view of life and culture correctly perceived the threat such an individual consciousness represented for their understanding of human and social existence" (*Love* 30). In the midst of all the changes and uncertainties characterizing the early modern period in Spain we can see the emergence of a crisis of cultural identity in the developing Spanish nation-state. As we will see below, *comedias* like Tirso de

Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* bear witness to this crisis on the public stages of *corrales* across Iberia.

1.5 The Plasticity of the *Comedia*

Theater and literature were popular media through which to project different visions of who and what was (and was not) Spanish, in other words to negotiate competing discourses and ideologies of identity. Inevitably, then, identity—mistaken, feigned, concealed, unknown, invented—is a recurring and central theme in many of the best-known texts from the early modern period. At the same time that it capitalizes on such an obsession with identity, the *Comedia* is itself caught up in the process of defining the emerging Spanish nation. The view of the *Comedia* as a subversive, destabilizing cultural phenomenon stands in contrast to earlier readings of the tradition, such as those of José María Díez Borque and José Antonio Maravall, who interpreted the early modern theater as propaganda for the State. Writing at the close of the Franco dictatorship, Díez Borque and Maravall recognized a strategy for the hegemonic use of the *Comedia* taking place in early modern Spanish society, similar to the exploitation of popular culture taking place around them during their scholarly formation. However, the very plasticity of the *Comedia* that we have been exploring allows for the unquestionable value of the work of Díez Borque and Maravall to stand alongside the similarly groundbreaking scholarship that comes afterward, and that seemingly seeks to refute it. More recent scholarship has often focused on the *Comedia's* potential for subversion, including the work of O'Connor (*Love*) and Vollendorf (*Reclaiming*), especially when examining issues of gender and social mobility. These later scholars have been influenced by the rise of New Historicism and the work done on Shakespeare in the 80s and 90s, particularly that of Stephen Greenblatt. In "Invisible Bullets"

Greenblatt discusses the theater's ability to produce an experience of contained subversion; he notes:

> It is precisely because of the English form of absolutist theatricality that Shakespeare's drama, written for a theater subject to state censorship, can be so relentlessly subversive: the form itself, as a primary expression of Renaissance power, helps to contain the radical doubts it continually provokes. Of course, what is for the state a mode of subversion contained can be for the theater a mode of containment subverted. (799)

These same notions have been applied to the early modern theater in Spain, also subject to state censorship, and theories of the *Comedia*'s subversion have more recently displaced those of its propagandistic use.

While apparently contradictory, both interpretations represent valid lines of inquiry and lead to fruitful discussions of the cultural production of the early modern period. Though some earlier scholarly interpretations of the ideological function of the *Comedia* have been displaced by more recent studies, all scholarship is ultimately the product of its own ideological context. So, rather than designate the dramatic tradition that would later be known as Classical Spanish Theater as either propagandistic or subversive, I argue that these contradictory classifications are evidence of the early modern Spanish *Comedia*'s openness to diverse interpretations. In other words, these different critical approaches to studying the *Comedia* point to the plasticity of the Golden Age dramatic text. Such plasticity has greatly contributed to both the formation of the Spanish literary canon and to the strategic reinterpretation of many of its best-known works throughout the last four hundred years. The theater in early modern Spain privileges identity in crisis in a way that allows for such interpretive flexibility, and *how* these play texts are

interpreted is largely a function of *who* the interpreter is, and from *where* and *when* the interpretation is made.

This plasticity or interpretive malleability was especially intense in *comedias* written during the reign of Phillip III. As Elizabeth Wright discusses, the courts of Philip II and Philip IV have been studied much more than that of Philip III because, "[w]hen they examined the latter's reign, historians typically depicted Philip III and his favorite [the Duke of Lerma] as indolent leaders who used processions, fêtes, theatrical performances, and pilgrimages to escape from their duties" (14). However, Wright explains, recent studies have indicated more sophisticated dealings by the king, queen and duke, who "spun politics, religion, and the arts into a complex web" (14-15). Through royal and noble patronage, writers and the works they produced—the *Comedia* in particular—were being deployed to project an image of Spain's cultural splendor. In a declining economic situation, Philip III and Lerma were eager to increase the prestige and political authority of the crown and they capitalized on the popularity and renown of the *Comedia* and the Spanish playwrights behind it.

Though the idea has fallen out of favor in more recent scholarship, for some scholars, the *Comedia* also functions as a way to placate the growing desire for social mobility among the peasants and bourgeoisie by providing an experience of what Greenblatt and other scholars associated with the New Historicism would call "contained subversion." Much like the experience of *carnaval*, the temporary inversion or suspension of the social hierarchy and society's rules allows for a sense of release and renewal, followed by a return to the accepted order. José María Díez Borque and José Antonio Maravall, two extremely influential scholars of the Golden Age in the early 1980s, stimulated this line of inquiry in the context of Spain. For Díez Borque, the fact that the public theater had captured the interest of all levels of society and

had become largely a commercial enterprise did not necessarily mean that the *Comedia* catered to the interests of all members of the *vulgo*. To the contrary, he contends that

> [c]omo siempre que esto ocurre el poder político aprovecha la audiencia masiva para programar y propagar una ideología que tiende al mantenimiento del sistema, y de aquí que la actividad creadora del escritor de comedias, en el XVII, esté sometida, por una parte, a la estructura económica que hace vendible la comedia y, por otra, a la ideología de la clase dominante que se sirve de este alcance masivo. (91-92)

Though it seems contradictory that the paying public of the *corrales de comedias*, all of whom certainly did *not* belong to the nobility, would welcome plays that concentrated on the world of the nobles, Díez Borque explains that the common aspiration to belong to that class made this subject matter appealing to all: "La nobleza, situada en la cumbre de la pirámide jerárquica, es la confluencia de aspiraciones colectivas, de forma que sobre la conciencia de clase de cada grupo estamental como entidad autónoma, pesaba más esta aspiración a entrar en las filas de la nobleza, aunque fuera en su escala más baja" (122). Maravall also sees the *Comedia* as a tool used to maintain the status quo:

> Los españoles emplearon el teatro para, sirviéndose de instrumento popularmente tan eficaz, contribuir a socializar un sistema de convenciones, sobre las cuales en ese momento se estimó había de verse apoyado el orden social concreto vigente en el país, orden que había que conservar, en cualquier caso, sin plantear la cuestión de un posible contenido ético. (20)

As Cascardi explains, Maravall views the theater as subject to an external force which instrumentalized it strategically in favor of the nobility:

> On Maravall's reading, the "traditional" order of society envisioned by the Spanish drama is one that was imposed on it in the interests of maintaining the status quo, in much the same way, and through many of the same techniques, that a theology was "imposed" by the preachers and moralists of the Counter-Reformation and the baroque. (26-27)

Though Díez Borque and Maravall's contributions to the study of the Spanish Golden Age cannot be denied, more recent scholarship has tended to put forth different interpretations of not only the ideology behind the *Comedia* but of the *Comedia* itself. In *Writers on the Market*, Donald Gilbert-Santamaría discusses this same diverse paying public but from a perspective very different from that of Díez Borque. While Díez Borque sees the *Comedia* as reflecting principally the interests of the elite, Gilbert-Santamaría characterizes it as a cultural commodity that had the tricky task of offering something to everyone in the audience:

> In its role as partial arbiter over literary value and meaning, the audience comes to demand representations that in one way or another address its own preferences … The audience for the *comedia* and the novel reflects the demographic dispersion of literate culture. No longer the exclusive domain of the aristocracy, culture comes increasingly into contact with individuals whose own experience is dominated by material concerns, especially as mediated by the market. Lacking the classical attachments of the elite, many in this new audience would ultimately draw on personal experience as the lens through which to evaluate literate culture. (18-19)

Elizabeth Wright also comments on some of what she perceives to be shortcomings of Maravall's idea of "guided culture," referring to George Mariscal's study of subjectivity in Cervantes and Quevedo:

> the guided, top-down conception of the culture that Maravall outlines does not allow for two-way communication: whether we talk about plays, fetes, or patron/client relationships, those subject to coercive power did not remain passive recipients of images but participated in their interpretation. (Wright 21)

It should be noted that in recent years the common assumption that the public theater was frequented by representatives of all or most of the social classes has come under more scrutiny. Jane Albrecht casts doubt on the long-held notion that the *Comedia* was "truly popular," attended by all strata of society, from the highest to the lowest (51). She contends that economic and historical data support the idea that Golden Age theater "spoke to the ideals and conscience of the elite—nobles, new and old, *caballeros*, simple *hidalgos* and their wives, sisters and hangers-on, the clergy, students and well-off artisans and merchants who aspired to nobility—who made up the majority of the audience" (100). So while we can contend, as does Gilbert-Santamaría, that the Golden Age playwrights had to respond to the demands of the market, increasingly determined by those outside the nobility, or, like Wright, that audience members were active participants in interpreting the plays they saw, we must concede the possibility that we are not speaking about a product consumed by all members of the early modern Spanish society, at least not all the time.

Much recent scholarship, in particular that which approaches the *Comedia* from the perspective of women's and gender studies, highlights the potential for readings that were subversive of the established political and social (patriarchal) authority of the early modern period. These interpretations arise from both male-authored texts as well as (re)discovered female-authored texts, like those of María de Zayas and Ana Caro, and they contribute to the

continued importance of and interest in the study and reproduction of these Golden Age plays. Gilbert-Santamaría warns, however, that:

> the functional homogenization of the public as consumer is experienced as a kind of obligation on the part of the playwright who must somehow negotiate the heterogeneity of his audience in a way that allows for all segments of his public to find some mode of engagement with the events and characters represented on stage … [and therefore] any radical ideological content that may find its way into Lope's plays for the public theater is almost invariably defused. (38)

McKendrick, although a proponent of the notion of the *Comedia's* ideological complexity, also sees the subversive potential of the *Comedia* as limited:

> The theatre's answer to the influence necessarily exerted upon it by the forces of social orthodoxy and popular taste … was to exploit the capacity of drama, with its dialectic and its multiple perspectives, for dealing 'innocently' with received values and ideologies, so that it could be made to support and subvert simultaneously. (*Playing* 11)

I would argue, however, that where Gilbert-Santamaría and McKendrick perceive innocence or limited subversive potential in the *Comedia* there remains potential for a multitude of interpretations, subversive or otherwise. The *entremeses* and other *bailes* that accompanied the different *comedias*, performed between acts, were notoriously lewd and certainly could emphasize different subversive ideas. The *entremés* "portrayed peasants, *pícaros*, soldiers, mayors and local officials, old (often impotent) husbands, lascivious wives, legal professionals, students, sacristans, go-betweens, *malcasados*, old Christians, inn-keepers, kitchen-maids, fools of one sort or another, doctors, and *beatas*, and exposed them all to satire and grotesque parody"

(Thacker 155).[9] While these pieces of *teatro menor* could get away with "the riotous anarchy of the farce," the *Comedia* had to be more subtle (Thacker 155). The result of writing for the heterogeneous early modern public and under the watchful eyes of inquisitorial censors is the creation of the *Comedia*'s openness and plasticity that I have already posited. The fact that there has not been consensus on whether the *Comedia* subverts or upholds the traditional hierarchies of power in early modern Spain points toward this condition of open-endedness which in turn has made the *Comedia* a cultural object ripe for reinterpretation and redeployment throughout the history of Spain.

1.6 Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*

The *Comedia*'s plasticity and the different critical interpretations that it has elicited can be examined more concretely in one of the period's most playfully complex texts, Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes,* which was first performed in 1615 by Pedro de Valdés' theater troupe (Arellano 55). By examining the play from varying points of view we can posit different interpretations that would have catered to the interests of the *Comedia's* heterogeneous audience, as well as to previous generations of scholars falling on either side of the propaganda/subversion divide. As I have argued above, early modern Spain was experiencing a crisis of identity, and therefore a play like *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, with its chaotic and confusing emphasis on identity, can be read as a symptom thereof. Its particular use of gender and gendered roles offers compelling evidence of the interconnection between early modern Spanish cultural anxieties of identity and masculinity.

[9] Thacker does note, however, that "[t]he content of the *entremés* did not need to coincide at all with the content of the *comedia* which enveloped it. Nor was it necessarily by the same author: the *autor de comedias* would choose an *entremés* from the company's repertoire" (155).

In this *comedia de enredo* Tirso employs the common Golden Age figure of the *mujer vestida de hombre* who takes it upon herself to restore the honor taken from her by a wayward male protagonist. The play opens *in medias res* with the female protagonist, Doña Juana Solís, dressed in drag outside of Madrid, accompanied by her *criado* Quintana. For the regular playgoing public, the sight of the actress' legs in tights would have immediately informed them that she was a woman, and those who frequently saw plays performed by this troupe would surely have recognized Jerónima de Burgos, the actress that first played the role of Doña Juana/Don Gil (Arellano 55). As we will see, Juana is merely the first of several characters with multiple—and multiplying—identities throughout the play. She has traveled from Valladolid to thwart the plans of Don Martín—who has given her his *palabra de esposo* and enjoyed its benefits—to marry Inés, the daughter of his father's wealthy friend. From the very outset of the play we see an emphasis on the importance and malleability of identity as Martín has adopted the false identity of Don Gil so that he may pursue a marriage with Inés without risk of complications from his obligations to Juana. Juana, whose developing characterization throughout the play shows her to be astute, worldly and manipulative, assumes the same name and proceeds to use this invented persona against him.

Instead of a classically masculine figure of the period, such as a strong, sword-wielding and bearded *galán*, Juana bases her performance of masculinity on the *pretendiente en corte*, a figure that had begun, problematically, to displace the "manly men" of the Spanish elite[10]. She dresses in flamboyant green breeches and makes no attempt to disguise her hairless face or high voice. Don Gil-Martín reaches Inés' father Don Pedro first, but Don Gil-Juana is first to present him/herself to Inés. Gil-Juana's lack of masculinity would have been painfully and hilariously

[10] See Lehfeldt for a more thorough treatment of the *pretendiente en corte* as symptomatic of early modern Spain's crisis of masculinity, and Sánchez for more detail on its treatment by the Spanish state.

obvious to the crowd in the *corral*, as evidenced by Caramanchel's running jokes about his *amo* having a high-pitched voice, beardless face and being a *capón.* Caramanchel banters with Gil-Juana and at other moments essentially breaks down the fourth wall of the theater and ensures that the audience is in on the joke:

CARAMANCHEL. ¿Cómo os llamáis vos?

JUANA. Don Gil.

CARAMANCHEL. ¿Y qué más?

JUANA. Don Gil no más.

CARAMANCHEL. Capón sois hasta en el nombre,

pues si en ello se repara,

las barbas son en la cara

lo mismo que el sobrenombre. (vv. 517-522)[11]

Later on, Caramanchel describes, in an *aparte*, "¡Qué bonito // que es el tiple moscatel!" (v. 536) and later determines that one of the male characters pretending to be Don Gil cannot be his *amo*, "que hablara a lo caponil" (v. 2868).

Though Inés is initially courted by Don Juan and tries to convince him of her devotion, upon meeting Don Gil-Juana she, along with her cousin Doña Clara, ironically falls hard and fast for the effeminate impostor. As Gil, Juana enters into playful conversation with Inés, Clara and an increasingly jealous Juan. When the two ladies wish to dance, Juan refuses but Gil-Juana readily joins in, demonstrating that Gil is "[u]n ángel de cristal" (v. 858) with "su talle airoso y gentil" (v. 860). Jelena Sánchez comments on the way in which Gil-Juana strays even from the typical example of a cross-dressed female character in this period:

[11] All citations of the play text, unless otherwise noted, refer to line numbers and are taken from the edition of *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (Tirso de Molina) edited by Enrique García Santo-Tomás (2009).

> This particular female transvestite stands-out [*sic*] for its unprecedented depiction of the gendered body and female desire. What instantly sets her apart from most other cross-dressers is her captivating allure as a feminine 'donjuanesque' man or *burlador afeminado* [effeminate beguiler], contrary to the conventional manly *mujer vestida de hombre*. She takes control over every character in the play by assuming a flirtatious male identity that is empowered by a peculiar effeminacy. (126)

Other scholars, such as Robert Bayliss in his article "The Best Man in the Play: Female Agency in a Gender-Inclusive *Comedia*," have noted that it is precisely Gil-Juana's difference from the typical male figure that causes Inés' uncanny attraction to him/her:

> We might even suspect that a degree of narcissism is at the bottom of Inés' attraction to Juana/Gil, the one object of desire to whom Inés remains constant: "his" very effeminacy sets him apart from other men. … Inés will later explain to Juana, who this time has assumed the identity of a woman named Elvira, that "Causa suelen decir que es / del amor la semejanza" (v. 267)." (317)

Though this observation is made to illustrate the point that Tirso portrays his female characters as fickle, narcissistic and jealous, it remains that Gil-Juana is meant not to conform to a typical ideal of masculinity, both for comedic effect and, as I propose, as a critical social commentary.

Clara's praise of Gil-Juana's uncommon physique employs contradictory descriptions—Don Gil is both graceful and delicate, as though made of glass, and also gallant and brave—to provoke laughter from the audience, but it also parodies the evolving reality of Spanish masculinity: manly men were increasingly displaced by the new masculinity of foppish aristocrats. This situation in the play could be—and probably was—interpreted from different viewpoints, depending on the social position one occupied in the *corral*. On the one hand, the

pretendiente was an infamous figure in the court at the time that Tirso penned this play. In 1611, these displaced nobles were ordered—without much enforcement—to return to their estates (Sánchez 130). An aristo-centric interpretation might read Juana's performance as a biting jab at the ignoble figure of the *pretendiente* that members of the upper aristocracy would have looked down upon. So effeminate and undesirable was this figure, such a reading would contend, that a woman might easily imitate him, and to great comic effect.

However, Gil-Juana competes with Juan and Gil-Martín, characters representing perhaps a more traditional aristocratic masculinity. It is significant, then, that Gil-Juana is the most successful male character throughout most of the play. Moralists and other critics of the transforming aristocracy may have seen in this situation a metaphor for the growing impotence of the male elite in the face of the shifting social paradigm, an interpretation that Jelena Sánchez draws from the "derided position of the *pretendiente* at court" (130). As previously discussed, the crisis of masculinity that Spain was experiencing drew a parallel between the changing definition of masculinity and Spain's perceived imperial decline. As the male elite took up residence at court, their concerns shifted more toward keeping up with the latest fashion and away from managing their estates and military service, thus weakening Spain's production and prominence on the world stage. Though the *pretendiente* was not the only male to succumb to the new fashions of the court, he was certainly the most notorious transgressor and therefore an easy target.

Throughout the early modern period legislation was periodically passed concerning the adornment of one's person and other representations of wealth and prestige. Saúl Martínez Bermejo discusses the aims of these sumptuary laws, which seemed to function on various levels:

> It could be argued that some of the grounds and justifications these laws expressed obscure their *aim of controlling and maintaining the differences between estates*. Still, a discourse concerning the maintenance of public order emerges clearly enough. Within its framework wealth is seen as a matter of public concern which affects the health – economic and otherwise – of the monarchy and the common good. This is particularly interesting because this is by no means the predominant emphasis within the discourse of moralists and theologians, which habitually refers to the feminization and weakening of society in moral terms. Strictly moral considerations [sic] inconveniences of this sort tend not to appear as grounds for action within the public text of sumptuary laws. (100; my emphasis)

Although the aim of these laws seems to have been maintaining social hierarchies and protecting the wealth of the realm, many subjects were exposed to the admonishments of the moralists and theologians concerning feminization. We can see both concerns embodied in the character of Gil-Juana: the *pretendiente* who sought to climb the social ladder while flaunting an alternative (to) masculinity, a double threat to the existing social order.

Throughout the play, Don Juan is the most conventionally masculine figure. The nobles and the moralists alike could appreciate his words and actions. He derides the *pretendiente* Gil-Juana, for whom he has been temporarily jilted, referring to him/her as "un rapaz" and "un niño" at different moments (vv. 1184, 1186). He pursues his competitors and challenges them to fight for Inés, though he seems unwilling to do so except under the proper rules of engagement, consistently employing the language of honorable (noble) behavior. When he challenges Gil-Martín in Act III, during the night scene in which four Don Gils ultimately come to *rondar* at Inés' window, Juan calls him out for cowardice: "Dad de vuestro amor señal // don Gil, que es de

pechos viles // ser cobarde y servir dama" (vv. 2862-64). Martín, however, will not engage, and so Juan continues his entreaty: "Sacad el acero, pues, // o habré de ser descortés" (vv. 2876-77). Again, Martín refuses, believing Juan to be the *alma en pena* of a supposedly deceased Juana, and with growing frustration Juan challenges him once more: "Sacad la espada, don Gil, // o haré una hazaña vil" (vv. 2904-5). He never fulfills his threats but rather is left dumbfounded by Martín's hasty exit and the fact that he has been addressing him as a (female) *alma en pena*, "la más nueva invención // que los hombres han oído" (vv. 2933-34). Inés has overheard this exchange, believing Juan to be her preferred Don Gil-Juana, and cautions him: "En gran peligro os ha puesto, // don Gil, vuestro atrevimiento" (vv. 2954-55). Juan gallantly replies to her: "Amor que no es atrevido // no es amor; afrenta ha sido" (vv. 2956-57).

Though Juan plays the jealous and jilted lover throughout most of the play, his conventional masculinity is ultimately rewarded by marriage to Inés. As Inés and Juana wait for Don Gil to appear below the window, Juan arrives at the right place at the right time:

> INÉS. Gente siento. ¿Si será
> nuestro don Gil de Albornoz?
> JUANA. Háblale, y sal de esa duda.
> CARAMANCHEL. Un rondante se ha parado.
> ¿Si es mi don Gil encantado?
> JUAN. Llegad y hablad, lengua muda.
> ¡Ah de arriba!
> INÉS. ¿Sois don Gil?
> JUAN. (Allí la pica; diré
> que sí.) (vv. 2765-73)

After speaking to Inés and Juana (who Inés believes to be Doña Elvira at this point), pretending he is her preferred Don Gil, Juan lies in wait for his competition and it is then that the aforementioned exchange with Martín takes place. After Martín's exit Clara and later Juana enter the scene dressed as Don Gil. Quite worked up by this point, Juan is ready to dispatch all the Gils that have been tormenting him: "Guardando este paso estoy; // o váyanse, o matarélos" (vv. 3038-39). Both he and Quintana draw their swords and the latter wounds Juan, though in the "darkness" Juan and Inés believe that Don Gil de las calzas verdes—whichever one he may be at this point—is the one who has struck him. Juan is wounded physically, but Inés soothes his wounds when she once again returns his affections at the end of the play.

Martín's problems, however, only multiply once he dresses in the green breeches: Clara's male cousins believe he (as Don Gil) has given his word to marry her, and they come to force him to fulfill that word. Then more men come and mistakenly blame him for having wounded Juan, not to mention the fact that Juana's father and the *alguacil* are already detaining him for allegedly beating his wife (Juana) to death. Just in time, Juana comes to his rescue in another inversion of traditional gender roles and sets all of the stories straight:

JUANA. Yo he sido el don Gil fingido,
célebre ya por mis calzas,
temido por alma en pena,
[A MARTÍN] por serlo tú de mi alma;
dame esa mano.
MARTÍN. Confuso
te la beso, prenda cara,
y agradecido de ver

que cesaron por tu causa

todas mis persecuciones.

La muerte tuve tragada. (vv. 3217-26)

It is at this point—when Juana asks Martín for *his* hand in marriage—that this inversion of gender roles reaches its climax. It takes this *dama-ex-machina* to restore patriarchal order (Bayliss 320). While Juan's steadfast masculinity is ultimately rewarded by Inés' love, Martín, in marrying Juana, pays the debt that he owes. This is not to say that Martín's marriage is a punishment, although perhaps some spectators might interpret it that way, but rather that he must marry Juana and be reconciled to his accepted role in society. After all, when Martín originally seduced Juana he was acting within his most conventionally recognized gender and social norms, so it is fitting that his union with her effectively secures him in that identity. This interpretation—of rewarding Juan's behavior and of reconciling Martín (and consequently Juana) to established social and gender norms—lends itself well to a narrative of "subversion contained" and would certainly please the typical "manly" aristocrat and would potentially satisfy moralists concerned with the feminization of the aristocracy.

Working from a Lacanian perspective, Matthew Stroud reads Juana's foray into the world of cross-dressing as an allegory for the search for sexual identity:

> Because men and women in society are only signifiers and, as such, susceptible to shifting meanings, she [Juana] is able to alternate between them before the final fixing of her identity. For the play to end well, however, Juana must choose one role or the other, and by choosing that of wife, a position defined by the men to whom she subordinates herself, she must give up much of the independence and power she has shown. (“‘¿Y sois hombre’” 77-78)

I do not see Juana's cross-dressing as an exploration of her sexual options but rather as a means to what is ultimately an ironically conservative and conventional end. Because as a female in her patriarchal society she is powerless to make him fulfill his vow without male intervention, Juana exploits the susceptibility of sex to shifting meanings, noted by Stroud, to become a man and intervene on her own behalf. Her male garb and invented identity give her the power that, as a woman, she would not otherwise enjoy, both the power and freedom to move around in the social space of Madrid and the power of choice. We must remember that all of Juana's efforts are in service of restoring the patriarchal order, which is not surprising in a play written by a religious man of the seventeenth century, and in that order Juana's own conventional role is that of Martín's wife. I agree with Stroud that there must be a final fixing of identity in the play, but rather than Juana's—which was never truly in question in my opinion—it is Martín's identity that must be fixed. His (mis)behavior, after all, is what made Juana's transgressive bending of gender norms necessary, and his tenuous identification with Spanish masculinity reflects the cultural anxieties surrounding gender discussed above.

While I disagree with the idea that Juana is searching for her sexual identity, I do believe that Stroud's point that sexual identity is subject to shifting in this period is more broadly applicable. We see throughout this play that both personal/individual and sexual identity are extremely fluid—no fewer than four characters pass for Don Gil at different points in the drama, two of whom are women—, and that the nature of the court society makes it nearly impossible to really know anyone's true identity. As we have been exploring in this chapter, the instability of identity—racial, religious, ethnic, sexual, personal, group, class—is a mainstay of the theater industry of this period in which the question of what it meant to be Spanish—to belong or not and where—was being debated implicitly and explicitly, on both the world stage and that of the

corrales de comedia. If *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* is symptomatic of fluid identities in early modern Spain, then just as decrees, laws and expulsions of the "Other" did for the Spanish society, the play's ending offers a fantasy resolution that is really only superficially satisfactory. All is not magically resolved after the curtain falls, just as the cultural struggle for identity, for defining Spanishness, is far from resolved in this or any other Golden Age text.

I believe it is precisely this instability and questioning of identity that has made and continues to make the *Siglo de Oro* fertile ground for reinterpretation and adaptation in Spain and beyond. As L. Carl Johnson states in "The (ab)Uses of Characterization in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*"

> In *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, Tirso dramatizes both the precarious nature of identity and perceived character, as well as the manner in which these could be commandeered by others if necessary. The subject matter and technique have a certain familiarity about them in our time; but how strange to encounter a discourse, at once penetrating and bewildering, on what we now term the "post-Modern" crisis of identity in a work that predates our era by nearly four hundred years. (142)

Much like gender as theorized by Judith Butler, being Don Gil is the imitation of an "original" that really never existed. However, this imitation, albeit a brief performance, helps each character secure his or her "real" identity in the end (Butler 188). Identities are fixed, rules are reestablished, the curtain falls, and all is well for a moment. Here gender is one of many performances used to navigate the crisis of identity.

1.7 Conclusions

Based on the popularity and longevity of the public theater in Spain, the early modern audience in the *corral* appeared to delight in these superficially satisfying resolutions, a common

feature of most of the Golden Age *comedias*. As we have just explored, these problems of identity are part of the very DNA of the *Comedia*. Though the loose ends are tied up at the end of each play, as we will see in the next chapter adaptations of these plays in subsequent centuries suggest that the anxieties that they address are truly trans-historic, recurring in subsequent centuries, as the introduction to this dissertation discussed, and continuing into the twentieth century.

Chapter 2: Spanishness and the *Comedia* Under Franco

2.1 Introduction

If the previous chapter argued that early modern Spain experienced a crisis of identity, the present chapter will examine how the modern usage of many Golden Age narratives participates in the persistence of this same struggle for identity during the regime of Francisco Franco. Through an examination of film adaptations of the *Comedia* during the Franco dictatorship, this chapter explores how the adaptation of Spanish Golden Age cultural production is invariably a function of the cultural and historical moment in which it appears. In other words, case studies of *Fuenteovejuna*, *El alcalde de Zalamea* and *El burlador de Sevilla* will reveal that adaptations of Golden Age classics are just as informed by the historical, cultural and industrial circumstances surrounding their production as were the original plays themselves. From its austere beginnings to its period of economic development and ultimately to its final waning years of stagnation, the changing circumstances of the Franco regime directly impacted how these plays were reimagined and transformed to film, and a narrative of the Franco regime's rise and fall can be traced through a comparative reading of these adaptations.

In this chapter I will discuss three golden age *comedias* that were adapted for the screen during Franco's dictatorship.[12] Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* was adapted in 1947 by Antonio Román and again in 1972 by Juan Guerrero Zamora, and versions of Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* were directed by José Gutiérrez Maesso in 1954 and Mario Camus in 1973. Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* as well as Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* deal with gender and power

[12] Of the five films that I will analyze, two, *Fuenteovejuna* (Guerrero Zamora, 1972) and *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* (Camus, 1973), were actually produced for television but were granted a theatrical release as well. As I have discussed in the introduction, in general I have excluded made-for-television films from my study, however the theatrical release of these two films and the value that they hold for comparison with the two films from the *primer franquismo* are the reasons for their inclusion.

relations in ways that reflect the early modern crisis, but adaptations of each from the earlier part of the Francoist era, the *primer franquismo*, suggest that the twentieth-century regime's treatment of gender and power was very much informed by the Golden Age. The cultural capital of Lope's and Calderón's plays was exploited to lend legitimacy to the regime's traditional patriarchal emphasis, however this same cultural capital, over the course of the regime, afforded opportunities for later, more oppositional directors in the *tardofranquismo* to critique or contest Francoist articulations of the issues. Beginning with Román's and Maesso's films I analyze ways in which these serve the ideology of the regime but how they also expose weaknesses in the same. This undermining is taken even further in Guerrero Zamora's and Camus' later adaptations of Lope and Calderón in the regime's waning years, as the censorship relaxed in an era of profound social change.

In the last part of the chapter I will analyze José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's 1950 adaptation *Don Juan*, which takes cues from both Tirso's early modern *Burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra* and José Zorrilla's nineteenth-century *Don Juan Tenorio*, to further demonstrate how this Golden Age legend, and the *Comedia* in general, resists a strictly limited interpretation and reveals the genre's inherent plasticity, even under the auspices of a highly conservative regime. As an adaptation of an early modern theatrical text, at least in part, this film stands curiously alongside its arguably more conservative counterparts. From Tirso's earliest iteration of Don Juan Tenorio, arguably the most memorable dramatic character to emerge from Spanish Golden Age theater, the trickster of Seville repeatedly exploits the tenuous nature of identity in his sexual conquests. Just as he takes on the identities of many others to serve his own ends, Don Juan's identity has been reformed and refashioned over and over again since the Golden Age on page, stage and screen to suit the needs of those who adapt his narrative, thereby showing the

inherent malleability of even the most famous of Golden Age Spanish identities and the persistence through the twentieth century of the social problems he embodies. The analysis of *Don Juan* will show that, despite state censorship and a pro-regime director, this *comedia*'s plasticity allows it to resist the ideological control to which its adaptation during the dictatorship tried to submit it.

2.2 Ideas of Gender Under Franco

The Spanish Civil War can be described as an extreme expression of the divergent views of how "true" Spanish identity was understood: two groups desperately, and ultimately violently, fighting for their interpretation of Spanish history, culture and identity. And to the victors go the spoils, including the Spanish classics. At least for a while, Franco and his regime enjoyed exclusive control over what those Golden Age narratives meant and, through them, what it meant to be Spanish. Although there were many aspects of Francoist ideology that ordered everyday life for Spaniards, especially during the *primer franquismo*, the particularly gender-inflected aspects of the official ideology of the dictatorship became a recurring point of tension in the film adaptations of Golden Age texts, which (whether consciously or unconsciously) exposed the cultural tensions surrounding gender during the regime. Mary Nash explores Franco's strict return to a patriarchal family model and explains that "[t]he early years of the Franco regime saw the articulation of a new moral order based on a hierarchical structuring of society, national tradition, National Syndicalism, and National Catholicism which acted as an ideological legitimizer and provided cultural cohesion to the 'New State'" (160). During the Spanish Second Republic the official separation of Church and State had freed women from economic dependence on their fathers or husbands and therefore from the traditional role prescribed for

them (Ayerra 248-49). Women had achieved numerous rights, such as suffrage, the right to divorce, and a maternity insurance benefit, and they actively pursued education and participated in politics. The Nationalist victory erased all of that progress, taking Spain "[f]rom an advanced position in these matters [of equality between the sexes] … [to] a proud example of retrograde regulation" (Ayerra 248). Though the patriarchal family model found its roots in tradition and Catholicism, it also intended to serve a very practical purpose for Spain: rebuilding Spain's population in light of the declining birth rate, a strong concern for the regime. In a significant reversal of the advancements made by and for women during the Second Republic, "[w]omen were politicized through the notion of a common female destiny based on their reproductive capacities. Female sexuality, work and education were regulated in accordance with this social function while motherhood was idealized and considered as a duty to the fatherland" (Nash 160). Aurora Morcillo explores the concept of "true Catholic womanhood" in her eponymous study, tracing some of the changes that the regime had to make to its pronatalist model when Spain entered the 1950s and needed to promote consumerism. With the end of Spain's autarky and the opening of the economy, "the regime had to redefine its discourse on true Catholic womanhood to effect a transition from the 1940s reproductive female model to the consumer-housewife model of the next two decades (Morcillo 4). Despite changes in the articulation of how a Spanish woman should carry out her day-to-day life, the essential quality of her existence under *franquismo* remained unchanged: she was subordinate in every way to man and held to the highest standards of purity; her sphere was principally the home and her patriotic duty, motherhood. In her position she mirrored that of Spain: as Franco was the authority/father over the nation, man was the authority over his wife and family.

Similar to the emphasis on masculinity or the perceived crisis thereof in the seventeenth century examined in Chapter One, in the Falangist Spain of the twentieth-century projections of national identity were complicated by underlying tensions surrounding gender. The intensely patriarchal and Catholic nature of the dictatorship necessarily promoted a view of masculinity and male superiority in line with that of the *antiguo régimen*. As we have already seen, the regime prescribed binary gender roles: women were relegated to the domestic sphere, and especially to their reproductive/maternal capacity, while political and economic power (not to mention social mobility) were reserved for men. These realms were also mutually exclusive, as all male performances resembling femininity were to be repressed (and this applied most especially to homosexuality). However, we will see that film adaptations of the Don Juan legend and other Golden Age narratives constituted a cultural space in which this binary could be subtly tested, questioned and critiqued: while some films prescribed such a breed of masculinity, others interrogated it or criticized its failing. We will also explore the consequences of these representations of masculinity for Spanish women: as early modern Spanish theater often dramatized problems caused by men failing to perform their gender-specific social responsibilities, thus requiring the agency of women to solve them, their Franco-era adaptations implicated this same "gender trouble" in the use of the classics to promote the regime's own vision of Spanishness.[13] The most salient example of this phenomenon appears in various adaptations of Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna*, in which this tension reaches its climax as the female victim of sexual abuse questions the masculinity of the town's men and issues a gender-inclusive call to arms. The pervasive ideas of the sexual revolution and second-wave feminism of

[13] Butler's study *Gender Trouble* questions the natural or essential notions of sex and gender and argues instead for the constructed nature of both. As mentioned previously, the work is perhaps best known for Butler's performative theory of gender.

the 1960s and early 1970s, although not officially occurring in Spain under the dictatorship, would eventually make much of Franco's gendered ideology untenable, and these changes to social attitudes and practices were reflected in screen adaptations of Golden Age narratives. As the strictures of both film censorship and social policy began to relax toward the end of the dictatorship, directors at ideological odds with the regime seized the opportunity to "take back" the classics, exposing once again that they do not inherently support/align with any single definition of Spain.

2.3 Constructing Spanishness in the Francoist Era

In the midst of and especially after the Spanish Civil War, Francisco Franco and his regime used a certain interpretation of Spain's Golden Age classics to bolster and/or lend legitimacy to their idea of what true Spanishness was or ought to be. This is one of the central conflicts that ultimately led Spain to civil war: what did it mean to be Spanish and who, going forward, would have the authority to define it? As explored in the introduction, such a project was anything but unprecedented and can even be seen as a response to the Republican project of articulating Spanishness during the years before the war. For Spanish Republicans Spain needed to become more liberal and democratic, to decentralize its power structure, and to embrace modernization, secular education and internationalization. From the perspective of the Second Republic, Spanishness needed to move away from antiquated societal norms like monarchy, nobility and the Church's involvement with the state.

For Nationalists, however, true Spanishness lay in the past, from what Spain under the Republic had been moving further and further away. Spanishness was a strong, centralized state ordered by the rules of patriarchy and the Catholic church, with which Francoism for many years

enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. Though at the beginning of the civil war there were few points that the various constituents of the rebel forces agreed upon, Stanley Payne notes that "[t]he only unifying note of rebel propaganda was a broad appeal to Spanish nationalism, as opposed to international Communist subversion or so-called 'dissolvent influences'" (12). This outside influence was thought to be diluting the Spanish identity (hence the years of autarky) and the purity of the Spanish *pueblos* was being spoiled by those promoting progress and industrialization (until the regime determined to promote industrialization in the 50s, at least). Autarky served both ideological and practical ends: it was ideological in that it represented an attitude of strong nationalism and a rejection of liberalism, but also practical considering trade problems caused by World War II and boycotts of Spanish trade until 1958 (Esteban 85).

Franco's use the of Golden Age falls into the trap, described by Mariscal, of "transform[ing] earlier cultures into false images of our own" owing to an inattention to social and political issues of the culture in question (xii). The reflection of a society obsessed with its degree of Catholicism and strictly organized around a patriarchal model that can be discerned in the Golden Age plays was extremely appealing to Franco's ideal of *nacional catolicismo*. Just as we cannot speak of a division between the secular and the sacred in Spain's early modern period neither did *el Generalísimo* believe such a division should exist in the twentieth century. The church would take the reins of education, married women were expected to take care of their husbands and children, and models like Isabel the Catholic and St. Teresa de Jesús were heavily promoted as feminine ideals. Feminism was viewed to be unnatural and government organizations, especially the Sección Femenina de la Falange, undertook to educate women in the domestic arts and promote their destiny of motherhood. Kathleen J. L. Richmond notes that "[t]hroughout its existence, SF [Sección Femenina] functioned as the transmission-belt for the

moral and political values of the regime. The causes associated with the Nationalist victory—a return to patriarchal society and restoration of traditional gender roles—remained SF's fundamental doctrine" (4). The Francoist regime had to contrast itself with the Second Republic and show how its ideology would set Spain back on its true path from which it had been taken off course by "anti-Spanish" thinkers, mainly the influential intellectuals of the Second Republic. As Enrique Montero states, "the Second Spanish Republic was largely an ideological product of new liberalism," informed greatly by German Krausist philosophy, and also inspired by the French Revolution as well as Marxism (124). In other words, for the nationalist rebels, the intellectuals of the Second Republic embraced non-Spanish philosophy and ideology and the changes they enacted were destroying the "true" Spain. The focus of the regime, therefore, had to be turned inward once again.

With the fall of the Republic, cinema, already very popular in Spain, fell into the hands of the Nationalists, and though we do not know exactly to what extent the regime determined actively to use it for ideological indoctrination, it's potential is readily seen. Duncan Wheeler remarks that "[a]lthough it is undoubtedly true that there was no single concerted effort to turn cinema into a propaganda machine, it was nevertheless prioritized by the regime (137). The regime devoted funds to maintain the theater industry, despite the post-war economic hardship and other scholars are less doubtful of the its intent, noting that

> [e]sta decisiva intervención del Estado en el Sistema de producción de películas obedece a razones de supervivencia política. El régimen necesita medios de comunicación poderosos y directamente ligados al poder que actúen como un efectivo sistema de autodefensa y disuasión. Sabemos, en efecto, que la economía española no alcanza los

> niveles económicos de 1936 hasta 1954. La industria del cine, en cambio, se recupera mucho antes. (Díez Puertas 325)

The accelerated recovery of the film industry indicated by Díez Puertas, thanks to the intervention of the State, communicates clearly the value that the regime saw in film's propaganda potential. Film was an unquestionable tool of ideological influence (if not indoctrination) for the regime, and the prevalence of films representing Spanish history and, we can argue, classic Spanish texts and plays served these ends by presenting narratives of history that pointed to the legitimacy of Franco's government. Virginia Higginbotham compares Spanish cinema's mythicization of Spanish history to Barthes' conception of myth, "a system of meaning defined by its intention rather than by its literal sense," and she argues that such a mythicization of history "becomes distorted and duplicitous in order to serve not fact, or authenticity, or even the demands of the box office, but an intention. Franco's intention, of course, was to force acceptance of his military dictatorship, and he used film as a visual language to impose the mythology of his regime" (x). As a nationally subsidized industry, cinema was an extremely useful and widespread means of promoting regime ideology, and as Susan Sontag notes, unlike theater, "[b]ecause film is an object, it is totally manipulable, totally calculable," and this manipulability was used very strategically by directors aligned with (and, as we see later, in opposition to) regime ideology (144). The popularity of cinema, and hence its political utility, has been well established by scholars such as Raymond Carr, who observes that "[w]ith more cinema seats per capita than any other European country, the Spain of the '40s and '50s was a nation of cinema addicts" (164). Statistics from the Junta de Protección de Menores indicate that in 1948 more than 250 million pesetas were spent in Madrid on film and theater attendance, which means that on average "in 1948 each inhabitant of the Spanish capital went to the movies

forty-five times. Between 1938 and 1945, thirty-eight new cinemas were constructed, as opposed to twenty-five churches during the same period" (Vernon 470). These numbers are quite telling if we keep in mind that this coincides with Spain's so-called "años de hambre," during which time strict food rationing still barely provided enough for the hungry population on the losing side of the Civil War.

A variety of film genres were used throughout the dictatorship to reinforce characteristics of the "ideal" Francoist Spain. Besides the briefly mentioned popularity of historical films, another such genre was Golden Age *comedias* adapted to films, which, in most cases, easily passed the censorship board due to the belief (the fallacy, really) that they intrinsically coincided with regime values. However, holding up the *comedias* of the Golden Age as shining examples of the ideology to which the Nationalists sought to return and which "inherently" promoted the "correct" ideals is a strategy that allowed those texts to also be utilized by oppositional directors who understood that these plays, as the previous chapter argued, are not as black and white as Franco and his regime would have liked to believe. Because the identities articulated in early modern *comedias* are fluid and open to contradictory interpretations, the cultural authority invoked by the regime through their use paradoxically also authorized oppositional voices equally capable of appropriating the classics for their own ends.

2.4 Gender and Power in *Fuenteovejuna*

Lope de Vega's *Fuenteovejuna* is probably the playwright's most studied and criticized play of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It was first published as part of the collection *Dozena parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* in 1619 and thought to have been written several years earlier, between 1612-14 (Dixon, Introduction, *Fuente Ovejuna* 1). Despite its

widespread popularity in the present, the play was virtually unknown to scholars until Menéndez Pelayo wrote a long review of it in 1899 in his *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de Vega* (P. Larson 270). Its well-known use in Marxist/revolutionary soviet adaptations has certainly influenced its critical attention in the last one hundred years and created interesting problems for right wing adaptors during the Franco dictatorship. A closer look at the narrative of Lope's play script reveals a play that hinges heavily on gender and power relations, in which female characters not only question the masculinity of their male counterparts and superiors through what happens to them in the play's action but are given a voice to directly question masculinity itself through the play's dialogue as well. The play's villain, Fernán Gómez de Guzmán, *comendador* of Fuenteovejuna, embodies the dimensions of power related to class and gender, as he exploits not only the women of the village but the men as well through his superior social rank. This interrogation of masculinity and the play's focus on the abuse of (sexual) power yields interesting results when placed in the context of Franco's regime, which, as we have mentioned, articulated its own particular ideology of gender relations in ways that would often echo and even explicitly emulate the *antiguo régimen*.

Fuenteovejuna is a play in which questions of good vs evil and class and gender are inextricably linked with the emerging Spanish nation. As A. Robert Lauer explores, Lope manipulated the historical record of events in order to cast good an evil in geopolitical terms:

> a certain poetic truth emerges in a historically falsified dramatic text which, in spite of its historical distortions (or perhaps thanks to them), gives us precisely a poetically "true" historical account of what eventually became a historical event, namely, the creation of the first centralized nation-state which would consolidate power and reign, for good or ill, not against but *with* the (humbled) aristocracy and people, scapegoating only a member

> who, like the Comendador, would be incapable of subjection on account of his choleric temperament and unswayed allegiance to the supposedly illegitimate Queen. (217)

In many ways this “poetic truth” that Lauer describes parallels Franco’s own desire to paint his military coup and subsequent regime as replacing the illegitimate government of the Second Republic. The play opens with the *comendador* of the village of Fuenteovejuna, Fernán Gómez de Guzman, impatiently waiting to be received by the young Rodrigo Téllez Girón, *maestre* of the order of Calatrava. Fernán Gómez urges the young *maestre* to take his soldiers to capture the strategic city of Ciudad Real in the service of Alfonso V of Portugal, who sought the throne of Castile for his wife Juana la "Beltraneja" in opposition to Isabel's claims. The *comendador* and the *maestre*, in other words, are on the wrong side of history, so to speak, and their early characterization as being aligned with the interests of Portugal sets up a contrast that ultimately associates good with Spanishness. If we are at all in doubt of Fernán Gómez's characterization at this point, in his absence two *labradoras*, Pascuala and the principal protagonist Laurencia, discuss the abuses visited upon Fuenteovejuna's women by him. Their conversation is evidence early in the play of the link that is made between sexual and political power: the noble male character repeatedly abuses his position to figuratively violate the honor of the peasant men and to explicitly violate the honor of their women through brute force.

Laurencia laments how the *comendador* has ruined the name of so many young women and then reveals to Pascuala that he has pursued her for the last month, principally through the threats of his servants Flores and Ortuño:

> Pues en vano es lo que ves,
> porque ha que me sigue un mes,
> y todo, Pascuala, en vano.

Aquel Flores, su alcahuete,

y Ortuño, aquel socarrón,

me mostraron un jubón,

una sarta y un copete.

dijéronme tantas cosas

de Fernando, su señor,

que me pusieron temor;

mas no serán poderosas

para contrastar mi pecho. (vv. 198-208)[14]

After the *comendador* returns from sacking Ciudad Real his villagers greet him with song and celebration and present him with all the gifts of food they can afford to offer. When the others depart, the *comendador* unsuccessfully tries to get Laurencia and Pascuala to come home with him. He asks "¿Mías no sois?", clearly showing that he regards women, at least of their class, merely as objects (v. 603). Pascuala responds "Sí, señor; // mas no para cosas tales" (vv. 603-4). Later, after the *comendador* leaves it to Flores to try to force them inside Laurencia asks "¿No basta a vuestro señor // tanta carne presentada?" (vv. 623-24). Ortuño chimes in "La vuestra es la que le agrada" (v. 625). Here the woman refers to herself as 'carne' for the way she knows the *comendador* only sees them as food for his carnal desire.

Later, when Laurencia is speaking with her suitor Frondoso by the river the *comendador* comes upon her (she has told Frondoso to hide), chasing a deer ('corzo') and when he sees her he compares her to the game he has been pursuing: "No es malo venir siguiendo // un corcillo temeroso, // y topar tan bella gama" (vv. 779-81). Frondoso takes up Gómez's discarded

[14] All citations of the play text, unless otherwise noted, refer to line numbers and are taken from the edition of *Fuenteovejuna* (Lope de Vega) edited by Victor Dixon (1989).

crossbow and defends her honor on this occasion but marks himself for the *comendador's* vengeance. Later, speaking to Esteban, who is both Laurencia's father and the *alcalde* of Fuenteovejuna, the *comendador* refers to Laurencia as a 'liebre' that keeps getting away from him: "Quisiera en esta ocasión // que le hiciérades pariente // a una liebre que por pies // por momentos se me va" (vv. 957-60). Here again the repeated animalization of Laurencia points to the *comendador's* view of women as mere objects for the taking, and not without the violent undertones that hunter and game imply. However, the villagers (Esteban, the regidor, etc.) do not share their lord's misogynistic view and try to reason with the *comendador*, saying that it is unjust for him to take away their honor by defaming their women. Fernán Gómez is taken aback for he does not believe it is possible for peasants to have any honor:

> COMENDADOR. Pues ¿he dicho cosa alguna
>
> de que os pese, Regidor?
>
> REGIDOR. Lo que decís es injusto;
>
> no lo digáis, que no es justo
>
> que nos quitéis el honor.
>
> COMENDADOR. ¿Vosotros honor tenéis?
>
> ¡Qué freiles de Calatrava! (vv. 982-88)

Repeatedly the *comendador* acts on his belief that honor is a virtue only of the nobility, demonstrating his abuse of his social position for personal (especially sexual) gratification. For him, class is power, and his abuses not only rob the villagers under his protection of their honor but in so doing he also emasculates the men of Fuenteovejuna.

When Fernán Gómez is called away to try to defend his hold on Ciudad Real Frondoso is able to come out of hiding and he and Laurencia make plans to marry, with her father's blessing.

The *comendador* arrives back from defeat in Ciudad Real to interrupt the wedding festivities. He orders Frondoso arrested and then after a confrontation with Esteban he has Laurencia taken as well, turning the scene from a joyous occasion to one full of dread and tears. The men of Fuenteovejuna gather in a *junta* and vacillate on what to do. Juan Rojo tries to rally those gathered, saying: "Si nuestras desventuras se compasan, // para perder las vidas, ¿qué aguardamos? // Las casas y las viñas nos abrasan; // tiranos son. ¡A la venganza vamos!" (vv. 1708-11). As the town's male leaders deliberate, Laurencia appears in a disheveled state ("desmelenada," as the stage directions describe it) and delivers to the men gathered there one of the most famous diatribes of a female character of the entire Golden Age theatrical tradition (excerpted below):

> ¿Vosotros sois hombres nobles?
> ¿Vosotros, padres y deudos?
> ¿Vosotros, que no se os rompen
> las entrañas de dolor,
> de verme en tantos dolores?
> Ovejas sois, bien lo dice
> de Fuente Ovejuna el nombre.
> Dadme unas armas a mí,
> pues sois piedras, pues sois bronces,
> pues sois jaspes, pues sois tigres...
> Tigres no, porque feroces
> siguen quien roba sus hijos,
> matando los cazadores

antes que entren por el mar
y por sus ondas se arrojen.
Liebres cobardes nacistes;
bárbaros sois, no españoles.
¡Gallinas! ¡Vuestras mujeres
sufrís que otros hombres gocen!
¡Poneos ruecas en la cinta!
¿Para qué os ceñís estoques?
¡Vive Dios, que he de trazar
que solas mujeres cobren
la honra de estos tiranos,
la sangre de estos traidores!
¡Y que os han de tirar piedras,
hilanderas, maricones,
amujerados, cobardes!
¡Y que mañana os adornen
nuestras tocas y basquiñas,
solimanes y colores! (vv. 1753-83; my emphasis)

Her impassioned words call into question not only the manhood of the men of Fuenteovejuna, whom she calls "medio hombres" in line 1789, (and who have indeed been emasculated by Fernán Gómez but also by their own inaction, which is more to Laurencia's point) but she also questions their very Spanishness ("bárbaros sois, no españoles"), linking the two issues of gender and national identity in a way that is already familiar given our previous exploration of Spain's

crisis of masculinity (v. 1769). In essence, it is un-Spanish for the men of Fuenteovejuna not to act as men, within their traditionally prescribed role of protector of female honor. As we will see in the analysis of two film adaptations of *Fuenteovejuna*, Antonio Román's 1947 film script rewrites Laurencia's speech, taking choice phrases from Lope and combining them with new ones. It is curious, however, that Román's film leaves out her questioning of the men's Spanishness, a point which would have been most pertinent to the nationalistic sentiments of the time. Juan Guerrero Zamora's 1972 film follows very closely Lope's original monologue, not shying away from either this insult or Laurencia's use of the term "maricones" as Román's does (v. 1779).

Lope does not make it explicit whether or not Laurencia was raped by the *comendador*, as is in keeping with the practices of early modern Spanish public theater, which avoided directly representing or openly naming sexual activity. The fact that she enters “desmelenada” indicates that she has definitely been in a struggle, and as Kirschner points out, “la imagen de una mujer desmelenada en escena se traduce en la imagen de una mujer que acaba de ser gozada” (27). When Laurencia describes her physical pain—"¿Vosotros, que no se os rompen // las entrañas de dolor, // de verme en tantos dolores?”—this would seem to indicate that the men of Fuenteovejuna cannot understand the physical pain she experiences in “las entrañas” as a result of violent penetration (vv. 1755-59). She also says that her changed appearance causes her own father to question her identity: “Vengo tal, // que mi diferencia os pone // en contingencia quién soy” (vv. 1718-20). Stacy Aronson deals in depth with this question of whether or not Laurencia was actually raped in Lope’s play. Referring to the numerous scholars who posit that Laurencia was not raped in the play, Aronson comments that and goes on to outline how “[d]espite their allegations, textual and cultural evidence suggests that Laurencia was indeed raped” (34).

Aronson makes a convincing case for Laurencia's rape in the play, and to our point, she makes a connection between the *comendador*'s escalation from seduction to rape with the play's emphasis on power relations: "The Comendador justifies their [Jacinta and Laurencia's] rapes because they could not be persuaded to submit by any other means and because *he needs to demonstrate his power and authority over them*" (Aronson 42; my emphasis). How this implicit rape was treated in the Franco-era film adaptations that we will discuss marks interesting differences between the two. In Román's film the rape was whitewashed, and we are left without any doubts that her virginity remains intact while Guerrero Zamora stayed closer to the ambiguity found in Lope's play text.

Regardless of this ambiguity, Laurencia's appearance and speech after her violent abduction spur the villagers, men and women alike, to action and they collectively storm the *comendador's* home and violently end his life amid shouts of "¡Fuenteovejuna, y Fernán Gómez muera!" and "¡Muere, traidor comendador!" (vv. 1887, 1894). Aronson describes that the women of *Fuenteovejuna* "shame the village men into behaving in a manner commensurate with their assigned gender roles" but in so doing "[Laurencia] and the other women subvert their own gender roles. Through a process of transgendering, these women actively transform their socially designated gender roles and become de facto men" (44). She argues that unlike many *comedias* that functioned as a means of social control, "*Fuenteovejuna* subverts its own rape script, thereby resulting in 'disturbances to the neat picture of male dominance and complete female subjugation'" (Aronson 44). Again, this idea of subverting established gender roles presented challenges for the play's film adaptations under the conservative Franco regime.

Only Flores escapes the town's wrath and carnage to inform Isabel and Ferdinand of the villagers' actions. Ferdinand vows that those responsible for the *comendador's* death will be

punished and sends a judge to find out the guilty party. Esteban anticipates this diligence and coaches everyone on how they must respond:

ESTEBAN. Los Reyes han de querer
averiguar este caso,
y más tan cerca del paso
y jornada que han de hacer.
Concertaos todos a una
en lo que habéis de decir.
FRONDOSO. ¿Qué es tu consejo?
ESTEBAN. Morir
diciendo: '¡Fuenteovejuna!',
y a nadie saquen de aquí. (vv. 2085-93)

Despite torturing the villagers (three hundred, according to his own report), including young boys, the *pesquisidor* is unable to determine a single guilty party and returns to the king and queen with that news. Left with only two options—kill or pardon everyone in Fuenteovejuna for the overthrow of the treasonous *comendador*—they decide upon the latter. Unlike the case of *El alcalde de Zalamea* that we will examine later, Ferdinand does not openly condone what the villagers of Fuenteovejuna have done. Instead, he cites a lack of evidence as a justification for his decision: "Pues no puede averiguarse // el suceso por escrito, // aunque fue grave el delito, // por fuerza ha de perdonarse" (vv. 2442-45). Though the villagers do essentially get off on a technicality, their royal pardon effectively legitimates the punishment of the *comendador*, whose abuse of power against the villagers has been cast in explicitly sexual terms, a convenient elimination of support for the Portuguese pretenders. The *comendador's* actions and subsequent

penalty reveal a morally unambiguous representation of right vs wrong and also of Spanish vs un-Spanish interests, as the villagers place themselves under the direct authority of the Spanish monarchs. The elliptical nature of both Laurencia's rape and the justice of the monarchs' pardon of the villagers of Fuenteovejuna leaves narrative room for adaptors to interpret and represent these aspects of the play. As we will see, how the adaptors of the films in question use this opening is in many ways a function of *when* in the Franco regime they make their films.

2.5 "Legitimate" Catholic Power in Antonio Román's *Fuenteovejuna* (1947)

In 1947 Antonio Román's *Fuenteovejuna* was the first post-war film adaptation of a Golden Age *comedia* for the big screen. The film was produced by CIFESA, a studio aligned ideologically with the regime as the surviving half of the company after a political split during the Civil War. The use of this particular play is logical given its (at that time) recent performance history, a virtual pawn used by both sides of the civil war conflict. Jason Parker discusses how and why Lope's *Fuenteovejuna* was one of the plays of choice interpreted by both Nationalists and Republicans during the war to construct their divergent national narratives. Parker explains:

> the Nationalist view of Spain as a particular moral, political, and social entity informs the Nationalist reading of *Fuenteovejuna*, which consequently serves to justify the Nationalist vision of Spain.
>
> Supporters of the Republic carry out a very similar ideologically induced reading of *Fuenteovejuna* as a socio-political allegory, interpreting the play in such a way as to justify their own position in the Civil War. … Whereas Nationalists choose to highlight the question of divine intervention and the attack on traditional moral values, Republican interpretations tend to focus more on the issues of class conflict and legality. (130)

Perhaps most famously, Federico García Lorca directed an adaptation of *Fuenteovejuna* with the theater troupe La Barraca in the 1930s that completely omitted the Catholic monarchs from the play's text. As Suzanne Byrd explains, Lorca eliminated the secondary plot involving the *comendador*, the *maestre de Calatrava* and the Catholic monarchs in order to simplify the main plot and, "[p]or su concepto de innovación en la transmisión del espíritu democrático y humano de la nueva república, se desarrolló la interpretación de *Fuente Ovejuna* en forma de protesta social y moral contra los abusos e injusticias humanas" (13). By setting the play in the Spain of the 1930s, Lorca further facilitated his audience's identification with the people of Fuenteovejuna. Hence, Román's adaptation was not without a cultural precedent (in fact Román himself had briefly directed La Barraca when they performed the play) but it was unique in its potential as a *film* to reach a wider audience (Wheeler 138).

By the time he directed *Fuenteovejuna* Román was recognized by the regime as an "exemplary figure," having directed the very patriotic *Los últimos de Filipinas* (1945) and having worked earlier as a screenwriter on the infamous film *Raza* (1942), directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia (Wheeler 138). Especially considering the significant changes that Lorca had made to the play, the regime would have been very keen to reclaim and "fix" an interpretation of Lope's work and Román took pains to ensure the ideological orthodoxy of his film, resulting in "the director's most overtly political film, [which] clearly accords with Rob Stone's description of how "Spanish cinema was being used to rewrite the past and dictate the present in order to posit Francoist Spain as the culmination of a struggle through the ages and a beacon of sinlessness in an otherwise pagan world" (Wheeler 140).

Román's film does much to play up and enhance the aspects of Lope's original play that appealed directly to the sensibilities of the Franco regime. Where such aspects as military

activity and religious devotion were downplayed or absent from Lope's original, Román's film highlighted and added them. There are extensive battle scenes in which viewers see the *comendador* and his soldiers engaging in the military conflict in Ciudad Real as well as discussion of military strategy. In one scene that probably resonated strongly with those who had participated in the Civil War, voluntarily or otherwise, Esteban is summoned in the middle of the night to a meeting with Fernán Gómez in which he is ordered to call the men of the village to enlist in the *comendador*'s service, thus removing many of them from Fuenteovejuna (and conveniently removing more of his obstacles to coercing the other women and hence Laurencia). The military theme of this interpretation is also reinforced through metaphor, especially when Flores, who has failed to lure Laurencia to the *comendador*'s home, taunts her by saying "También se resistía Ciudad Real," foreshadowing that her resistance will ultimately be overcome by force (*Fuenteovejuna*, Román 00:22:05-00:22:08).

The film's frequent references to religion help to cast "good" and "evil" in religious terms, equating "good" with the villagers who represent Franco's ideal Spanishness and "evil" with the *comendador*, who behaves in a decidedly un-Catholic, and by extension un-Spanish, way. When Gómez and his soldiers have returned from their initial success in Ciudad Real there is a scene of a church service in which the priest discusses the importance of not abusing one's power. The *comendador* is visibly impatient with the sermon, appearing anxious to rise from his seat and pounds his fist when the priest delivers his final admonition to avoid the abuse of power and instead show mercy. Afterward, in a private audience, Fernán Gómez expresses his dislike for the message, even dramatically crushing the communion cup, still full of wine, in his hand. In these scenes the audience is shown the piety of the townspeople as contrasted starkly with the blasphemous behavior of their *comendador*.

Though he is not painted as completely without religion—he does kiss the priest's hand before leaving and says he will try to employ his zeal in love—there is an emphasis on Fernán Gómez's un-Catholic behavior that is absent in Lope's text. In a subsequent scene the *comendador* is swarmed outside his castle by villagers begging for his charity, to which he does respond favorably, however he cannot refrain from sensually caressing the neck of a young woman as she thanks him and asks God to bless him for his generosity. He has clearly been impacted by the priest's chastisement, initially scolding and striking one of his servants that brings him information about a certain woman from the town. Soon enough, however, he sends Flores to invite Laurencia to his castle in the scene discussed earlier. The villagers of Fuenteovejuna, by contrast, show proper religious inclination, something that is ultimately rewarded in the play's outcome. After he threatens the *comendador* and must go into hiding, Frondoso meets with the priest who helps him, showing the reciprocal inclination of the Church in favor of the townspeople.

Although Peter Evans complains that "the film fails to rescue from the original text Lope's interest in the revolt of *Fuenteovejuna*'s women not just against the harassment of one insatiable sexual predator, the Comendador, but also against an ideology which confers on them the status of legitimate sexual prey," I would argue that, much like Lope's *comendador*, Fernán Gómez de Guzmán, played in this film by Manuel Luna, heavily employs many of the same analogies of hunting/game and food to dehumanize the village women that he pursues (Evans 5). In a scene written for the film the *comendador* complains about not wanting to force Laurencia to sleep with him, not because he does not wish to violate her honor, but rather because he claims that "moza forzada, comida sin sal" (*Fuenteovejuna*, Román 00:38:27-00:38:30). He also shows his disdain for the *villanas* of Fuenteovejuna by treating them as mere pawns in his sexual game.

When Flores brings Fernán Gómez word of where he can find Laurencia, the *comendador* rewards him with a woman, saying "Tuya es, te la has ganado," making clear that he sees her merely as an object to possess (*Fuenteovejuna*, Román 00:23:36-00:23:39).

Román's film dispenses with the ambiguity regarding Laurencia's rape in Lope's play noted above. Coming during the *primer franquismo* and subject to stricter censorship guidelines, Román's film makes very explicit in this scene the fact that Laurencia is *not* raped by the *comendador*. Trapped in his home, she tries to fend him off but is shown to be physically incapable. He tells her that she bites like a dog, again dehumanizing her, and tries to force her to the ground. When she is backed up to the window she jumps through the glass, symbolically choosing death of her body over death of her honor. We see shortly, of course, that she survives the fall, presumably into a river or moat, when she appears before the gathered men of Fuenteovejuna, wet hair and clothes clinging to her body. Wheeler posits that Laurencia functions in this scene almost as a martyr, allegorically representing the "*patria* in peril" (142). As he further describes, "[t]his quintessentially Spanish actress [Amparo Rivelles] functions here as a kind of metonym for the heroic value inherent in the work as a whole; self-abnegation through death is construed as more honourable than violation" (142). This connection between Laurencia and the *patria* proposed by Wheeler reinforces the reading of the villagers of Fuenteovejuna as representing both what is good and what is Spanish.

Like the source play, the *comendador's* excessive and deviant masculinity receives the ultimate punishment of a violent death and a pardon for his executioners. The village men's lack of masculinity is criticized through Laurencia's direct accusation and the female call to arms. Laurencia's famous diatribe is altered from the source text, but the scorn of the men's failings remains intact. It was problematic for the regime's ideology that the consequence of criticizing

this masculinity in crisis was the temporary empowerment of the woman to redress her own kidnapping and (attempted) violation. Laurencia was allowed to call the village men's masculinity into question, but it was apparently unthinkable under the Franco regime for a woman to criticize a man's Spanishness, as her pronouncement of "bárbaros sois, no españoles" was absent from this film adaptation (v. 1769). It could also be that, given that fallout from the Civil War was still a reality for many Spaniards, questioning their Spanishness would have been tantamount to calling them former Republicans, problematically conflating the uprising with the losing side of the war, as it is the villagers who must come out justified in the end for a narrative of Falangist legitimation to be effective. In the allegory that the film constructs of good vs evil, we have seen that "good" is analogous to "Spanish" and "evil" to that which is not. If the villagers represent what is good and truly Spanish, then it is counterproductive for Laurencia to call the men's Spanishness into question. Although the men's behavior does indeed betray true Spanish masculinity, in the context of the regime it was problematic for a woman to question such an essential characteristic of the men, especially of her father.

These events could have been and surely were interpreted in a way that championed regime ideology. Much like the Nationalists, the people of Fuenteovejuna took the necessary action to overthrow their corrupt and un-Christian leadership in order to protect the honor of their village and to submit to what they viewed to be the legitimate authority of "Spain." As I will further elaborate below, however, this and other Golden Age adaptations of the period contain a real and inherent potential to subvert this pro-Nationalist messaging. How could the regime control for the possibility of, for example, a reading of Fernán Gómez as a representation of Franco himself, and Fuenteovejuna in general and Laurencia in particular as the Spain that he takes by force and governs cruelly? In a way that ironically foreshadows the so-called *pacto de*

olvido that followed Franco's death, Queen Isabel, when questioned as to who would be punished for the *comendador's* death, coyly remarks, "¿Pero hubo algún día ese comendador? No lo recuerdo ni lo creo. Calatrava no tuvo nunca tales comendadores," as though to say, "It never happened, now let's move on" (*Fuenteovejuna*, Román 01:12:30-01:12:39).

2.6 Sex, Class, and Power in *El alcalde de Zalamea*

Like *Fuenteovejuna*, Calderón's *El alcalde de Zalamea* deals with the issue of honor in relation to class as well as gender. It treats women's bodies—especially those of peasant women—as fragile and subject to violation in the early modern honor code. This fragility is foregrounded through the action surrounding the body of Isabel, the titular mayor's daughter. Her gendered fragility is heightened due to her more diminished social standing as a woman of the peasantry. The dichotomy of upper and lower class is set up by the introduction of military troops into Zalamea. This dichotomy established, the category of class comes into conflict with ideas of blood purity and honor, two competing discourses of subjectivity noted by Mariscal. The peasant Pedro Crespo defends his right as mayor and as a man possessed of honor to punish Captain Álvaro, although socially his superior, for violating said honor. When troops are quartered in Zalamea, Captain Álvaro and the *sargento* discuss the daughter of the rich *villano* in whose home the captain will stay. The *sargento* is of the mind that any *villana* is good for the entertaining of a man, especially one rumored to be as beautiful as Isabel. Captain Álvaro, however, feels that any *villana* is beneath him and unappealing.

ÁLVARO. Pues,
¿por muy hermosa y muy vana
será más que una villana

con malas manos y pies?

SARGENTO. ¡Que haya en el mundo quien diga eso!

ÁLVARO. ¿Pues no, mentecato?

SARGENTO. ¿Hay más bien gastado rato

--a quien Amor no le obliga,

sino ociosidad no más—

que el de una villana, y ver,

que no acierta a responder

a propósito jamás?

ÁLVARO. Cosa es que en toda mi vida,

ni aun de paso, me agradó;

porque en no mirando yo

aseada y bien prendida

una mujer, me parece

que no es mujer para mí.

SARGENTO. Pues para mí, señor, sí,

cualquiera que se me ofrece. (vv. 181-200)[15]

Both opinions reveal a contempt by men of a higher social standing for people—especially women—of Isabel's class, and this dehumanization facilitates justifications for her sexual abuse. The introduction of the troops also serves to establish the dynamic of good villagers vs bad soldiers, as Spanish villagers in the early modern period perceived the arrival of soldiers to their towns as a legitimate threat. I. A. A. Thompson describes how the regular

[15] All citations of the play text, unless otherwise noted, refer to line numbers and are taken from the edition of *El alcalde de Zalamea* (Pedro Calderón de la Barca) edited by Vern G. Williamsen (2001).

movement of troops through Castile produced a great deal of chaos, including robberies, murders, and rapes, and so "[t]he coming of a company of soldiers was awaited with the same trepidation as a hurricane. Those who could fled its path; those who could not were forced to abandon their trades to stay at home to protect their wives, their daughters, and their property" (113).

Even before Calderón presents the plight of Isabel, his play foregrounds the social privilege of the nobility, even when not accompanied by economic wealth. Don Mendo, a minor character in the film adaptations, seems to be a comical fusion of Cervantes' Don Quijote and the squire in *Lazarillo de Tormes*—past his prime and yet swooning for a young lady and noble by birth but basically poor and undernourished. Along similar lines, his *criado* Nuño echoes both Sancho Panza and Lazarillo himself. Mendo's social privilege, despite his relative poverty, is contrasted starkly with the humility (economic wealth notwithstanding) of Pedro Crespo, who discusses with his son Juan boarding the captain in their home. Juan tells his father he should purchase a patent of nobility so that they will not have to open their home to soldiers anymore, but Pedro argues that though the title could be purchased, the bloodline of nobility cannot. He contends that he has honor and that a purchased title would only bring false honor.

Dime por tu vida, ¿hay alguien
que no sepa que yo soy,
si bien de limpio linaje,
hombre llano? No, por cierto.
Pues, ¿qué gano yo en comprar
una ejecutoria al rey
si no le compro la sangre?

¿Dirán entonces que soy
mejor que ahora? No, es dislate.
Pues, ¿qué dirán? Que soy noble
por cinco o seis mil reales;
y esto es dinero y no es honra;
que honra no la compra nadie. (vv. 488-500)

Juan sees the situation differently, but Pedro Crespo insists on the honor he has in staying true to his position:

Yo no quiero honor postizo
que el defecto ha de dejar
en casa. Villanos fueron
mis abuelos y mis padres;
sean villanos mis hijos" (vv. 517-21).

From the outset of the play, then, we see illustrations of what honor and nobility mean to various characters: for Pedro Crespo the two are not one in the same but for Captain Álvaro (and for Don Mendo, in a more comical manner) they are inextricably linked, as the unfolding action makes clear.

Crespo orders Isabel and her cousin Inés to stay in the upper rooms of the house and out of sight of the captain. When they arrive Álvaro and the *sargento* search for her to no avail and learn from a maid that her father has her occupied upstairs with orders not to come down. Though before he showed absolutely no interest in even a rumored *villana* beauty, the fact that her father has hidden her away sparks Álvaro's desire to find a way to see Isabel:

ÁLVARO. ¿Qué villano no ha sido malicioso?

Si acaso aquí la viera,

de ella casono [*sic*] hiciera;

y sólo porque el Viejo la ha guardado,

deseo, vive Dios, de entrar me ha dado

donde está.

SARGENTO. Pues, ¿qué haremos,

para que allá, señor, con causa entremos

sin dar sospecha alguna?

ÁLVARO. Solo por tema la he de ver, y una

industria he de buscar. (vv. 588-97)

After a feigned fight with Rebolledo grants him the desired access to Isabel, their interaction sets in motion the events that will ultimately lead to his death and her dishonor. In a move that undermines Captain Álvaro's privilege as male and noble, Calderón's Isabel actively refuses to be the passive object of the male gaze.[16] Carolyn Morrow examines the ramifications of this interruption of the male gaze in Calderón's play, describing it as Isabel's "subversive project" that intends to upset the male hierarchy of power: "Within the drama the encounter brings a shift in power relations. Isabel propels this change by challenging her male spectators and giving back a look that destabilizes the hegemony of the male gaze. Isabel's look turns the masculine gaze back upon itself, denying superiority to the male" (44-45). This representation of female agency, problematic for the patriarchal regime, was altered in the film adaptation from the *primer franquismo*, thus robbing Isabel of any active role in this man's world.

[16] See Laura Mulvey's essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" for more information on the male gaze.

Father and son are not fooled by the captain's ruse and Juan calls him out for the *disgusto* he has done to Pedro Crespo's honor. Both Crespo and Captain Álvaro chastise Juan for speaking out in such a way, but Crespo protests the captain's right to do so.

CRESPO. Detened,
señor capitán; que yo
puedo tratar a mi hijo
como quisiere, y no vos.
JUAN. Y yo sufrirlo a mi padre,
mas a otra persona no.
ÁLVARO. ¿Qué habíais de hacer?
JUAN. Perder
la vida por la opinión.
ÁLVARO. ¿Qué opinión tiene un villano?
JUAN. Aquella misma que vos;
que no hubiera un capitán
si no hubiera un labrador.
ÁLVARO. ¡Vive Dios, que ya es bajeza
sufrirlo! (vv. 759-71)

This interaction is reminiscent of Fernán Gómez's questioning of his villagers' honor in *Fuenteovejuna*. Captain Álvaro believes it impossible that mere laborers could have honor, as he sees it as an attribute solely of soldiers and the nobility.

In both *El alcalde de Zalamea* and *Fuenteovejuna* there is a noticeable critique of the early modern honor code that conflates honor with social status. The interaction between class

and gender further complicates the question of who has honor as it is a male of the military nobility, in both plays, that violates a woman (or many women) of the peasantry without any fleeting regard for her honor (as she can have none in his opinion). As we have already seen in the case of Fernán Gómez in *Fuentovejuna*, in *El alcalde de Zalamea* the predatory male antagonist is judged within the play as having transgressed social boundaries, only to be held accountable and punished by members of a lower class. In both plays, although their executioners also overstep social boundaries, their actions are ultimately rewarded (or at least condoned) instead of punished, ostensibly affirming an interpretation of the honor code not bound by social class, as opposed to the more elitist reading of the antagonists. Indeed, the film adaptations made of these plays during *franquismo* do seem to spin these plays in terms of populism in such a way that encourages members of the lower social classes to be content in their station (as is Pedro Crespo) and reminds those within the élite that the rules apply to them as well.

Don Lope de Figueroa, the general of the troops quartered in Zalamea, breaks up the confrontation between Crespo, Juan and the captain and, in speaking with Pedro Crespo, he reveals a view that contrasts with that of his inferior. Don Lope insists that Crespo would be out of place in punishing a military captain but begins to be won over by the *villano's* reasoning:

LOPE. A quien tocara
ni aun al soldado menor
sólo un pelo de la ropa,
¡por vida del cielo!, yo
le ahorcara.
CRESPO. A quien se atreviera

a un átomo de mi honor,

¡por vida también del cielo!,

que también le ahorcara yo.

LOPE. ¿Sabéis que estáis olbigado [*sic*]

a sufrir, por ser quien sois,

estas cargas?

CRESPO. Con mi hacienda,

pero con mi fama no.

Al rey la hacienda y la vida

se ha de dar; pero el honor

es patrimonio del alma,

y el alma sólo es de Dios.

LOPE. ¡Juro a Cristo!, que parece

que vais teniendo razón! (vv. 861-78)

The first act ends with Don Lope resting in Crespo's home and Captain Álvaro sent to lodge somewhere else.

In Act II Captain Álvaro undertakes another attempt to see Isabel, through a ruse involving Rebolledo, Chispa and the *sargento.* His efforts are again thwarted by Don Lope's presence. Further disgusted with his behavior, Don Lope orders that the captain and his troops leave Zalamea. However, Captain Álvaro informs the *sargento* that he will return to try again to see Isabel, having bribed one of her maids to let him speak to her. The troops leave, and Juan goes with them. Emboldened by Juan's absence and the cover of darkness, Captain Álvaro

returns at night with Rebolledo, Chispa and his *sargento*, and his plan to speak to Isabel turns into outright abduction:

> Ella es; mas [*sic*] que la luna,
> el corazón me lo ha dicho.
> A buena ocasión llegamos.
> Si ya, que una vez venimos,
> nos atrevemos a todo,
> buena venida ha sido.
> ……..
> Yo he de llegar y atrevido
> quitar a Isabel de allí.
> Vosotros a un tiempo mismo
> impedid a cuchilladas
> el que me sigan. (vv. 1696-1709)

As Crespo and the women head indoors the soldiers attack, taking Isabel and catching her father unarmed. Rebolledo wants to kill him but the *sargento* advises that it would be better to leave him tied up in a remote area so that he cannot sound the alarm. As the soldiers leave with a pleading Isabel Juan appears on the scene, responding to the cries he does not yet realize are those of his father and sister, bringing Act II to a close.

As Act III opens, a tearful Isabel pleads with the sun not to rise so as to not shine a light on her dishonor and questions how to proceed now that she has escaped her rapist:

> ¿Qué he de hacer? ¿Dónde he de ir?
> Si a mi casa determinan

volver mis erradas plantas,
será dar nueva mancilla
a un anciano padre mío,
que otro bien, otra alegría
no tuvo, sino mirarse
en la clara luna limpia
de mi honor, que hoy desdichado
tan torpe mancha le eclipsa. (vv. 1826-35)

Unlike Laurencia's situation, there can be little doubt from Isabel's speech that she was indeed raped by the captain. The play's unfolding events assure the spectators that this is the case. We also learn from Isabel's speech that her brother Juan had arrived upon the aftermath of his sister's rape and, defending the honor of his family, Juan had tried to kill the captain and during their duel Isabel had escaped. She relays the details of the fight and her escape to her father, who she finds bound to a tree.

Hilaire Kallendorf has studied the importance of the expression, voiced here by Isabel, "¿Qué he de hacer?" as a signal of the *Comedia*'s connection to the practice of casuistry in Catholic confession. The phrase, or some variation, appears in nearly seventy-five percent of *Comedias* and reveals, she argues, how the theatrical experience could serve as "a private forum for examining specific hypothetical moral dilemmas" (333). She argues that casuist confessors' manuals distinctly absolved kidnapped/raped women of blame but that the representation of Isabel's "tormented conscience seems to have accepted the socially-imposed (and to modern eyes, abhorrent) premise that a violated woman has lost her honor and somehow bears at least a degree of blame for the awful incident" (343). Only after she has given her account of the events

does Isabel untie his hands and humbly await the death that she is sure her father must give her under the circumstances:

> Tu hija soy, sin honra estoy,
> y tú libre; solicita
> con mi muerte tu alabanza,
> para que de ti se diga
> que, por dar vida a tu honor
> diste muerte a tu hija. (vv. 2062-67)

Just as we saw in the previous chapter, the killing of unfaithful, deceived, or in this case raped wives and daughters does not necessarily correspond with the reality of the early modern period, but its frequent inclusion in literature and theater is highly indicative of the attitudes toward the importance of female chastity and its connection with honor. Though, as Kallendorf notes, her confessor would surely have absolved her, Calderón shows Isabel to be more concerned with what her father, brother, and social network will think (343). In a move that may have surprised spectators of the time, instead of killing his daughter, Pedro Crespo tells Isabel to get off her knees and to quickly return home with him to find the captain. His decision not to seek the restoration of honor through the death of his own daughter but instead, if necessary, through that of the man who violated her demonstrates yet another critique of the notion of class and especially gender as power/honor.

When Crespo learns that he is now the mayor, he assures Isabel that he will get justice for her. Álvaro returns to Zalamea despite the public nature of his crime, defying the local authority to punish him. He knows that, as a member of the military, they have no jurisdiction over him:

> ¿Qué tiene que ver conmigo

justicia ordinaria?

…..……..

Nada me puede a mí estar

mejor, llegando a saber

que estoy aquí, y no temer

a la gente del lugar,

que la justicia es forzoso

remitirme en esta tierra

a mi consejo de guerra;

con que, aunque el lance es penoso,

tengo mi seguridad. (vv. 2157-68)

Nonetheless, Pedro Crespo detains Captain Álvaro. From verse 2192 to 2304 Crespo asks the captain to marry Isabel and thus restore her honor, even begging on his knees for a peaceful resolution. Álvaro does not yield, and he complains of the 'enfado' Crespo is causing him and repeats that Crespo has no authority over him. His patience spent, Pedro Crespo calls his men in to take the captain prisoner, exclaiming that "De aquí, si no es preso o muerto, // no saldréis" (vv. 2346-47). Crespo fulfills his word because, as we will see in the end, the captain does not appear on stage again except as an executed body.

Back at the family's home Juan arrives and when he finds Isabel there with Inés their father's timely entrance is the only thing that saves Isabel from Juan's sword. Crespo takes pains to ensure that he acts not as Juan and Isabel's father, but as an impartial mayor. A very confused Juan is arrested on his father's orders for injuring his superior and Isabel must sign a formal complaint against the captain, which she begs him not to file:

Tú, que quisiste ocultar
la ofensa, que el alma llora
¿así intentas publicarla?
Pues no consigues vengarla,
consigue el callarla ahora. (vv. 2489-94)

Her father assures her that justice must be served in this way and Isabel leaves, having spoken her last words in the play. Even though her father seeks justice, it is presumably more for his family's honor than for her particularly. The dishonored woman, in this case it seems, gets to live but must become invisible—a detail whose representation will be treated very differently in the two film adaptations under scrutiny here.

Though Don Lope argues his jurisdiction, Pedro Crespo refuses to turn over his prisoner despite Lope's threat to burn down the prison. The king arrives and demands an explanation of the situation, and Crespo pleads his case against the captain. The king responds that

[b]ien está
sustanciado. Pero vos
no tenéis autoridad
de ejecutar la sentencia
que toca a otro tribunal.
Allá hay justicia, y así
remitid al preso" (vv. 2681-87).

It is in this moment that Crespo admits that the death sentence has already been carried out, and the captain's garroted body appears on stage. Crespo soundly argues that, if the sentence was

well deserved, what difference does it make whether his or another tribunal meted it out? The king accepts his reasoning and, since what is done is done, he responds:

> Don Lope, aquesto ya es hecho,
>
> bien dada la muerte está;
>
> que errar lo menos no importa
>
> si así acertó lo principal.
>
> ……..
>
> [*A Crespo*] Vos, por alcalde perpetuo
>
> de aquesta villa os quedad. (vv. 2724-33)

When the king has left the scene, an emboldened Pedro Crespo and a more resigned Don Lope engage again in dialogue, through which we learn that Isabel has chosen to enter a convent. Like in *Fuenteovejuna*, we see a clear representation of right vs wrong but unlike in *Fuenteovejuna* there is an unambiguous justification by the monarch of the death penalty that has been carried out. Likewise, we do not see the same interrogation of masculinity in this play as in *Fuenteovejuna* when Laurencia severely chastises the failings of the men in protecting her and the other women of the village. In Calderón's text this particular aspect of gender criticism is not apparent. The offending party's masculinity is criticized as excessive but Pedro Crespo and the other men of Zalamea are not explicitly faulted for their own lack thereof. Indeed, Pedro Crespo does everything in his power to protect Isabel, finally stepping beyond the social boundaries after Captain Álvaro has already gone too far. Like the early modern honor code, the Franco regime sought to control both men and women through sex and the expected roles of gender. The adapted films that we will discuss presented nuanced representations of the women and their

honor as well as the role of masculinity, and the treatment of each is again significantly affected by the period of *franquismo* in which they were made.

2.7 José Gutiérrez Maesso's *El alcalde de Zalamea* (1954), Or Another Tale of Good vs Evil

El alcalde de Zalamea directed by José Gutiérrez Maesso premiered in 1954 to lackluster reviews from both critics and viewers. According to Wheeler the film was denied the category of *Interés nacional* and "was to prove to be the last of a dying breed in a decade in which '[r]ealism would in fact gradually displace the historical cinema as the favoured vehicle for a national cinema'" (151). Due to the heavy-handed involvement of CIFESA, the same studio that produced Román's *Fuenteovejuna*, Wheeler notes that "Maesso's artistic freedom was, in reality, circumscribed within certain predefined limits. He could not alter the script that had been prepared by Manuel Tamayo and the studio had already cast the film with two of its biggest stars: Alfredo Mayo and Manuel Luna" (149). It seems, therefore, that the film was intended to be a regime-friendly product that privileged ideological utility over artistic value.

From the outset the film presents contrasting characterizations of the military troops and the peasants of Zalamea, deliberately conditioning viewers to the "good" vs "evil" dynamic that is present in the DNA of the play and that had been previously established in Román's film. Visually, there are many shots of rural scenery in the opening: men working in fields, weathered, whitewashed buildings in the town. The music is pleasant and seems to show the town to be simple yet idyllic. We see a barber giving a shave, the town *bobo* behaving in a silly manner and also interacting with the priest. When the church bells ring the camera cuts to different groups of townspeople pausing to recite their prayers. The religious nature of the villagers is highlighted, something the regime would have privileged, even though it is not a characteristic brought forth

in the source text. The soldiers, however, enter the town noisily, marching to their drums, which contrasts starkly with the idyllic opening views we have seen of Zalamea, and with its softer music as well. Some soldiers hop a wall and steal a chicken, they laugh and sing and are generally rowdy and disruptive.

Further characterizing the folkloric nature of the town and people of Zalamea, Isabel's brother Juan and cousin Inés go to a *comedia* where the audience throws fruit and vegetables at the stage until the actors play music and all participate in a sing-along. Afterward there is a *feria* going on and it seems that most of the town is in attendance. Meanwhile the men of the *junta* are holding a meeting to elect a new mayor which is interrupted by the arrival of military representatives informing them that soldiers are to be quartered in the town. When this news is announced all the townspeople quickly disperse and go home; they shut their doors and windows and bring their animals inside. This is a clear, albeit comic, demonstration of the real threat that Spanish villagers perceived in the arrival of soldiers to their towns that was previously discussed.

Though Captain Álvaro complains in the subsequent scene in Pedro Crespo's home that the *villano* has hidden away his daughter because he is a proud peasant, it would seem that Isabel's father and brother had valid reasons to sequester the women of their household. With the civil war only 15 years in the past by 1954, the film's portrayal of this strong reaction to the military presence in a small town surely resonated with many, especially those who had supported the Republican side of the conflict. In light of a regime that championed military activity, it is likely that state-military occupation was spun to reference the defeated Second Republic, while Pedro Crespo's resistance to the corrupt captain would, in this analogy, have represented "rebel" Nationalist resistance to such unjust use of power and force.

Unlike in Calderón's play, the Captain Álvaro of this film does not show the same initial disdain for peasant women. Instead, he shows an active interest in using Isabel, of whose beauty he has already heard rumors, to satisfy his carnal desires. She is, of course, still his social inferior, but this only increases, rather than negates, his sexual desire. Though his attitude toward Isabel differs from the play text in this regard, considering twentieth-century notions of sex, it actually reinforces the way the play criticizes the captain's disregard for female, especially peasant, honor. While an unchecked sexual appetite was associated with women and deviant males in Calderón's time, as scholars such as Nel Noddings, and Nancy Tuana and Mildred Peterson have studied (and as Elizabeth Rhodes has applied specifically to Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla*), cultural attitudes shifted in the twentieth century towards associating sexual desire and activity with men, for whom the privilege and power of higher social standing only enables their access to satisfy that desire. Hence, the Franco-era audience would be likely to interpret Captain Álvaro's sexual desire for and subsequent rape of Isabel as the actions of a privileged member of the military upper class used to getting what he wanted, while Calderón's audience would be more inclined to interpret his initial disinterest in a woman of Isabel's class as a mark of his nobility, and thus as resonant with social verisimilitude.

Curiously, Maesso's Captain Álvaro is played by Alfredo Mayo, who "was the lead in *Raza* and specialized in playing sexually attractive military heroes while [Manuel Luna] had begun his career in the theatre and subsequently specialized in playing villains for CIFESA" (Wheeler 149). Indeed, Luna, who plays Pedro Crespo, played the *comendador* in Román's *Fuenteovejuna*, a complete contrast to his role in this film. Carlson's concept of "ghosting," which "presents the identical thing they have encountered before, although now in a somewhat different context," is strongly at play in the casting of these two male leads (7). As Carlson

argues, "[t]he recycled body of an actor, already a complex bearer of semiotic messages, will almost inevitably in a new role evoke the ghost or ghosts of previous roles …, a phenomenon that often colors and indeed may dominate the reception process" (8). In this film it is Mayo's association with military heroism, coupled with his sex appeal, that sets up the shock value of his demise as an entitled playboy of sorts. Meanwhile, Luna, with his traditional villain roles "ghosting" this present performance, again makes a strong impression with his dignity and concern for justice in contrast to audience expectations.

While much of the film's action is a faithful reproduction of the events in Calderón's play, some notable differences are present which serve to project a clearer sense of good vs evil. The emphasis on class present in Calderón's play is downplayed, a change that resonated with Franco's sense of populism, and instead the captain's lust is cast as the principal evil. In the play it seems that part of Captain Álvaro's determination to receive Isabel's favors (which ultimately translates into taking them) stems from the fact that she is unwilling to give in to his attempts at seduction. Rather than read this through the lens of female chastity and honor he interprets her avoidance as disdain for him, and he is angered by such *altanería* from a peasant woman (and from her father, too). His anger at being slighted is downplayed in the film and he is motivated more by lust and a sense of entitlement than anything else. One of the clearest examples of this is in the change made in this film to the first encounter between Isabel and the captain. The female agency that Carolyn Morrow describes in Calderón's play is completely suppressed in this film. When the two first come face to face, instead of chastising the captain and denying him the pleasure of gazing upon her, a slight smile crosses the face of Isabel and she lowers her eyes as she speaks to him imploringly. Isabel remains submissive and Álvaro's "pardon" of Rebolledo is

more indulgent than anything else, a smile remaining on his face throughout his interaction with her.

When the troops depart from Zalamea, Juan joins them at the invitation of Don Lope. He discovers in the camp that Captain Álvaro has returned to Zalamea and sets off immediately. As in the play, that same night Rebolledo and some other soldiers kidnap Isabel from her father's house; this time, however, Captain Álvaro is not with them and the kidnapping is shown to be premeditated because they break into the house to do so. Whereas in the play it is a crime of opportunity, a desire to see and speak to Isabel that evolves into the lustful kidnapping, in this film Rebolledo and his companions devise a plan in advance to go in and take Isabel by force. They beat and tie up Pedro Crespo, and take Isabel to where Captain Álvaro is waiting, at a barn out in the countryside. Captain Álvaro pays them, further demonstrating the premeditated nature of the kidnapping and subsequent rape of Isabel. Again, these changes, although minor, direct the contemporary audience to see Álvaro's crime as a premeditated abduction and rape rather than as a crime of passion. Alone, Álvaro goes in, walking toward Isabel with a calm yet lustful look on his face. She is frozen against the wall and looks terrified as ominous music plays in the background. He grabs her, she begs him, "Suéltame," and then the camera cuts to a scene of his men drunkenly carousing with the women at the tavern (*El alcalde de Zalamea* 00:57:30-00:58:24). As Wheeler has noted, censors objected to a more explicit rape scene and so the crime is only shown in an elliptical manner "so as to underplay the sexual dimension" (151). The film obeyed strict censorship guidelines about sexually explicit content and presenting Isabel's rape as a premeditated crime avoided the problematic suggestion of sexual passion altogether, again keeping the lines of good vs evil neat and clear.

The morning after the abduction and rape Juan arrives at the barn where Álvaro has Isabel. He sneaks around and goes in and then fights with Captain Álvaro while Isabel watches in fear. She looks only mildly disheveled (which is likely attributed to censorship), her hair is let down and somewhat messy and Captain Álvaro is dressed, but his shirt is open. She stops Álvaro from shooting Juan by pushing the pistol right before he fires. Juan stabs him in the shoulder and they leave together on a horse. In this film Juan only rescues his sister but does not try to kill her to restore family honor (though he does try to kill Captain Álvaro). In this sense Juan is portrayed more as a twentieth-century protective brother (a "good guy") and less tied to the arcane early modern honor code, which avoids blurring the established lines of good vs evil. Brother and sister return home and Isabel embraces her father before exiting the scene.

Similar to the source text, after this point we do not see Isabel again in the film, only learning about her fate through her father's words. Isabel's silence on the subject of her own rape was neither unusual in the early modern period nor during the dictatorship. Until 1983, when rape became a public offense in Spain, an alleged rapist would not be prosecuted if the victim "forgave" him (Valiente, "Combating" 103). Likewise, until 1987 a rape victim had to prove that she had "heroically" resisted her rapist, in most instances making it a case of her word against his in a society that privileged men (Valiente, "Combating" 118). Consequently, Isabel's voice possesses very little power, and this belies the notion that the justice her father seeks is not actually for *her* honor but for that of her (male) family, aligning with early modern notions of honor and also with the value placed on women during the Franco regime.

2.8 The End of an Era for the *Comedia*

As intimated before, Maesso's "film itself is unremarkable and a competent, albeit unadventurous, vision of Calderón's work," appropriately signaling the end of this era of filmmaking (Wheeler 149). The *Comedia* did not completely disappear from popular cinema, but its form and function necessarily evolved through the 1970s. Wheeler summarizes the most prominent characteristics of this forgoing class of *Comedia* adaptations from the *primer franquismo* and in *Fuenteovejuna* and *El alcalde de Zalamea* we have seen that they

> promoted a patriotic and essentialist image of national identity … starred popular lead actors whose success was, at least in part, derived from them representing specific qualities associated with being Spanish … they refused to grapple with the darker edges of the play texts as is exemplified by the softening of both physical and sexual violence … [and] there is an attempt to remove any potential ambiguity from the denouement … by affording an increased prominence to a monarch who is idealized to a far greater degree than in the source text. (151)

We will see later that José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's 1950 film *Don Juan* diverges significantly from these criteria and will explore potential excuses for as well as consequences of this divergence. It is significant that Maesso's was the last filmed *comedia* of its own decade and that only one other (Luis Lucia's *El príncipe encadenado*, 1960) made it to the big screen between 1960 and 1972. This is indicative of both changes in trends of Spanish National Cinema, which, like other national cinemas, was leaning more and more toward realism, and changes in the Spanish public's attitude toward Golden Age plotlines, at least on the big screen. Indeed, as Fernando Ramos Arena has studied, from the early 1970s, Spain's more conservative viewers were increasingly abandoning the movie theaters in favor of television at home (241).

Consequently, the new viewing public demanded a different type of cinema experience. As the conservative audience to which it appealed was to be found more at home, the Golden Age of Spanish theater also found a home on the small screen through programs such as *Gran Teatro, Estudio 1* and *Teatro de siempre* that flourished throughout the 1960s and 70s, following the trend of the more conservative audiences. The next two films that we will analyze, however, tried, with varying degrees of success, to have it both ways. Juan Guerrero Zamora's *Fuenteovejuna* (1972) and Mario Camus' *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* (1973), produced mainly to be shown on television, were granted theatrical releases as well (Wheeler 158). Their superficially conservative source texts appealed to both regime ideology and the now mostly at-home audience's sensibilities, however they also attempt to participate in the *cultura cinéfila* aimed at a (typically *izquierdista*) minority.

2.9 Opposition and Critique: Juan Guerrero Zamora's *Fuenteovejuna* (1972)

Guerrero Zamora was the founder of *Estudio 1*, had previously worked with *Fuenteovejuna* for Lope's centenary, and he had experience adapting other classics for the small screen; as Wheeler puts it, "[his] credentials were, in theory, impeccable" (158). The film, despite modest box-office success, disappointed both censors and critics (Wheeler 158-59). We begin to see in this period, the *tardofranquismo*, that oppositional directors like Guerrero Zamora and Camus had more latitude to express criticism of Spain's political situation through their films. This is due in part to the "aperturista" legislation passed by Manuel Fraga Iribarne in the 1960s that relaxed censorship guidelines. This is also a moment in which, as studies by Celia Valiente ("Feminist Movement"), Jessica Davidson, Lorraine Ryan and Monica Threlfall have shown, Spanish women's rights in society were seeing small advances (as with the passing of the

Ley de derechos politicos, profesionales y de trabajo de la mujer in 1961). The Sección Femenina was becoming a more modern and liberal organization, and Spanish feminists, although denied the legal formation of their own organizations, began to infiltrate and influence regime-approved women's organizations.

In the wake of its own "Spanish Miracle," which finally began to open up Spain to the rest of the Western world, Spanish society changed and modernized significantly. However, the lack of complementary political changes meant that this new society was somewhat incoherent and fragmented. As we will see, Guerrero Zamora's adaptation of *Fuenteovejuna* capitalized on these societal changes, portraying the villagers, including the women, as having more agency in the film's events. Sexual oppression is more directly called out, reflecting this 1970s climate, and, in general, questions of gender reinforce a broader reading of the film as an allegory for *tardofranquismo* and the negative effects of a repressive regime.

In this film the *comendador*, played by Eduardo Fajardo, is characterized as almost demonic: he laughs maniacally when boasting about how he takes the women of Fuenteovejuna; there are frequent close-ups of his face, especially of his mouth and teeth, emphasizing his carnality and portraying drunkenness; he laughs while the women in his arms literally scream for help. In her dissertation on film adaptations of the *Comedia* Alba Carmona argues that Guerrero Zamora's film not only characterizes Fernán Gómez as demonic but compares him to the devil himself from the outset: "Es interesante señalar que Guerrero Zamora … retoma este aspecto de la caracterización del Comendador [that of enemy to his subjects, the Catholic monarchs and the Church itself], al cual llega a asimilar con el propio demonio mediante la puesta en escena de la primera secuencia de la película" (*La comedia aúrea* 140). In the scene described, Fernán Gómez, wearing all black, is contrasted with the young Maestre Girón, who wears a white tunic

and white cape, symbolic of their respective characterizations as evil and good. Likewise, the camera produces a suggestive composition, with Fernán Gómez in the background of the shot, placed next to a roaring fire and below a sculpture of Christ on the cross. By contrast, the foregrounding of the *maestre* gives the appearance of a superior position, while the *comendador* appears to be below him, symbolically representing the devil in the flames of hell.

Perhaps more than in Román's film, as the above description illuminates, physical features and appearance play an important role in the characterization of this film. The frequent close-ups of the *comendador's* face show him to be at times lustful, intoxicated, angry and generally rough-looking. In particular, in the scene in which Frondoso stops Fernán Gómez from taking Laurencia by aiming his own crossbow at him, a shot reverse shot reveals a striking contrast between the severe features of the *comendador* and the handsome, almost angelic features of Frondoso, played by Eusebio Poncela. As we will see, hands are a recurring visual theme in the film and the *comendador's* hands are often touching the women of Fuenteovejuna in an inappropriate and uninvited manner. As mentioned, Fernán Gómez's carnality is heavily emphasized in the film, as the play's references to the women of Fuenteovejuna as "carne" are maintained and the gluttony of the *comendador* and his men is highlighted through visualizations of them eating and drinking. In particular, after the scene in which Fernán Gómez tells Esteban that his daughter is the "liebre" that keeps escaping him, he and his men are depicted tearing into fatty pieces of meat and guzzling wine, laughing and shouting drunkenly (*Fuenteovejuna*, Guerrero Zamora 00:36:00-00:36:24). Fernán Gómez drinks directly from the pitcher and the red wine streams out the sides of his mouth, which does not bother him in the least. Rather than a haughty noble, he is more frequently shown to partake in the same gross behavior as his soldiers,

only acting more authoritatively when he feels he has been insulted by someone who is socially his inferior.

Guerrero Zamora highlights the *comendador*'s perceived social distance from the villagers as part of a broader oppressor/oppressed binary. This strategy pits the villagers and Fernán Gómez as polar opposites of a moral spectrum, with the antagonist's demise ultimately cast as the consequence of the oppressor's own moral corruption. The film opens with the sound of the turning water wheel and the *pesquisidor* asking "¿Quién mató al comendador?" echoing along with increasingly close-up shots of his face in profile (*Fuenteovejuna*, Guerrero Zamora 00:00:03-00:00:44). The credits roll with shots of the villagers of Fuenteovejuna being tortured, flashing forward to the consequences of the events that will unfold. There are sounds of villagers screaming and images of disconnected body parts, physically intact but visually disembodied. This visual disembodiment, especially shots of hands, continues throughout the film. Along with the disembodiment of the characters many scenes are interrupted with cuts to other highly contrasting scenes—for example, when Laurencia is describing her resistance to the *comendador's* advances and how she spends her time (humbly, doing chores and enjoying simple pleasures) there are cuts to a scene of the *comendador* in the company of his drunken men taking a young married woman from her home to rape her. Another example is a battlefield scene that then cuts to Laurencia and Frondoso's elaborate wedding, which in turn is interrupted by the arrival of Fernán Gómez and his men.

Susan Sontag describes that "the distinctive unit of films is not the image but the principle of connection between the images, the relation of a "shot" to the one that preceded it and the one that comes after" (138). If this relationship between shots serves to tell a story, then the effect of these abrupt cuts and ironic juxtapositions of dissonant visual fragments is to create

a strong sense of incoherence and abstractness in the film. This speaks to the incoherence and fragmented nature in the 1970s of the dying Franco regime, and also to the need to continue to diffuse any criticism thereof because of the censorship that, albeit more relaxed, was still in place. These contrasting scenes, as well as nature scenes in which the *comendador*'s arrival turns the villagers' pleasant activities to episodes of fear, express criticism of a violent regime: the violence introduced by the *comendador* is at odds with the peaceful nature of the villagers. In turn they are corrupted by his violence and become unnaturally vengeful and violent themselves. These visual cues point to a deeper critique of violent authoritarianism that Guerrero Zamora weaves into the narrative of his adaptation: the idyllic pacifism of the villagers is contaminated by the *comendador*'s violence, which ultimately proves to bring about his own demise.

Rather than creating one monster (Fernán Gómez), Guerrero Zamora creates two: instead of portraying them as innocent victims that take just revenge on their corrupt lord, the villagers of Fuenteovejuna are dehumanized by his violent oppression. Through their own violent retaliation, they erase the moral binary (violent oppressor/peaceful oppressed) established at the beginning of the film, and in the process, they blur the distinction between good and bad. In the director's own words:

> El humillado se degenera y si, al fin, se mueve a rebelión, ésta es aún más vandálica que las humillaciones que se le infligieron. Cuando el paciente pueblo de Fuenteovejuna se alza, multiplica las ofensas recibidas por la dilatada represión de su cólera, y se desboca en sangrienta orgía. (qtd. in Carmona, *La comedia aúrea* 144)

This accords with Kinder's description of depictions of violence in Spanish cinema, characterized by "the interplay of primitive sacrifice and modern massacre," and she notes that "filmmakers of the opposition explored Spain's paradoxical role as a dual signifier of Europe's

barbaric past and dehumanized future" (12). This is precisely the critique that Guerrero Zamora's film offers, the dehumanized nature of the society as a result of tyranny. As O'Connor elaborates, "[e]n la jerarquía social la venganza es el elemento corruptor, no el castigo motivado por el deseo de justicia. No sólo ha degenerado el pueblo en su contacto íntimo con el tirano, sino que ha asumido algunos de sus valores, como el de la venganza. El pueblo no procura justicia dentro del sistema jerárquico, sino, fuera de él, venganza" ("Culpabilidad" 128). With this in mind, we can draw parallels between Fernán Gómez and the Franco regime and the villagers of Fuenteovejuna and the Spanish people. In this way, then, Guerrero Zamora's critique of the Franco regime points to how the oppressive state debases the society under its control.

Disembodied hands, as mentioned before, are a recurring visual element in Guerrero Zamora's film. This focus on hands helps to deepen characterizations and to more thoroughly express emotions in important scenes of the film by recalling the theatricality of *Fuenteovejuna*: facial expressions might be missed on a stage during a theatrical performance, and actors often rely on corporeal gestures to communicate emotion. The hand is a particularly effective tool of performance to express "feelings that man has taught his face to disguise" (Alpenfels 14). Ethel J. Alpenfels has described the use of hands in the creative arts, elaborating how the hands can "speak" to powerfully express human emotion and have been used in the arts extensively to do just that: "From prehistoric times to our own day, in every society known to science, the hands symbolize cultural behaviors, values, and beliefs" (14). As we shall now see, this description is useful in examining the emphasis on hands found in Guerrero Zamora's film.

King Ferdinand's hands are shown nervously touching his face or fondling a cross around his neck when he and Isabel learn of the sacking of Ciudad Real, betraying the fear and indecision he tries to hide, and later both king and queen touch their faces in serious

contemplation of how to deal with the villagers after their rebellion. In the wedding scene there is a point-of-view shot of Juan Rojo's hands blessing the bride and groom; shortly after there is a focus on Laurencia and Frondoso's hands desperately reaching towards one another as they are dragged away by Fernán Gómez's men, and Juan Rojo's fist breaks a clay jar in disgust once the joy of the wedding has turned to sadness. After escaping her captor, Laurencia points an accusing finger at her father during her impassioned speech at the *junta*, after which the men rally their spirits and there is a close-up shot of their fists coming together in their decision to seek revenge. During the scenes of torture from the opening credits we see bloody hands groping the walls in agony. Finally, there is an emphasis on the villagers' hands, grasping one another as they await the verdict of the queen and king.

Guerrero Zamora's continual highlighting of his characters' hands in his *mise en scène* contributes to the larger theme of disembodiment and dehumanization discussed above. But as scholars like Alba Carmona (*La comedia aúrea*) and Patricia Trapero Llobera have noted, the disembodied images throughout the film also invite comparison to the genre of Spanish horror films, or *el «fantaterror»,* of the 1970s. The Spanish horror film genre was developed during the *tardofranquismo* "como reflejo de una sociedad convulsa y cambiante … una lucha entre el bien y el mal con claras concomitancias con la situación política, económica y cultural del país" (Trapero Llobera 139). Guerrero Zamora's film comes during what is considered the "Golden Age" of Spanish horror films, during which time "the most recurrent subject matter … was witchcraft and the devil … [and] the most frequent settings were the solitary, isolated villages of northern Spain" (García, et al. 53). We see clear continuity with the horror genre in the likening of Fernán Gómez to the devil, described above, and especially in the scenes after he has been

killed by the villagers. The painted faces of the women of Fuenteovejuna make them appear tribal or witch-like, ironically sacrificing the devil himself rather than worshipping him.

These and other elements of the horror genre in this *comedia* adaptation should (and do) create both a shock effect and a sense of unfamiliarity or incoherence. As the scene of the women's painted faces has no obvious basis in the play, it both surprises and confuses viewers, highlighting the savage nature of the town's revenge against Fernán Gómez and making it more difficult for the audience to identify with the villagers, forcing them instead to judge their actions. In contrast to how Román's film propagandistically utilizes the *Comedia* to support the Franco regime, Guerrero Zamora's film reinterprets this Spanish classic to question both the interpretations of the play that have been taken for granted—such as the justice of the town's violent action—as well as what Spain had become. Like the Spanish horror films of its time, Guerrero Zamora's film reflected a society contaminated by the repression and violence of the Franco regime.

Keeping in mind our exploration of how these adaptations project a sense of Spanish national identity, we observe a different kind of strategy in the films of *el tardofranquismo*. Román's and Maesso's films engaged with the *Comedia* to align Franco's Spain with a glorious past Spain, in which Spanishness was equated with strong religious commitment, chaste and honorable women, and submission to legitimate authority. These later films, however, engaged the classics more as a means of undermining their earlier adaptations in the regime, using their own plan against them, so to speak, and exploiting the very plasticity of these play texts that we have been exploring. In light of these ideas, Spanishness, as projected in Guerrero Zamora's film, was confused and incoherent under the dictatorship, perverted by a repressive/cruel power.

At the end of the film, after being granted a pardon by Ferdinand, the villagers return to Fuenteovejuna, walking through a natural setting while an offscreen voice sings:

> Al val de Fuenteovejuna el pueblo pausado baja,
>
> recordando al caballero de la cruz de Calatrava.
>
> Caminan mirando lejos, disimulándose el ansia
>
> de tornar presente fértil su leyenda amarga.
>
> Malhaya el que al hombre humilla y le muda el alma.
>
> Malhaya quien siembra viñas de ira en la calma.
>
> Malhaya el yunque que fuerza un doble filo a la espada.
>
> Malhaya quien pisa hombres teniéndolos por retama.
>
> Malhaya quien lega sangre provocando rabias.
>
> Malhaya el que hace culpables con su propia saña.
>
> Malhaya quien con su culpa enturbia el agua. Malhaya.
>
> Malhaya quien con su culpa enturbia el agua. Malhaya. (*Fuenteovejuna*, Guerrero Zamora 01:59:07-02:01:11)

The "unnatural" despotic force having been removed, the villagers can return to their "natural" state, provided that the social structure can be salvaged by a responsible ruler, the monarchy in the case of *Fuenteovejuna*. This interpretation is supported by O'Connor's analysis of the film, in which he explains: "Los villanos del texto original se disculpan a base de su inocencia. Sin embargo, la adaptación de Guerrero Zamora destruye tal ilusión. La estructura social sigue vigente en el mundo de *Fuenteovejuna* porque los Reyes Católicos comprenden su función en este mundo jerárquico y cumplen con sus obligaciones" ("Culpabilidad" 129).

As the citation above from O'Connor indicates, the role of the monarchs in Guerrero Zamora's film is that of responsible and just rulers. Their pardon of the villagers is not granted out of pity and innocence (as Román's film portrays it) but rather as a means of restoring the social hierarchy once the disruptive element (the *comendador*) has been removed. This sense of deliberation on their duty is emphasized by Guerrero Zamora in the film by having the words of the *pesquisidor*—"O los has de perdonar, o matar la villa toda"—echo in an offscreen voice while close-up shots of parts of their faces—more disembodiment—represent the tense moments of internal debate (*Fuenteovejuna*, Guerrero Zamora 01:55:03-01:58:00). The importance of the authority figures is highlighted and reinforced in Guerrero Zamora's film, with the monarchs appearing early and more often whereas in Román's film they only appear at the end.

As we discussed earlier in this chapter, following the sexual revolution and second-wave feminism the representations of gender changed between the *primer* and *tardofranquismo* and the binary nature of Franco's gender politics became untenable. In keeping with Román's *Fuenteovejuna,* Guerrero Zamora's film still criticized the failings of masculinity through Laurencia's famous speech and through the ultimate punishment of Fernán Gómez, whose abuse of power is both political and sexual. However, while Román's film *inadvertently* granted greater agency to Laurencia (and consequently to the other women of Fuenteovejuna that follow her lead), Guerrero Zamora's film more explicitly empowered the female characters. Núria Torray, who was married to the director, portrayed a confident Laurencia, playful with Frondoso and authoritative with the other villagers after her abduction. Her diatribe against the men of Fuenteovejuna responds to the agonized rhetorical question of Juan Rojo that closes the abduction scene: "¿No hay aquí un hombre que hable?" (*Fuenteovejuna*, Guerrero Zamora 01:06:36-01:06:39). The answer is "no," but there is a woman who will. After the sexual

revolution and second-wave feminism it was possible to more openly confront the abuses of the patriarchy. As we discussed, Román's film took pains to establish that Laurencia was not raped, but Guerrero Zamora's film, while it does not visualize what happens between Laurencia and Fernán Gómez, does inscribe in Laurencia's body evidence of sexual violence: she appears bloody and bruised, with a cut lip and cheek and torn wedding dress, after her encounter with the *comendador.* The audience is not allowed to see the violence against Laurencia, but she breaks the silence on the patriarchal abuse and leads men and women alike in repaying violence with violence.

In line with this female empowerment, in the scene described previously of the *Reyes Católicos* receiving the news about Ciudad Real, while Ferdinand appears nervous Isabel presents a cool and confident countenance and she is afforded at least as much speaking time as her husband. The scene opens with her speaking and she also has the last word. In the film's penultimate scene, the royal audience with the villagers of Fuenteovejuna, Guerrero Zamora introduces several important changes. In both films, as in the source text, Ferdinand is the one to pronounce the fate of the villagers. However, Guerrero Zamora creates the sense of shared authority through a voiceover of both the king's and queen's thoughts during their deliberation. In this way it is as though they come to a mutual agreement of what is best for the unity of their kingdoms rather than vesting more authority in Ferdinand. Finally, this scene also creates another space for female empowerment by allowing three of Fuenteovejuna's women to give testimony against the *comendador* in speeches written for the film's screenplay. Instead of the men of Fuenteovejuna speaking for them, the women are allowed to voice the complaints that deal principally with what the *comendador* has done to them.

With its portrayal of strong women and exploration of the problematic result of violent repression Guerrero Zamora's film did much to update the interpretation of this *comedia*, however unsuccessfully it was perceived by the critics of the period (who complained of its length, excessive violence and "mera falta de oficio cinematográfico" [cited in Wheeler 159]). *Fuenteovejuna* did, nonetheless, perform reasonably at the box office, indicating that its gritty reflection of society resonated with many Spaniards, setting the stage for Mario Camus' *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea*, released the following year.

2.10 Authoritarian Allegory in Mario Camus' *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* (1973)

Mario Camus, who would later direct such films as *La colmena* (1982) and *Los santos inocentes* (1984), was, by the 1970s, already considered a "serious and left-wing film-maker" (Wheeler 160). Evans comments that, along with Antonio Drove, who wrote the screenplay, "[n]either was a stranger to controversy during the Franco years … with Camus, often giving a social focus to his work, having worked with Saura on the latter's early anti-establishment films … and Drove having had his early short, *Caza de brujas*, banned from public exhibition in 1967" (5). Camus and Drove's adaptation is described by Paul Julian Smith as "a family drama turning on the rape of a daughter" that "shows how even conservative classics were open to discreet redirection in the allegorical mode by an oppositional director" (*Vision Machines* 26). An examination of this oppositional allegory can therefore show us how, as the regime approached its final years, the same tools of its ideological cultural programming offered opportunities to undermine that programming from within.

The choice of Francisco Rabal to play the role of Pedro Crespo is one of the more obvious ways in which the director reads this play against the traditional grain, as once again

Carlson's notion of "ghosting" communicates to audiences more than just what is seen or heard. Rabal was a vocal opponent of Franco's regime and had worked with other oppositional directors like Luis Buñuel; his portrayal of Pedro Crespo has been described as an "interrogation of masculinity" that draws parallels with how Guerrero Zamora addresses male sexual violence and oppression in *Fuenteovejuna* (Wheeler 160-61). Crespo is depicted not as a confident and authoritative father and mayor, but rather as conflicted, inconsistent and even hypocritical in his relationships with family and community.

The screenplay for this film combines elements of the more popular play by Tirso de Molina with those of the lesser-known version attributed to Lope de Vega. In this case Pedro Crespo has four children: three daughters (Isabel, Leonor and Inés) and one son (Juan). In the film, as in Lope's version, Isabel's virtuous nature is strongly contrasted with her sisters' less exemplary behavior. Pedro Crespo's practically blind adherence to a code of honor leads him almost to the point of killing three of his own children (Leonor, Inés and Juan) while his extreme pride culminates in the execution of Captain Álvaro, who has kidnapped and raped his daughter Isabel, and whose punishment, as a member of the nobility and the military, really lies beyond the jurisdiction of a local mayor. The film's portrayal of Pedro Crespo as played by Rabal, a charismatic star known to sympathize with the political left, furtively expresses a criticism of the inconsistencies of the "paternalistic benevolence" and authoritarianism of the state (Evans 8). Crespo "is given a heroic aura … yet through his attitude towards his daughters, and in their ambivalent relationships with him, the film highlights the extent to which repression is a cancer in even the most benign of families" (Evans 8).

In contrast to earlier film adaptations, and even to Maesso's earlier adaptation of this same play, Camus' film questions the idealized image of rural Spanish communities. Zalamea is

not depicted as a completely Edenic, wholesome *aldea*. Pedro Crespo's daughters Leonor and Inés are portrayed as excited participants in a plot to sneak away with two of the military captains, or as Wheeler so aptly puts it, "as two frisky and impetuous cauldrons of pent-up eroticism," and his son Juan is portrayed as hot-headed and vengeful (163). As the troops enter Zalamea Inés and Leonor excitedly ask and then confirm "¿Soldados? ¡Soldados!" (*La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* 00:13:20-00:13:22). They watch through a window and catch the attention of two captains, whom they expeditiously invite to meet them, for now just for conversation, in a less conspicuous part of their house. The two frisky sisters contrast markedly with the innocence of Isabel and especially with the wholesome village of Zalamea presented in Maesso's earlier film.

Played by Francisco Rabal's real-life daughter Teresa Rabal, it is only Isabel, it seems, that embodies the pure innocence that these towns were thought to possess. For example, as the troops are arriving, Isabel plays with the village children, grouping her visually with the innocents, as Captain Álvaro and the *sargento* speak in the distance. As the *sargento* approaches on his way to find lodging for the captain, the soundtrack shifts from innocent and playful to grave and somber. The children stop their game and a blindfolded Isabel uncovers her eyes to find out what has happened. When she sees the sergeant her demeanor immediately changes from playful to concerned and shy, in concert with the soundtrack. Even the children, we see, are not so innocent as a young boy throws a clod of dirt and hits the *sargento* in the face after Isabel has run off.

Julio Núñez plays an attractive and dignified Captain Álvaro. Anthony Drove, who wrote the screenplay for this film, describes how he crafted this Don Álvaro to be more complex, rather than a Manichean villain, by "dejando su aspecto menos caballeroso y más tramposo al sargento

que le acompaña, y su aspecto más golfante a los otros dos capitanes" (qtd. in Wheeler 162). Presenting the story's rapist in this positive mode adds to the problematic nature of this film's message, as we will examine below. More like the Captain Álvaro of Calderón's text, in this film initially he dismisses his sergeant's description of Isabel as a beauty. He claims, "una villana es una villana" and the *sargento* retorts that "una mujer es una mujer. Cualquier vale para matar el tiempo. Ya lo verás" (*La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* 00:21:44-00:21:48). Once in Pedro Crespo's home, the captain indeed only desires to see Isabel after he learns that her father has hidden her from him. Unlike the meek Isabel that almost flirtatiously meets his gaze when his ruse grants him access to the room in Maesso's film, Camus' Isabel sternly tells the captain to leave immediately ("¡Marchaos…fuera!"), upsetting the male gaze as we discussed before (*La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* 00:28:30-00:28:37). In effect, Camus reverses the change made by Maesso to this critical scene between the captain and Isabel, reflecting once again the increased agency that Spanish women were experiencing in the 1970s. In Camus' film, this chastisement by the female protagonist incenses Álvaro's sense of superiority and the subsequent rebuke of her father and brother adds fuel to the fire. After the confrontation between Pedro Crespo, Juan, and the captain, the latter two actually draw swords and begin to fight, only to be stopped by the arrival of Don Lope.

In contrast to Golden Age adaptations made during the *primer franquismo*, as we have already seen with *Fuenteovejuna* (1972), these later adaptations foreground sexual and political violence rather than downplaying or removing it. Laurencia avoids being raped by the *comendador* of Fuenteovejuna in Román's film by dramatically jumping through a glass window into the river below while in Camus' film Isabel is violently and cruelly violated in a dark and damp cave outside her town. Camus' adaptation illustrates how "[d]irectors with an oppositional

political agenda self-consciously divert from the play texts on which they are based often to focus on the darker and more violent aspects that resist neat dramatic closure" (Wheeler 164). If the small-town vulnerable female represents the *patria* in peril, Laurencia's act of potential martyrdom demonstrates the idea that "self-abnegation through death is construed as more honourable than violation" (Wheeler 142). What, then, are we to make of Isabel's rape by Don Álvaro? This act of sexual violence against the one character that seems to embody Franco's paragon of female submission and rural idyll leaves viewers uneasy as Isabel does not receive a neat, happy ending. Indeed, after Pedro Crespo states that Leonor and Inés will enter a convent and become nuns Isabel tearfully asks him what is to become of her. He tells her that she can stay and take care of him, which is possibly meant to represent her father's kindness under the circumstances. In this way, the film ends without the same sense of closure or moral conclusiveness that can be said of Maesso's version, with a tearful father and daughter reentering their home, still traumatized by her sexual abuse.

This lack of closure stems from how Camus' film (along with his contemporary Guerrero Zamora's *Fuenteovejuna*) participates in the broader *tardofranquista* interrogation of masculinity discussed above. In this case, the figure of Pedro Crespo is the focus of the interrogation. He is extremely proud and rigid in his adherence to codes of honor. Although it is beyond the scope of his authority, Crespo has Captain Álvaro executed for kidnapping and raping Isabel. Once he has been justified by the King (and also granted authority over his other prisoners' fate), he has no problem judging and sentencing to death the military captains who seduced Leonor and Inés. However, when it comes to the fate of his own son he does not wish to judge as *alcalde* (although the king tells him he will have to be the judge in that case as well). Pedro Crespo is conflicted because he feels that he has to sentence Juan to death (even though he does believe he

acted justly) because otherwise the townspeople will think he acted as a father and not as a mayor. He is so concerned about his honor and the opinions of others that he nearly kills his own children.

While the Pedro Crespo of Maesso's film is portrayed as justified and confident in his decisions, Camus' Crespo is conflicted and visibly shaken by the situation he faces, to the point of questioning his own identity. He laments "Ya no sé quién soy yo" when faced with a decision between "la justicia" and "la opinión" (*La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* 01:50:11-01:50:14). Don Lope relieves him of the need to make this decision and though Crespo seems relieved he is dejected and defeated at the end of the film. It is also significant that Crespo does not force Isabel to enter a convent at the end of the film. Whereas Morrow describes the end of Calderón's play as a solution to "gender and paternal anxieties" because "Isabel—dishonored, vocal and confused—now represents a danger to the position in the community that father and son value so greatly" (48), Camus' Pedro Crespo does not silence or enclose his daughter. The elusiveness of closure and moral certainty points to Camus' *tardofranquista* interrogation of masculinity: Pedro Crespo's honor and masculinity are exposed as vulnerable, while the *antiguo régimen*'s convenient enclosure and silencing of women is shown to no longer be valid. To the extent that Calderón's protagonist functions as an early modern "everyman," Camus makes clear that adapting *El alcalde de Zalamea* to the cultural climate of *tardofranquismo* requires replacing Crespo's certainty with doubt and Isabel's enclosure with indeterminacy, both a reflection of the fact that the regime's faith in the patriarchy was now in crisis.

This interrogation of Golden-Age models of masculinity and patriarchy is in fact a synecdoche of the interrogation of *españolidad* itself during the regime's waning years. Under the strict and repressive regime, Spanish identity had become uncertain. Like Guerrero Zamora's

adaptation, Camus' film engages the Spanish classics more critically and as a means of undermining earlier *primer franquista* adaptations, using the regime's own plan against it, so to speak. If the plan of the earlier films was to show Spaniards both how they should behave and that Franco's Spain ideologically aligned with the Golden Age, then these later films exposed the flaw inherent in that reasoning: the *Comedia* is far from the unidimensional tool of state propaganda that so many have desired it to be throughout the centuries. As we will see in the next chapter, Pilar Miró also exposes this plasticity of the *Comedia*, but her film goes farther than just undermining the official interpretations and really seeks to reclaim and/or redeem the *Comedia* as cultural patrimony.

In this sense, the *Comedia* was truly a double-edged sword for the Franco regime. Because of the ambiguous nature of the plays on which they are based, these films' subversive potential was overlooked or ignored by censors, resulting in adaptations that flaunted the sexual politics of the age, including the depiction of empowered female characters and questioning the state of Spanish masculinity; they undermined Franco's idealized images of society and indirectly challenged the legitimacy of the regime. During the *primer franquismo* the practice of mining the classic Spanish canon for texts to exemplify the regime's ideology had the unintended effect of officially sanctioning its own subversion. This gave way later in the regime to oppositional directors that would more consciously deviate from the official ideology under the guise of conservative classics.

2.11 Problematic Spanishness: José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's *Don Juan* (1950)[17]

A full understanding of how this pivot from propagandistic to critical adaptations of the *Comedia* occurs requires a closer look at a key transitional film, Sáenz de Heredia's *Don Juan*. Although filmed well before the *tardofranquismo* period, this film anticipates the subversion of Guerrero Zamora and Camus. *Fuenteovejuna* (1972) and *La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea* (1973) are parallel narratives, with parallel adaptation histories, that foreground the politics of sex and the social control of women's bodies and how explicitly we talk about them. These adaptations empower their female characters and interrogate/castigate the failing or excessive masculinity of their male counterparts. Tirso's *El burlador de Sevilla* is the ultimate extreme case of the early modern concern for sexual power and its abuse.

Understanding how the regime appropriated the Don Juan legend requires an awareness of its ideological and propagandistic machinations, in particular the work of Ramiro de Maeztu. At first glance the tale of Don Juan is not one that seems most apt for adaptation during the Franco dictatorship in Spain, as his character is defined by the impulse to undermine the early modern values and institutions that inspired it. However, despite his bad behavior, Don Juan was considered by the Franco supporters to represent an important achievement of Spanish genius, a quintessentially Spanish cultural product. Maeztu had been a strong supporter of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and his works promoted a return to Spain's Catholic mission as a means to solve the problems of Spanish society; he was an intellectual whose ideas were readily taken up by the Franco regime after he was shot to death by Republicans during the civil war and effectively martyred for the Nationalist cause. In his collection of essays on Don Quijote, Don

[17] A version of this section, in translation, was previously published in a chapter titled "«Don Juan, ¿español?». Sobre la españolidad en *Don Juan* de José Luis Sáenz de Heredia" in the volume *El teatro clásico español en el cine*.

Juan and Celestina, Maeztu defends not only the Spanish origin of the Don Juan figure but of the very particular Spanishness, or *españolismo*, that he embodies:

> ¿Es Don Juan español? La pregunta parece ociosa, porque el mundo entero ha españolizado a Don Juan hasta en el nombre. Se escribe Don Juan, así, en perfecto castellano, en todos los países, y el desespañolizador que lo desespañolice buen desespañolizador será. (98)

Maeztu acknowledges that many other countries have put forth their own Don Juan but argues that these non-Spanish Don Juans ultimately lack substance:

> Hay un Don Juan común al norte, al sur, al este y al oeste de Europa; pero le ocurre lo que a los conceptos y pierde en contenido lo que gana en extensión, por lo que el Don Juan universal no pasa de ser sino *una sombra* que cruza el mundo seguida de una estela de mujeres. (89; my emphasis)

If Don Juan was to be deployed as evidence of Spanish cultural splendor, however, his activities needed to be [re]presented very carefully. Portraying the legendary character's sexual exploits, even though ostensibly condemned in the play(s), should have presented a challenge given the strictures of censorship at the time, not to mention that even a negative example shows more than the regime would have wanted the public to see. Nonetheless, José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's version of *Don Juan* was released in 1950 and received the esteemed classification of "Interés Nacional" (Labanyi, “Impossible Love” 152). While other golden age *comedias* more suited to the regime's ideology were made into films in this period, *Don Juan* is strikingly different in its stylistic echoes of popular Hollywood film. Rather than an obvious vehicle for promoting the kind of Spain to which the *caudillo* wanted to return, as other film adaptions of the *comedias* made during the dictatorship have been characterized, *Don Juan* is more concerned

with reminding Spaniards (and the world) that Don Juan is, was, and will always be *español*. The title character's dying words to his servant Ciutti, for example, are to continue announcing him in the courts of Spain as "Don Juan Tenorio, español" (*Don Juan* 01:55:22). Though a clear attempt to firmly fix the Spanishness of the infamous trickster, at the end of the film Don Juan's Spanishness is far from definite, much like his dubious Catholic conversion. A close reading of Sáenz de Heredia's film reveals that its ostensible aim to reclaim the Don Juan myth as Spanish cultural patrimony is complicated by the fact that doing so also reveals internal contradictions pointing to the inherent problems of Franco's vision of Spanishness.

Don Juan Tenorio is one of if not *the* most memorable dramatic character to emerge from the golden age of early modern Spanish theater. The trickster of Seville repeatedly exploits the tenuous nature of identity in his sexual conquests in ways that flout his society's honor code, but in Tirso's version his insistence on keeping his word as a Tenorio (to dine with the menacing stone figure of Don Gonzalo) for the sake of his own honor is actually his ironic undoing. Honor for Don Juan is tied to his family name and identity, however, justice, both divine and poetic, in this play comes when Don Juan finally acts under his true name. This justice depends on making a negative example of Don Juan, for not being Spanish enough and for not owning his true name until the end.

Just as he takes on the identities of many others to serve his own ends, Don Juan's identity has been reformed and refashioned over and over again on the page, stage and screen to suit the needs of the time and place, showing the malleability of even the most famous identities. Don Juan is in some ways one of the most Spanish icons to come out of the seventeenth century, and yet his Spanishness is perhaps the most problematic. Tirso's Spaniard has inspired Molière's seventeenth-century French Dom Juan, Lorenzo Da Ponte and Mozart's Italian Don Giovanni in

the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth century Lord Byron's Don Juan residing in Britain. Without entering into a detailed analysis of these non-Spanish adaptations of the legend, the sheer frequency with which the narrative captured foreign imaginations into the nineteenth century suggests that the narrative held a degree of universal appeal that would make its association with Spanish cultural patrimony increasingly diluted. By the time of José Zorrilla's Romantic *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844), considered by many to have brought the legend of Don Juan to its height of popularity, the figure of Don Juan had an established legacy of transcending national borders. Zorrilla's return to the narrative, regardless of its more "international" flavor (including Italian-language dialogue), would be embraced so enthusiastically by the Spanish theater industry and would be performed so frequently throughout the country that its association with Spanish cultural patrimony heading into the twentieth century was solidified.

When Vincent Sherman's 1948 Hollywood movie *The Adventures of Don Juan*, starring Errol Flynn, was released, it was obviously not the first example of another nation trying to define Don Juan but rather evidence of just how universal (and commercially viable) this persona had become. Though Spain would be still under autarky until 1959, a significant number of films shown in theaters were imported from the outside, especially from Hollywood. In the case of *The Adventures of Don Juan*, however, the Spanish cinema industry took issue with outsiders trying to redefine Don Juan, when from their perspective he could only properly be represented by Spaniards. As scholars like Jo Labanyi ("Impossible Love") and Duncan Wheeler have noted, Sáenz de Heredia's film represents a strong reaction to *The Adventures of Don Juan*, which had "desecrated" the Spanish myth. Wheeler captures this tension well when he comments that "Spanish sensibilities may have been offended by foreign usurpation of a national myth but it was the character's stature abroad that made him so amenable to a cinematic makeover..." (144).

So Sáenz de Heredia's 1950 Spanish version is prompted by the legend's foreign cooptation, which prompts a reading of the film as an effort to reclaim the classic as cultural patrimony. Indeed, given all of its problematic elements, it is otherwise difficult to explain why a Spanish director would have been compelled to make it.

Sherman's film is barely recognizable as the myth of the trickster of Seville, apart from the main character's name and his dalliances in the opening sequence, which takes place in England. When Don Juan is caught seducing the fiancée of a Spanish duke, he threatens Don Juan (whom he accuses of disgracing Spain), but the lady tells him to stop being "so Spanish" (*The Adventures of Don Juan* 00:16:29). Back in Spain, as a member of the military Don Juan becomes a fencing master for cadets at the military academy in Madrid. By the film's end Don Juan is painted as a national hero for saving the Spanish monarchy from the treasonous usurpation of one of its ministers, all the while painting King Philip III as a weak and ineffectual leader. For Spaniards the film possibly strays too far when the Queen of Spain (Margaret of Austria) becomes one of Don Juan's "victims," yielding to him not in body but in heart. He apparently falls for her as well but nobly refuses to be with her for the greater good of Spain. The nationalistically heroic Don Juan—a complete reversal of his original role as a cautionary tale for Tirso—does not die, nor does he experience a religious conversion. Instead, the film closes with the promise that he will continue his adventures throughout Spain, but only after establishing a very different relationship with the nation than had been the case in earlier versions of the legend.

It is not difficult to see why the regime and Spanish filmmakers took issue with this version of Don Juan. Wheeler goes so far as to say that Sáenz de Heredia's film is "ostensibly the epitome of the most reactionary form of Spanish cinema from the dictatorship period" (144).

This outrage, combined with the high international profile of Don Juan, played right into the hands of the Nationalist regime, who could take this opportunity to show that this myth known the world over was theirs, in other words that it was quintessentially Spanish. Curiously, this cinematic response to *The Adventures of Don Juan* and the mockery it makes of the Spanish monarchy is not done through a faithful adaptation of Tirso or Zorrilla's text, as the opening credits state:

> Esta película no está ceñida a ninguna obra determinada de las muchas que han tratado la figura de "Don Juan". Pretende ser una versión nueva del legendario burlador español, aunque en esta se hayan conservado de las otras, aquellos rasgos del personaje que más eficazmente lo definen. (*Don Juan* 00:01:46)

This new version of Don Juan tries to drive home, through elements including plot, dialogue, character development and scenery, the very Spanish identity of Don Juan Tenorio. The irony in this film lies in the (at times) not-so-Spanish means to achieve such an end.

The film is populated by many nods to Spanish culture, constant reminders that this is a *Spanish* tale. Most of the film's action takes place in Seville and not in the court of Madrid like Sherman's version. In a gypsy festival a herd of bulls is let loose, creating chaos but also forcefully and repeatedly presenting this very Spanish symbol of virility and power. In the aftermath of the bull scene Don Juan sequesters Inés in a windmill, once again nodding to a Spanish cultural image tied especially to the early modern period thanks to the famous scene in *Don Quijote* when the *caballero* confronts the giants "[que] no son gigantes, sino molinos de viento" (Cervantes 129). Sáenz de Heredia, unlike Sherman, explicitly names the two Spanish playwrights credited with the creation of the Don Juan known to Spaniards, Tirso de Molina and Zorrilla, and offers his film, albeit free in its adaptation, as an homage to them. This praise of the

Spanish literary heritage of Don Juan represents another of the ways in which the film tries to display Spanish cultural superiority, and the ensuing narrative leaves little doubt as to how that cultural identity is directly linked to a morally superior national character.

In the film, Don Juan encounters his female foil in the character of the English Lady Ontiveros, played by French actress Annabella. The two become intimately involved yet unattached and free to seduce others by mutual agreement. There is absolutely no expectation of marriage as she is already married (at least on paper) to another man. Theirs is a surprising arrangement, both by sixteenth-century and *franquista* standards, presumably to show the debauchery of foreign women. The other Spanish women romantically involved with Don Juan in the film believe him to be someone else, thus rendering them innocent victims of trickery rather than willingly seduced sinners. In any case, their complicity in extramarital intercourse is downplayed while that of Lady Ontiveros is exaggerated to the point of placing her on par with Don Juan. Lady Ontiveros even temporarily upsets the notion of (male) gender as power by occupying the role of seducer when she takes the opportunity to enjoy the company of a gypsy man. It is clear by the end of the film that she has fallen for Don Juan, but she orchestrates his death out of jealousy by betraying him to the 'law,' a metaphorical back-stabbing that leads to a literal one.

While the foreign Ontiveros is monstrous in her sexual appetite and general lack of female decorum, the notion of Spanish women's purity is promoted through the film's other female lead. This purity is necessarily tied to her capacity to save Don Juan from eternal condemnation, just as women under the Franco dictatorship were likened to the Virgin Mary in both her capacity as mother and intercessor. The character Inés, played by María Rosa Salgado, fulfills a traditional gender role: she is devout, obedient to her father, pure in her actions, and she

ultimately leads Don Juan to salvation. This emphasis on Don Juan's salvation, a religious aspect absent from the Hollywood film, is perhaps the film's clearest echo of Zorrilla's Romantic narrative. His belief (or really lack thereof) is discussed and is of great importance to Inés. She leads him to salvation in the end but does not lose her own life in the process. Unlike Zorrilla's version, there is no supernatural intervention of any kind, but nonetheless Don Juan's heart is changed by his love for Inés, the paragon of Spanish feminine virtue.

Don Juan "saves" Inés from the previously mentioned stampede of bulls, which he has orchestrated in order to take her. He strongly desires Inés, but at this point in the film we witness a change to his character: Don Juan does not forcefully seduce Inés, but instead he is profoundly affected by her concern for his soul. He even tries to convince her father, Don Gonzalo, that he has changed and that he has not, in fact, raped his daughter. He goes so far as to allow Don Gonzalo to stab him in the chest (but then ultimately kills him with a pistol when he will not listen). Despite killing her father, Inés' desire for Don Juan and his salvation remains strong—in other words, his character's transformation, inspired by her selfless Christian (and Spanish) virtue, converts their relationship into something which Tirso de Molina could never have imagined.

An important aspect of Tirso's version of Don Juan is his role as negative example. Sherman's Don Juan becomes a national hero, but this film brings him back into the mode of cautionary tale, showing that the "happiest" ending is not love or a passionate kiss or even being alive but rather being restored to Catholicism. Don Juan can be seen as an exaggerated form of the patriarchy in that he assumes the power role and dominates the female characters, but he abuses his position of power as a male of the nobility under patriarchy. He usurps the position of other men of his rank and does not follow the honor code. Other earthly figures fail to bring him

into line with the rules of patriarchy (in Tirso's version, anyway). In the film Don Juan is reconciled to the order of things via his Catholic salvation. Although it is too late to save his earthly life, he seems to go to his grave satisfied that he has finally found the right path, stating that he wants to go to heaven so that he will one day be there with Inés.

Though the film was heavily promoted and, as stated before, awarded the category of "Interés Nacional," its orthodox veneer crumbles under scrutiny. It is perhaps unsurprising that the film has been largely written off as another piece of propaganda for the Franco regime due to its subject matter and its superficial espousal of regime ideology. As Wheeler explains, "[t]he narrative's ostensible conservatism has led, once again, to the film being largely dismissed by modern Spanish critics as an aesthetically redundant and anachronistic piece of propaganda" (145). A closer look, however, reveals that this film is hardly orthodox for its time. As Jo Labanyi has noted, this film "attempts to have it both ways: that is, to draw on the pleasures of Hollywood spectacle while paying lip-service to Nationalist values" ("Impossible Love" 147).

As an answer to a high-profile Hollywood film, *Don Juan* needed significant star power to make an impact. However, as Wheeler puts it, "[i]ronically, as was the case with the triumphant Real Madrid football team of the time, this patriotic grandstanding was facilitated by the presence of foreign players," Portuguese actor Antonio Vilar and the French starlet Annabella (144). Though Vilar had starred in several Spanish films by the time he made *Don Juan*, his accent had to be dubbed in the film because it was noticeably foreign and therefore unsuitable for the quintessentially Spanish Don Juan. Beyond the need for high-profile stars, the film also depended upon a spectacle more like that of Hollywood films, most of which was provided by the sex appeal of Annabella in various risqué scenes—especially one in which she appears in a bathtub covered only by suds—that surprisingly were not cut by the censors. There

is also a passionate kiss shared by Vilar and Salgado that was left uncut, and rather than suggesting any problems with the censors, “the film received star billing in the press of the time, and was awarded the highest ranking, ‘De Interés Nacional’ …, usually reserved for films with an evident patriotic content. (Labanyi, “Impossible Love” 152). Apparently, the regime censors were willing to overlook the transgressions of Nationalist orthodoxy for the sake of reclaiming Don Juan as Spanish intellectual property. In so doing, however, the film seriously undermines the Spanishness that was supposedly its most important aspect.

The promotion of Catholic morality is clearly superficial in some ways when shown alongside the glamorization of Don Juan’s and Lady Ontiveros' sexual intrigues. It is significant that the actress portraying the woman who leads Don Juan to salvation is in fact Spanish (María Rosa Salgado plays the role of Doña Inés de Ulloa). The danger, however, of casting such a high-profile star as Annabella in a role that is supposedly the negative example of female behavior is that she becomes a model instead. On screen Inés' importance as a role model is overshadowed by the seductive lifestyle of the English Lady. Indeed, other than not winning the love of Don Juan, Lady Ontiveros receives no other punishment for her sexual promiscuity. Don Juan dies yet she moves on, conceivably to more amorous adventures, perhaps to her husband; we do not know. But she puts a glamorous face on female impropriety, undermining the moral rectitude of Inés. True, Inés wins the love of Don Juan and will enjoy eternity with him in heaven (an interpretation surely championed by the regime), but the film does little to vilify the lifestyle of the English Lady.

In the film's promotional posters, the Spanish leading lady is given much less space than the foreign foil to the protagonist. They all include Annabella's name (and most include her face), while those that do include María Rosa Salgado do so in a smaller font. Even in the film's

opening credits Vilar and Annabella appear directly after the film's title, sharing the page as though they are the two most important characters—which, effectively, they are—, while Salgado is relegated to third place, sharing a spot with Enrique Guitart, who plays Don Luis de Mejía, Don Juan's ill-fated competitor. Though the regime would have us believe otherwise, it seems that blondes—or in this case bad girls—really do have more fun. If Lady Ontiveros' unapologetic sexual promiscuity isn't naughty enough, her jokes at the expense of Charles V surely confirm her mischievous *forastera* role. Don Juan, in their first meeting, enters her ship cabin claiming to be the Emperor, and she responds that he is certainly not "ese viejo emperador acaparador de territorios" (*Don Juan* 00:15:33) but compares Don Juan's seductive mission to Charles' imperial designs, saying that he must be Spanish because of his "altanería y presunción … basta pisar para conquistar" (*Don Juan* 00:15:43). As Labanyi notes, this is "hardly a flattering reference to the imperial mission so much stressed in early Francoist ideology" ("Impossible Love" 150).

This film, as I have shown, is hardly the orthodox Nationalist propaganda that the regime believed it to be. Nonetheless, its conservative veneer has caused it to be largely ignored by critics, and as Labanyi notes, "what little criticism there is on the film reads it as a straightforward exemplification of Nationalist values, failing to spot the ways in which these values are undermined by ironic repartee and a slick performance style" ("Impossible Love" 148). When we dig beneath the conservative façade of this film, we find it teeming with inner contradictions. These fractured, forced attempts at ideological continuity in the film are evidence of how the Franco regime's narrative of Spain and Spanishness depended on illusion and superficiality.

2.12 Conclusions

Although films like Camus' *El alcalde de Zalamea* expose these illusions more consciously, the propagandistic uses to which Francisco Franco and his regime put Golden Age literature have proven quite difficult to overcome. Indeed, comparatively little criticism on these films exists, and what is there mostly dismisses the Franco-era *Comedia* adaptations as pure propaganda. Martin Blinkhorn perhaps oversimplifies the issue when he states that

> by officially espousing an imperial ideology and interpretation of history, the Franco regime ultimately ensured that thanks to a combination of boredom and revulsion among the Spanish public, when Franco died post-imperial nostalgia [for the Golden Age] was interred with him. (23)

I would argue that, rather than mere boredom or revulsion with these plays, the Spanish public was left with a sense of ambivalence and incertitude towards the Golden Age theater: on the one hand the Franco regime's ideological project depended on a certain interpretation of the Golden Age narrative, but, on the other hand, this same narrative so clearly lent itself to being read and adapted against such a conservative grain.

This ambivalence and the end of the Franco dictatorship led to a more than twenty-year absence of the *Comedia* from Spain's big screen. The transition period that followed the dictatorship is emblematic of the search for Spanish identity, and though the *Comedia* endured a lengthy absence, we will see that, eventually, a newly democratic Spain again turned to this source in the ongoing process of (re)building a Spanish identity.

Chapter 3: Remaking Spanishness: The *Comedia* Post Franco

3.1 Introduction

If, as Aaron Kahn comments, "[d]uring the Franco regime, the dictator appropriated the texts and images of the Spanish Golden Age in order to promote his personal brand of Spanish nationalism and to feed into his own cult of personality as Generalissimo" (6), then the *Comedia*'s projection of Spanishness would change fundamentally during the transition to democracy after Franco's death in 1975. As argued in the previous chapter, the more "subversive" or oppositional directors from the *tardofranquismo* period during the dictatorship's waning years used the *Comedia* as a vehicle to promote democratic ideals or to criticize the regime's impact on Spanish society. What we see post-dictatorship is something altogether different: the comprehensive economic, political and cultural reforms yielded a far less coherent vision of Spanish identities and cultures, with a degree of artistic and political freedom not known in Spain since at least the 1930s.

As we explored in the first chapter, like other playwrights of the Golden Age, Lope wrote plays that could be interpreted as subversive for the spectators interested in that cause, while still allowing them to be seen as "propagandistic" by those who enjoyed power. In Chapter Two we saw this interpretative plasticity clearly exploited in different adaptations of the same plays—*Fuenteovejuna* and *El alcalde de Zalamea*—by the filmmakers from the *primer* and *tardofranquismo*. In the present chapter we will examine how directors in democratic Spain once again explored Spanishness through their interpretations of two of Lope's plays, *El perro del hortelano* and *La dama boba*. The Spanishness that was communicated through the Franco-era films is not the same Spanishness that directors in the new democracy believed themselves to embody. I believe at this point it is worth reiterating that, since national identity is continually

reinvented and renegotiated, to the extent that we can perceive changes in attitudes toward cultural patrimony as indicative of broader changes to the perception of Spanish identity, the evolution of the interpretation of the Spanish *Comedia* is a symptom of its ever-changing nature. In this chapter we will trace the reemergence of the Golden Age and the *Comedia* in mainstream popular Spanish culture in the late twentieth century and into the twenty-first and examine how they participate in a privatized and globalized landscape of cultural production that is reflective of just how complex questions of identity and Spanishness have become in contemporary Spain.

3.2 An Uncertain Transition for the *Comedia*

Generally speaking, there were two central difficulties of adapting *comedias* in the immediate post-Franco years. The first and most obvious obstacle was the way that the *Comedia* had been tainted by association with propaganda for the dictatorship, examined in detail in the previous chapter. The second was that, as we explored in the first chapter, the *Comedia* comes from a period in Spain's history that is characterized by a projected (fictional) notion of a unified Spanish identity. The theater from that period emanated from the court in Madrid—indeed, most of the major playwrights of the period were born in or around Madrid—and it therefore projected the cultural hegemony of the capital. Post Franco, different regional identities began to reassert themselves, especially once power began to be transferred from a central government to the autonomous regional governments in the early 1980s in the wake of the 1978 Constitution. This constitution and redistribution of power, that once again recognized regional differences in language, culture and history, began to peel back the artificial façade of unity that Franco had sought to create. In essence, four decades of suppressed diversity and of projected (monocultural) identity came to a sudden halt, allowing peripheral and marginalized identities to

be freely expressed once again. In this context, then, the *Comedia* suffered from its long association with Franco and the attendant cultural baggage. This created a need for state-sponsored support if the *Comedia* was to survive the transition to democracy. What we will see is that cultural programming launched during the PSOE government of Felipe González in the 1980s and 90s contributed to the success of director Pilar Miró's adaptation of *El perro del hortelano* (1996), while the more "free market" approach to cinema, which took hold under the PP government of José María Aznar in the late 90s and early 2000s, has led to mixed results for subsequent films like Manuel Iborra's *La dama boba* (2006). As discussed in the introduction to this project, the subjective judgements provided by film reviews, public opinion, and box-office statistics are useful diagnostic tools for evaluating the changing place of the *Comedia* in twentieth and twenty-first-century Spanish society.

The abrupt end to the way things were for 36 years combined with the new struggle to foster a sense of Spanishness and national cohesion in a nation so diverse led to a new (and arguably ongoing) need to reinvent Spanish national identity. I have already acknowledged the constructivist conception of the ever-changing nature of national identity, but here, however, the significant transition and even reinvention of Spanishness was especially needed in light of the so-called *pacto de olvido* and amnesty laws that allowed Spain to move on from the dictatorship and form a new government. Work on memory in the post-Franco era by scholars such as Cristina Moreiras Menor has argued that with the death of Franco and the transition to democracy, one hegemonic cultural politics was replaced by another, an official politics of "desmemorización colectiva" (29). Through a psychoanalytical focus, Moreiras Menor examines how, parallel to this "un-remembering," there also arises a current of narratives that, though on the surface depoliticized, contain within them evidence of the culture that is damaged by

unresolved tensions with the past, the *cultura herida* to which her title refers (29). Similarly, as José Colmeiro has written, this transition was paradoxically characterized by "the attempts to recuperate historical memory [mainly of suppressed accounts of the civil war] and the official politics of amnesia" (24).[18] Although historical memory was officially exiled from Spanish politics it found expression in the intellectual and cultural arena, with an upsurge between 1976 and 1978 in "works of literature, documentaries and films, and historical and testimonial accounts dealing with the recent past, and the wide public recognition of those works" (Colmeiro 26). This is clear evidence that a nation's past is never far from the national imaginary and that it is inextricably linked to its identity. Though Spain's immediate past was the most frequent subject of intellectual inquiry and artistic recreation in this period, Spaniards did not completely lose their particular fascination with the Golden Age, but its expression necessarily took on different forms in the immediate aftermath of the dictatorship.

3.2.1 The *Comedia* and Spanish Cultural Programming

Spain's past in general was not "off limits" in the transition to democracy and indeed it played an important role in the nation's reimagining of self and its projection to the rest of the world. Spain is often cited as a successful case of "country" or "nation branding," described in this particular case as the "active orchestrated repositioning by a country involving a national promotional programme using Joan Mir[ó]'s sun to symbolise the step change in the modernisation of Spain" (Gilmore 282). The events of 1992, an incredibly important year in the life of the young democracy, were critical to this re-branding and though Spain sought to showcase its modernity it also capitalized on the most prestigious artifacts of its past.

[18] For more on the *pacto de olvido* and historical memory see Carsten Humlebæk's "The 'Pacto del Olvido'" or Colmeiro's "A nation of ghosts?: Haunting, historical memory and forgetting in post-Franco Spain."

Leading up to this year, Adolfo Marsillach created Spain's Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico (CNTC) in 1986 as part of the Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música (INAEM), an autonomous body under Spain's Ministry of Culture. The mission of this company, as stated on its website, is "la recuperación, preservación, producción y difusión del patrimonio teatral anterior al siglo XX, con especial atención al Siglo de Oro y a la prosodia del verso clásico" ("La Compañía"). There is a sense, expressed in this mission statement, that the *Comedia* needed the support of the state if it was not to go extinct, especially since, unlike the classical theater of other countries, in Spain no performance tradition had been maintained. In 1991, the Spanish government created the Instituto Cervantes "para promover universalmente la enseñanza, el estudio y el uso del español y contribuir a la difusión de las culturas hispánicas en el exterior" ("Instituto Cervantes").

Both the founding of the CNTC and the Instituto Cervantes can be seen as part of the broader "repackaging" of Spain, drawing on its cultural patrimony as part of its re-presentation to the Western world in general and to tourists in particular. These efforts led up to 1992, when the world's eyes were cast upon Spain: the country commemorated 500 years since Columbus' "discovery"—culminating in the Seville Expo '92, whose theme was "The Age of discovery" ("Seville")—, Madrid was named the European Capital of Culture for the year, and Barcelona hosted the Summer Olympic Games. The founding of the Instituto Cervantes, for example, was strategic for the 1992 events because it "managed to blend the myth of Cervantes—symbol of the regional and cultural contribution of Castile to the civilizing role of Spain—with an international aspect that situated the Spanish language as the guardian of transatlantic ties" (García Sebastiani and Marcilhacy177). No less important is the fact that 1992 also saw the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, a founding treaty of the European Union that eventually led to the creation of

the single European currency, the euro. As the European Community ties somewhat effaced national differences among the member nations the Spanish identity had to be more intentionally curated and maintained. Amid the dramatic political, economic and cultural changes of the transition period, cultural programming funded by the Spanish government tells an important story about how the State valued Spain's Golden Age cultural patrimony and would seek to foster its appreciation as a unifying cultural force.

3.2.2 The Changing Landscape of Cinema Post Franco

In another important arena of cultural production, the cinema, the Spanish government made some important changes after the end of the dictatorship. With the official end of censorship in 1977, the ensuing *destape* period flooded Spanish cinemas with low quality but incredibly popular soft porn ("S") films. When the PSOE came into power after the 1982 elections Pilar Miró was made Director-General of Film, and her controversial legislation, known as the "ley Miró," consisted of "a series of measures to 'facilitate the production of quality films, films made by new directors, those intended for a children's audience or those with experimental qualities'" (Triana-Toribio 112). The "ley Miró" sought to promote a high-quality, high-art cinema in Spain, one that purported to be a cinema of social realism, with political merit, but that could appeal to a wide public.

Though the legislation did have a positive impact on the quality of Spanish films and succeeded somewhat in reining in the "S" film category by making it difficult for these types of productions to obtain government subsidies (Triana-Toribio 114), it received a great deal of criticism as it "generally failed to deliver films that appealed to the public and was rife with nepotism," with a marked preference for certain directors and genres (Wheeler 168). In this

period, when Spanish cinema was mostly seeking to recuperate the silenced past of the civil war and the dictatorship, the *Comedia* was absent from the big screen and Golden Age drama also was removed from state television programming (Suárez Miramón 582-83). The efforts that Golden Age theater received from the government, as we just discussed, were not paralleled in the film industry. However, as I have already noted, the Golden Age was never far from the Spanish imaginary, and though no *Comedia* adaptations were made between 1973 and 1996, as indicated in the previous chapter, we can still see traces of its influence. Three films in particular reveal Spanish cinema's lasting fascination with and indebtedness to its Golden Age theater: *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* (1990), *Don Juan en los infiernos* (1991), and *El rey pasmado* (1991).

3.2.3 Traces of the *Comedia*: Don Juan in the 1990s

Two films made back-to-back in the early 1990s take as their subject the legendary figure of Don Juan. As explored in the previous chapter, the national importance of this most Spanish of myths is undeniable and Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* achieved such unprecedented success that "se instauró como representación obligada para el Día de Todos los Santos o el de Difuntos" (Ortega Alcántara 246). Undoubtedly, then, most Spaniards had at least a basic familiarity with the legend of Don Juan. As with Sáenz de Heredia's *Don Juan*, Antonio Mercero's *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* (1990) and Gonzalo Suárez's *Don Juan en los infiernos* (1991) are inspired by the Don Juan myth—as an *hipotexto architextual*, to use Pérez Bowie's terminology—, but they elaborate their own original plots centered around the figure of Don Juan (Pérez Bowie 51-52). More concretely, the former takes cues from Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* while the latter is based more on the *Dom Juan* of Molière.

Hartmut Nonnenmacher describes that these two films, the first adaptations of the Don Juan myth in Spain's democratic period, "son sendas representantes de las dos vertientes que se vienen dando en la recreación cinematográfica del mito a lo largo de todo el siglo XX, denominadas por Luis Miguel Fernández "filmes dramáticos" por un lado y "versiones burlescas" por otro" (275). Falling into the category of burlesque, *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* is set in present-day Spain and follows the comedy of errors that ensues when the ghost of Don Juan returns on the eve of All Saints' Day, seeking absolution, and is confused with the actor playing him in a production of Zorrilla's play, set to premiere the following day. *Don Juan en los infiernos*, on the other hand, is a more dramatic film that opens, as the title might suggest, with Don Juan in hell. The rest of the film is a flashback, unfurling the events that ultimately lead to Don Juan's demise. In both films we can see an attempt to redefine part of Spain's identity by utilizing one of its most popular myths, as Nonnenmacher explains:

> En contra de una tradición representada en el ámbito literario, en primer lugar por Zorrilla y, en el ámbito cinematográfico, sobre todo por el director franquista Sáenz de Heredia, el cual veía en Don Juan el "arquetipo de lo español y lo católico", éste se convierte en las versiones de Mercero y Suárez en representante de una España moderna, democrática, laica y hedonista. (291-92)

The Don Juans of these two films are cast in a more positive light, especially as they seek erotic pleasure for themselves and for their sexual partners. Meanwhile, the characters in the films who are generally unlikeable and/or exhibit more antiquated (patriarchal) values receive punishment. Though neither film is based on Tirso de Molina's play, the pervasiveness and national importance of the Don Juan figure that we explored in the previous chapter is readily observable here and speaks to the surviving cultural fascination with Spain's Golden Age.

3.2.4 The Golden Age Revisited: *El rey pasmado* (1991)

Don Juan en los infiernos did not perform well at the box office, with just over 82,000 viewers ("Don Juan en los infiernos"). By way of comparison, the comedy *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* garnered almost half a million spectators and close to a million euros in profit ("Don Juan, mi querido fantasma"). It is perhaps for this reason that Wheeler seems to ignore *Don Juan en los infiernos* when he comments that

> [a]lthough the trend for costly and prestigious literary adaptations from the twentieth century dissipated as the decade progressed, there was no return to earlier periods in history. The one major exception was *El rey pasmado* (Imanol Uribe, 1991) an ambitious production … set in the period of Philip IV and shot in quintessentially Castilian towns (El Escorial, Toledo, Madrid, Salamanca, Avila). Critics were surprised firstly by the fact that, after such a long absence, the Golden Age had returned to the big screen and, secondly, by the fact that a film set in this period could be entertaining. (168)

El rey pasmado had 663,273 viewers and brought in 1,746,540 euros, or about eight times more viewers/profits than *Don Juan en los infiernos*, which had premiered only five days earlier ("El rey pasmado"). *El rey pasmado*, a work of historical fiction, is another literary adaptation, based on the 1989 novel *Crónica del rey pasmado* by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester. The comedy's power in the Spanish film market is evident in this film's success but I would also argue that the way it treats the seventeenth century is equally responsible for its good fortune, an idea we will see echoed when we discuss the films of 2006, a "watershed year in terms of Spanish cinema's approach to the past" (Wheeler 178). *El rey pasmado* is set during the early part of the reign of Felipe IV and Elisabeth of France and chronicles the quest of a young King Felipe to see his wife

in the nude. Though the queen is shown to be more than willing to acquiesce, the couple is thwarted by custom and zealous religious figures. They ultimately achieve their goal, aided by the king's new friend, the Count of Peña Andrada, and a Jesuit missionary, padre Almeida. The film treats the sexual repression of the seventeenth century humorously and thereby appeals to the sexual liberation of Spanish society in the 1990s (as do the two aforementioned films based on the Don Juan figure). Rather than glorifying the past, this film doesn't take Spain's history (or even that of its monarchs) too seriously, poking fun at the antiquated prudery and religious zealotry that surely conjured a comparison with Franco's *nacional catolicismo*.

The success of *El rey pasmado* is indicative of a "thawing" of cinematic interest in the Golden Age and helps to set the stage for the next film we will discuss, Pilar Miró's 1996 film adaptation of Lope de Vega's *El perro del hortelano*. As the first post-Franco *Comedia* adaptation, Miró's film also benefitted greatly from the establishment of the Instituto Cervantes and especially of the CNTC, which helped to renew awareness and interest in the Golden Age theater tradition, as Wheeler has pointed out (168). Given the popularity of *El rey pasmado* with its exploration of seventeenth-century sexual repression, Miró's success is also due in large part to the selection of this particular *comedia*, which has been described as an "embrión erótico-textual" having "enorme riqueza sexual, tanto explícita como implícita" (Fernández "El coto erótico" 58). Indeed, Miró's adaptation demonstrates a preoccupation with class and gender that is informed as much by recent Spanish history as it is by Lope's original script. Before studying the film, therefore, it is instructive to revisit Lope's play in order to understand the artistic choices Miró made in her version.

3.3 The Cultural Relevance of Lope's *El perro del hortelano*

Written around 1611-18, *El perro del hortelano*, though considered by some as one of Lope's "minor" works, has seen numerous stagings, television broadcasts, and Miró's high-profile film adaptation in the four hundred years since its original composition. A closer look at Lope's play reveals the reasons for its sustained popularity, specifically its exploration of sexual desire, the mutability of identity, and examination of the gendered hierarchy of the playwright's society. These topics are just as prominent in twentieth and twenty-first-century Spain as they were in the early modern period, however differently inflected. For this reason, the film based on Lope's play presented the opportunity to explore and evaluate these issues in twentieth-century Spanish society through a canonical play written by one of Spain's most celebrated literary figures. In this way Miró attempted to reconcile the cultural heritage represented by the *Comedia* with Spain's contemporary identity.

The action of *El perro* takes place in Naples and focuses on the intrigue surrounding the relationship between a noblewoman and her male secretary. Diana, the noble and wealthy countess of Belflor, has previously shown no desire to marry, described as "incasable cuanto hermosa" in the play's dialogue (v. 104).[19] In spite of the "mil señores que están, // para casarse contigo [Diana], // ciegos de amor," she has rejected all suitors and maintains her household and servants independently, apparently bereft of any parental presence (vv. 69-71).[20] The opening scenes of a man fleeing her house and Diana's subsequent heated demands to discover his

[19] All citations of the play text, unless otherwise noted, refer to line numbers and are taken from the edition of *El perro del hortelano* (Lope de Vega) edited by Mauro Armiño (1997). Armiño notes that he amends here the *princeps* edition from Madrid (M) and one printed subsequently in Barcelona (B), both printed in 1618, an 1886 version edited by Zerolo in Paris (G), "y [el] resto" to read "incasable" instead of "incansable" (48). In the context of the play, *incasable* does make more sense, especially if we think of Diana as a *mujer esquiva*, discussed further in this chapter.

[20] Fernández notes that critics are divided on the question of Diana's social status, some contending that she is single and orphaned while others believe she is widowed ("El coto erótico" 66).

identity and the reason for his presence points to a certain preoccupation with her honor and control of her situation. She believes that one of her suitors has bribed her servants to gain access to her house, but she becomes more composed when it turns out that the man has actually come to woo one of her ladies in waiting, Marcela. When confronted, Marcela reveals that her suitor is Diana's secretary, Teodoro. In one of her many soliloquies, Diana reveals that Teodoro's charms have not gone unnoticed by her, but, in line with the patriarchal morality of the period, she values her honor above the satisfaction of such desires:

> Mil veces he advertido en la belleza,
> gracia y entendimiento de Teodoro,
> que, a no ser desigual a mi decoro,
> estimara su ingenio y gentileza.
> Es el amor común naturaleza,
> mas yo tengo mi honor por más tesoro;
> que los respetos de quien soy adoro
> y aun el pensarlo tengo por bajeza. (vv. 325-32)

The story that unfolds is of Diana's desire for Teodoro, a desire sparked by the jealousy she experiences once she knows that he is pursuing another woman. She communicates these feelings through a thinly veiled lovers' game, asking Teodoro to review a letter she has written for a "friend" in just such a predicament.

Diana manipulates Teodoro's desires, neither giving herself to him nor allowing him to be with Marcela, eliciting from both Teodoro (vv. 2195, 2298) and her maid Dorotea (vv. 3071-72) the play's titular comparison with the fable of the gardener's dog, or the dog in the manger, who neither ate nor allowed others to do so. This hot-then-cold back-and-forth between the two

protagonists continues until Teodoro, unable to tolerate the situation any longer and concerned by threats made against his life by Diana's more "appropriate" suitors, asks permission to leave for Spain. The apparent despondency of the frustrated lovers is relieved in the moments before Teodoro's departure by a solution engineered by his lackey Tristán. Taking advantage of the desperate wish of the aged Count Ludovico to know the fate of his lost son, also named Teodoro, Tristán invents a series of events linking Ludovico's lost heir to Diana's secretary. Father and "son" are reunited in a flurry of excitement and confusion, and Teodoro becomes a count and Diana's *señor* in one fell swoop.

The events of the play in themselves reflect several of the cultural concerns prevalent in early modern Spain—the value of honor represented by female chastity; the possibility of social ascension and a questioning of what it means to be noble; and female independence versus societal norms of the early modern patriarchy. As with many of the *comedias*, the way the play's narrative is presented—the ambiguous nature of much of the dialogue, interrupted with few stage notes—leaves much room for an individual director (the *autor de comedias*) to interpret it. Victor Dixon praises *El perro del hortelano* for its particular aptitude for diverse modes of representation, especially for a producer in the twentieth (or twenty-first) century. For Dixon,

> [h]ay comedias de hoja perenne, o sea, clásicas de verdad; otras, cuyas hojas están caducas ya; y alguna—confesémoslo—que ya no es más que un olmo viejo, que no podrá resucitar ningún milagro de la primavera. *El perro*, para mí, es una de las primeras, y debiera reponerse casi continuamente. ("Dos maneras" 123)

It is "la sorprendente modernidad y sutileza de su respuesta a un problema universal, y la total originalidad con la cual explota un modelo familiar" that makes *El perro del hortelano* an open

and attractive option for the *autores* of Lope's day (and of our own, as we will see) (Dixon, "Dos maneras" 124).

Biographical criticism of Lope de Vega's own life—he was himself a *gentilhombre* or *secretario* to several nobles including the Marqués de Sarriá—might direct us to see the play as actually centering on the secretary Teodoro and his social aspirations (Dixon, Introduction, *El perro del hortelano* 20-21). A focus on Teodoro brings questions of identity (it's mutable and unfixed nature, in particular) to the fore. As we explored previously and as Dixon comments in his introduction to the play, "[i]n sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain the legitimacy of 'social climbing', of transcending by individual merit and achievement the barriers imposed by birth, was a burning issue, inevitably reflected in more-or-less realistic literature" ("Introduction" 49). As discussed in Chapter One, the reign of Philip III saw a tremendous increase in literary patronage and for a writer, endorsement by well-respected members of the nobility was another way of bringing attention to one's name. Lope de Vega was a willing player in this social game and as Wright states, "Lope's courtly publications both honored his society's rituals of deference in order to speak to possible benefactors at the same time they served as rhetorical weapons in a quest for a mobility that would flout the social hierarchy" (17). She cites Stephen Greenblatt's description of how artists of the period lived and wrote with "increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process" (qtd. in Wright, 18). Beyond Greenblatt's theories of self-fashioning, the concept of identity is quite slippery in early modern Spain, as we explored earlier with discussions of the projected fiction of national unity vs the reality of a heterogenous society (both culturally and racially), an idea we can see reflected in literary prose and theater of the period. As Lope himself was seeking at the time to create and project a courtly persona, this possibility of manipulating identity is palpably present in works

like *El perro del hortelano* (and *La dama boba*). Within the play, the mutability of identity is a theme that lends itself especially well to manipulation when staged. Thus, the open-ended content of *El perro* relates to its likewise open-ended possibilities for production, reception and interpretation.

Though Teodoro does not initiate the romantic *enredo* with the countess, his words and actions indicate that the slightest possibility that she might socially "descend" to love him (and in so doing, raise his status) is an attractive one. At his first suspicions of Diana's love for him, Teodoro tries to caution himself against such lofty ideas:

> Mas teneos, pensamiento,
> *que os vais ya tras la grandeza,*
> aunque si digo belleza
> bien sabéis vos que no miento;
> que es bellísima Diana,
> y en discreción sin igual. (vv. 883-88; my emphasis).

When confronted by a coquettish Diana about his relationship with Marcela, Teodoro criticizes Marcela as simple and dismisses his affections for her as superficial, seeking evidently to prove himself unattached to her lady-in-waiting. While Teodoro does his part to appeal to the affections of Diana, he does not presume to take matters into his own hands. In fact, for much of the play he is almost Diana's puppet, manipulated by her seductive behavior every time he resolves to give her up. The real elevation of social status is achieved by the machinations of a third party, Teodoro's *lacayo* Tristán, who is not above lying to get what he—or rather what his *amo*—wants. The fact that it is the marginal *gracioso* that sets in motion the play's denouement—so that Teodoro does not explicitly challenge the social hierarchy—adds to its

complexity. The invented elevation in social status is not Teodoro's idea and he even appears to be ambivalent about it until the moment he confesses Tristán's plan to Diana. Thus, underlying all this complexity, we can read a possible challenge to the status quo of social classes, however indirectly it is presented.

Indeed, we can perceive in the play a deeper critique of how one achieved noble status in Lope's society, and perhaps even a questioning of the very nature of the social hierarchy around which it was organized. If nobility in this period was thought to be "natural" and passed on through blood relations, we should consider more closely Count Ludovico's ecstatic praise of his "son" in Act III. The dramatic irony of the scene—the fact that the audience is aware that Tristán has made up the relationship between the count and Teodoro—produces a humorous effect but it is also an indirect yet piercing jab at the entire notion of natural or inherited nobility. Ludovico accepts Teodoro's appearance as proof enough of their familial link and praises nature for inscribing his nobility visibly on his person:

> que estoy fuera de mí ¡Qué gallardía!
>
> ¡Dios te bendiga! ¡Qué real presencia!
>
> *¡Qué bien que te escribió naturaleza*
>
> *en la cara, Teodoro, la nobleza!* (vv. 3113-16; my emphasis)

If Teodoro, this presumably anonymous son of humble background, can embody supposedly natural nobility, what, then, is natural about it? This socially radical reading of the play would presumably appeal to those members of the paying public who, like Teodoro (and Lope himself), led less-privileged lives but aspired to more.[21]

[21] As discussed in Chapter One, scholars like Jane Albrecht have begun to cast doubt on the long-held notion that the *Comedia* was "truly popular," attended by all strata of society, from the highest to the lowest (51). As the secretary of a noblewoman, Teodoro's position in the play would probably at least appeal to the "hangers-on" of the elite in attendance that Albrecht mentions (100).

Since women of the elite classes made up a portion of the playgoing public we should explore another interpretation of *El perro del hortelano* that has garnered more critical attention in the decades since Franco's demise. Instead of a play focused on the male secretary, a more "feminist" reading of the play, with Diana as the central protagonist, opens up altogether different avenues for social commentary, as we will see in greater detail when analyzing Miró's film adaptation. It is not uncommon in the *Comedia* for the female characters to be the principal protagonists, as indeed most of the plotlines revolve around women either seeking a wayward lover, or at least the lover of their choosing, or being reconciled to marriage if they have been resistant. The order of the patriarchal society and strongly held ideas about the roles of the sexes necessitated the almost ubiquitous "happy ending" of marriages all around in the *Comedia*. However, Diana's character presents the audience with a potentially "proto-feminist" heroine and certainly an unorthodox happy ending.[22] As explored in Chapter One, even in this early modern society such a reading is not as anachronistic as it might appear at first to be, as *Comedia* scholars like Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, Lisa Vollendorf (*Lives*), Bárbara Mujica, and Margaret Boyle have argued.

Diana is a woman who resists societal pressures to marry, holding on to a degree of independence she has inherited through her noble birth and the loss of her parents, a degree of independence not available to most women at that time. In this way Diana fits into the category of the *mujer esquiva* elaborated by Melveena McKendrick, a figure that is "central to the whole theme of feminism in the Golden-Age theatre, because she, more than any other female type,

[22] By "proto-feminist" I refer to someone who, though temporally not forming part of a concrete feminist movement, nonetheless espoused ideas that align ideologically with feminism, allowing for the constraints of the period in which they lived. Such a person could be considered a precursor to twentieth-century feminism. As Lisa Vollendorf warns, "[t]o speak of feminism in the early modern period is not to invoke modern social movements aimed at dismantling the very foundations of patriarchy. The many feminisms that exist in modern societies have taken centuries to develop, and discussions of feminism in a historical context require a recognition of this evolutionary process" (*Reclaiming* 17-18).

serves to illustrate the exact nature of the seventeenth-century attitude to women" ("The "mujer esquiva"" 162).[23] In other words, the treatment of the *mujer esquiva* in the theater, because she is resistant to male domination and to woman's most crucial role—as wife and, by extension, mother—, is important to determining attitudes toward women in this period. Fernández notes the connection between *esquivez* and the name "Diana," the goddess known both for her chastity and her avoidance of men ("El coto erótico" 61).[24] As with other *mujeres esquivas*, the play's events seek to reconcile Diana to her "natural" role as wife (and ultimately mother), but Diana's marriage, that ambiguously crosses the lines of social hierarchy and decorum, leaves us with the sense—problematic in Lope's time—that she has sacrificed very little. Throughout the play Diana occupies a privileged—we could say masculine—position of control and power over her civil status and over Teodoro. She reminds him, and not subtly, that she is the one with all the power, as in her exchange over the merits of Teodoro's letter, laden with images of eroticism and of a superior female phallus, here encoded in the *pluma*:

> No, Teodoro, que aunque digo
> que es el tuyo más discreto,
> es porque sigue el conceto
> de la materia que sigo,
> y no para que presuma
> tu pluma que, si me agrada,
> pierdo el estar confiada
> de los puntos de mi pluma. (vv. 799-806)

[23] The *mujer esquiva*, as described by McKendrick, is rebelling against "Nature" as "invoked by men to justify their delegation of woman to an inactive, inferior role in life" ("The "mujer esquiva"" 163).
[24] The other connection that Fernández makes with the name "Diana" is that of the goddess/huntress and the erotic connotations of Diana's hunt for Teodoro ("El coto erótico" 61).

As Fernández notes, Teodoro's *pluma* is at Diana's service, and not the other way around ("El coto erótico" 67).

Though quite controlled—albeit tauntingly so—in many of her exchanges with Teodoro, we can see clearly that Diana is certainly not devoid of all romantic passion or desire, as her soliloquies and some guarded exchanges with her maid Anarda reveal her great anxiety over desiring her secretary. Rather, she chooses to reject suitors who do not inspire her respect or desire. When questioned by Anarda as to why she will not choose one of her two present *pretendientes*, Ricardo or Federico, Diana's response reveals her secret love, though initially not its object:

DIANA. Porque uno es loco, otro necio,
y tú, en no haberme entendido,
más, Anarda, que los dos.
No los quiero, porque quiero,
y quiero porque no espero
remedio.
ANARDA. ¡Válame Dios!
¿Tú quieres?
DIANA. ¿No soy mujer?
ANARDA. Sí, pero imagen de hielo,
donde el mismo sol del cielo
podrá tocar y no arder.
DIANA. Pues esos hielos, Anarda,
dieron todos a los pies

de un hombre humilde. (vv. 1610-22)

It would seem that, interpreted through this particular proto-feminist lens, Diana will not sacrifice, through marriage, her power and independence to simply conform to her societal and sexual role; she only considers a marriage acceptable if it serves to satisfy her personal desires. As Esther Fernández has argued, the play's eroticism hinges upon how Diana's sexual passion eventually overpower her sense of duty and cause her to pursue Teodoro in an increasingly daring fashion, recklessly leaving more than one suitor disappointed or deceived in her wake ("El coto erótico").

Unlike the works of female playwrights of the period, in this play Lope does not devote much attention to the problem of Diana's betrayal of Marcela. Female solidarity is an important theme in plays such as María de Zayas' *La traición en la amistad*, but as we see in this play (and in Lope's treatment of the sister Nise in *La dama boba*) and as previously observed in Tirso's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, the female protagonists have little to no qualms about manipulating or betraying other females to get their man. In the case of *El perro del hortelano*, penned, after all, by a man, there can be little expectation of solidarity between a noblewoman and her lady-in-waiting, especially when the *comedia*'s closure requires the ultimate union of Diana and Teodoro.

The ending then, according to a proto-feminist reading, places the power of choice in Diana's hands. Teodoro's expertly orchestrated change in "fortune" gives her the proper pretense to satisfy her desires, and though she learns that the events are brought about by Tristán's invention, she reassures Teodoro that she will not, for that reason, give up the chance to make him her own, and even jokingly—or perhaps earnestly—threatens to have Tristán killed to keep their secret:

que el gusto no está en grandezas,
sino en ajustarse al alma
aquello que se desea.
Yo me he de casar contigo;
y porque Tristán no pueda
decir aqueste secreto,
hoy haré que cuando duerma,
en ese pozo de casa
le sepulten. (vv. 3309-17)

At the end Diana is still holding all the cards, so to speak. Teodoro is now a count for all intents and purposes, but he will forever remain Diana's social inferior since she knows the truth. Diana beats the system, upsetting the gendered hierarchy of the noble class by creating a desirable husband that must submit to *her* authority. The play is therefore sufficiently open-ended to allow for different readings, according to which of its main characters is the focus of attention, and this Diana-centered reading clearly resonated with both the feminist director Pilar Miró and her audiences, as we will examine below.

3.4 ¿Un Lope feminista? Pilar Miró's *El perro del hortelano* (1996)

In late 1996, Pilar Miró's adaptation of *El perro del hortelano* hit the box office, the same month that an adaptation of *La Celestina*, directed by Gerardo Vera and starring Penélope Cruz, utterly tanked in theaters. Among the many differences between these two films the success experienced by *El perro del hortelano* is most notable.[25] As Wheeler notes, "*El perro del*

[25] I do not perform a critical analysis of *La Celestina* in this project but have evaluated its failure alongside Miró's success in previous projects. My conclusions, in a nutshell, were that the different fortunes of the films ultimately

hortelano achieved the rare feat of charming critics and audiences alike. It was the ninth most successful film at the Spanish box office in 1996 and the sixth in 1997 ... ultimately grossing over three million euros" (170). Pilar Miró's film represents an approach to the adaptation of Spain's classics that departed from the regime-era films' more ideologically utilitarian mode of adaptation, exemplified by films like Román's *Fuenteovejuna* and Maesso's *El alcalde de Zalamea*, which used the Golden Age plays as vehicles for political propaganda, and even by later adaptations by Guerrero Zamora and Camus, which used the same source plays as contestatory social critiques. I would argue that not one of the four cited films celebrated the source play as cultural patrimony in its own right. While Pilar Miró's film did interpret *El perro del hortelano* in a way that spoke to contemporary social issues, it also celebrated Lope's play and the cultural value of the Spanish *Comedia* in general. In an approach that is in line with legislation passed during her tenure as Director-General of Film, Miró sought to elevate the *comedia* as "high art" while performing a social commentary by privileging the female protagonist and suggesting a proto-feminist Lope de Vega. Miguel García Posada, the same critic who lamented Vera's *La Celestina* for "la arqueología" and for "una fidelidad perruna a [la historia]" ("'La Celestina'"), had nothing but praise for Miró's film once it was finally released to Spanish box offices:

> La última adaptación que se exhibe en nuestras pantallas es la de *El perro del hortelano*, de Lope de Vega, que ha realizado Pilar Miró. Una excelente adaptación. La directora le ha echado imaginación en forma de escenarios, vestuarios, música y buena dirección de

---

boiled down to each director's approach to one of Spain's classics. Vera's film echoed the outdated *destape* film in its erotic exploitation of the drama, unconsciously de-legitimizing the cultural value of the source text. Miró's film, on the other hand, sought to elevate Lope's comedy to high art while also highlighting its points of contact with contemporary social concerns, an approach that apparently resonated with Spanish consumers and critics in the mid-1990s.

> actores y el resultado es una película que se ve con placer. (García Posada, "Un perro muy particular")

Despite difficulty in accumulating the film's budget, Miró's film was an attempt to re-legitimize this cultural object through a well-considered approach, involving a detailed wardrobe, filming on location in real castles, and a talented cast and crew (Wheeler 169). Miró presented Lope's play in particular, and by extension the *Comedia* in general, as an object of broader cultural value and appeal rather than as merely a mouthpiece for National Catholic ideology, as it was presented by the films of the *primer franquismo*.

The film's contemporary audience seemed to agree, as "[r]eviewers heaped praise not only on the work itself but also on its cultural significance as a film that presented a Golden Age play to a mainstream audience, thereby establishing a precedent for future adaptations" (Wheeler 170). Similar to the Franco-era films, Pilar Miró made her film in a time when Spain was seeking to redefine itself as a nation. Though Spaniards had broken with their immediate past at the end of Franco's reign, Miró looked for inspiration and artistic (though not ideological) continuity through the Golden Age.[26] In contrast to the regime, which promoted its own ideology through the glorification of the early modern ideals, regardless of how disconnected they were from their contemporary reality, she tried to "return" Lope's play to the people by harmonizing it with the values of democratic Spain and recovering the popular spirit of the genre that Lope himself championed. Miró's version of the play made possible a refashioning of the *Comedia* that could speak to the masses in a new, more democratic voice, exemplified in replacing the ideological

[26] This was not Miró's first experience promoting the Spanish classics. In the 1960s and 70s, until she began directing her own films, Miró worked for TVE, during which time she took a special interest in bringing the Spanish classics to a broader audience, adapting for the small screen works by Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, and Tirso de Molina (Nieva de la Paz 256). She was also director of TVE from 1986-89, approving the production of the ambitious project of adapting *Don Quijote*, a miniseries that would premiere during the 1992 festivities.

messaging associated with Franco-era adaptations with a visually stimulating presentation of Lope's original verse that could truly engage and entertain the Spanish public. Miró chose to reclaim, share and celebrate the artistic heritage—and not necessarily the antiquated values—of her country as she interpreted the play with minimal changes to its original script.

Although the film included popular actors—Emma Suárez as Diana, Carmelo Gómez as Teodoro—and the well-established Miró as both director and script co-adaptor (with Rafael Pérez Sierra), given the cultural legacy of the *Comedia* that we have explored up to this point, it is unsurprising that the project of adapting *El perro del hortelano* was confronted by big challenges, both in finding necessary funding and in getting the attention of the critics. After initial funding fell through, Miró had to obtain other financial backing to finish filming, but even so,

> [tampoco] en la fase de postproducción y montaje estos nuevos productores confiaron en la película y fueron postergando su estreno de modo que prácticamente coincidió con el de la película que Pilar Miró había rodado posteriormente, *Tu nombre envenena mis sueños*. (Mañas Martínez 140)

Tu nombre envenena mis sueños (which also starred Suárez and Gómez) and *El perro del hortelano* were both screened at the Festival of San Sebastián in 1996, and according to a report in *El País* from 2004, "la primera [*Tu nombre*], a concurso, no gustó lo suficiente a la crítica, y la segunda, en consecuencia, fue ignorada" (Galán). It seems that the odds were stacked against the financial and critical success of *El perro del hortelano*. However, after various setbacks, the film finally began to attract positive criticism when it was presented in the Argentine festival Mar de Plata and "obtuvo allí el máximo galardón y las más entusiastas críticas" (Galán). After being validated by foreign critics, *El perro del hortelano* premiered in the national cinemas of Spain. In

stark contrast to *La Celestina* that same year, Miró's film became both a box-office and critical success, even winning seven Goya awards.[27] Such success is remarkable in light of the doubts that frustrated production throughout the process of filming and editing and given the great risk of making the first *Comedia* adaptation for the big screen post Franco, what Fernández refers to as "la arriesgada apuesta cultural y económica que significó llevar a la gran pantalla una comedia clásica en verso" ("El coto erótico" 59).

3.4.1 Post-Franco Nationalism

If we compare Miró's film to adaptations made during the *primer franquismo*, such as the previously studied adaptations by Román and Maesso, we note in both periods a certain reverential treatment of the Golden Age. Even Sáenz de Heredia's *Don Juan* pays lip service to the cultural importance of the Spanish Don Juan figure(s). However, as mentioned before, this reverence serves distinct ends under these opposing circumstances. Unlike film adaptations from the *primer franquismo* (*Fuenteovejuna* in 1947 and *Don Juan* in 1950) that received the category of "Interés Nacional"—because they effectively functioned as propaganda for the regime—and therefore were heavily subsidized by the state, Miró's adaptation sought to revive popular interest in Golden Age drama in the spirit of Lope's *Arte nuevo*, and to reaffirm its artistic legitimacy as well as a different brand of *interés nacional*.[28]

In a retrospective article, printed in *El País* in 2004, Diego Galán reflects on the film and

---

[27] The film won best director (Pilar Miró), best actress (Emma Suárez), photography (Javier Aguirresarobe), makeup and hair (Juan Pedro Hernández, Esther Martín and Mercedes Paradela), costumes (Pedro Moreno), artistic direction (Félix Murcia), and best adapted script (Pilar Miró and Rafael Pérez Sierra) (Galán).

[28] Triana-Toribio describes the "National Interest" film category (*Declaración de Película de Interés Nacional*) as "the most controversial prize … for films that best served the nation's interests, that is to say, the interests of nation formation. … It should contain 'unequivocal examples of the exaltation of the racial values or archetypes of our moral and political principles' (Vallés 1992: 63)" (55). She goes on to note that "[t]he list of the award winners from 1944 to 1961 gives a fair picture of which films were best at translating *the changing versions of Spanishness that were proposed as legitimate* by the regime's successive cultural gatekeepers" (55; my emphasis).

the tenacity of its director to realize her project:

> Tozuda en sus propuestas, Pilar Miró se había empeñado contracorriente en adaptar al cine una comedia en verso de Lope de Vega. "Es un proyecto arriesgado -reconoció en una entrevista-, porque en España hay mucha prevención hacia lo que aún no se ha hecho aquí, aunque haya funcionado previamente en otros países". En una conversación que Eduardo Haro Tecglen ha relatado en la revista *Nosferatu*, la Miró le insistió: "Los ingleses hacen todo Shakespeare en su cine, los franceses hacen su *Cyrano* con todos sus versos … ¿Por qué no vamos nosotros a hacer a nuestros clásicos?" (Galán)

It is noteworthy here that Miró described her motives in nationalistic terms ("nuestros clásicos") but it is also significant that she seems to completely ignore the genre of *Comedia* adaptations discussed in Chapter Two, basically discounting their validity as such. As we explored at the beginning of this chapter, the Spanish state invested extensive time and resources in promoting the Spanish culture and especially its classics, through the establishment of the CNTC and the Instituto Cervantes, and through the preparations for all of the 1992 events. Miró worked for the government during this period and, after her appointment ended, she apparently took these state initiatives into the private sector with the production of *El perro del hortelano*, practicing what she preached, in a manner of speaking. Her film is therefore an example of an attempt to reincorporate the Spanish *Comedia* as a defining characteristic of Spanish national identity. The casting of the film was quite strategic, for not only did Miró exploit the screen chemistry of the Emma Suárez/Carmelo Gómez pairing, which was well-established by the time of filming, but also the actors' linkages to contemporary notions of Spanish culture and identity, again exemplifying the applicability of Carlson's notion of "ghosting" beyond the stage.[29] And as

[29] Suárez and Gómez had been paired romantically in Julio Medem's films *Vacas* (1992), *La ardilla roja* (1993), and *Tierra* (1996), as well as in Miró's *Tu nombre envenena mis sueños* (1996).

Perriam has noted, "Emma Suárez and Gómez are not so much reaffirmed as national icons for the middle-aged, middle- to upper-class audience for heritage cinema as suddenly transcribed from another subcultural sphere," a sphere in which the young Spaniards had already seen the pairing in films like Julio Medem's *Vacas* (1992), *La ardilla roja* (1993), and *Tierra* (1996) (Perriam 86).

Emma Suárez began her acting career as a teenager and in 1987 her popularity and visibility skyrocketed when she appeared in the music video for popular singer Joaquín Sabina's hit song "Así estoy yo sin ti." Shortly after, in 1989, her film acting career really took off when she starred in *La blanca paloma*, directed by Juan Miñón, alongside Francisco Rabal and Antonio Banderas. In a 2015 interview, almost two decades after the release of *El perro del hortelano*, Suárez spoke about how the film still resonated with Spaniards, describing a recent encounter in which a *taxista* told her how, through the film, Lope's verse "le había llegado dentro" ("Los cómicos del arte" 32). Apropos of this encounter, she stated that "[n]ecesitamos historias que nos hablen de nosotros mismos" ("Los cómicos del arte" 32). This idea that Suárez hit upon, likely unconsciously, echoes clearly the notion, paraphrased from Clifford Geertz, that "culture is the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves" (Price 203).[30] And what is culture, and more specifically in this case a cultural artifact (Lope's play), but an element of the collective phenomenon of national identity? National cinema is an example *par excellence* of the stories a nation tells itself about itself, especially when it is (re)telling the same stories (e.g., the Golden Age *Comedia*) in ever-changing ways, reinventing itself with each iteration.

Similar to Suárez, Carmelo Gómez has been in the Spanish public eye from a young age.

[30] In her essay, Price paraphrases Geertz's original notion, published in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, which he uses to describe his observation of Balinese cockfighting: "Its function, if you want to call it that, is interpretive: it is a Balinese reading of Balinese experience, a story they tell themselves about themselves" (448).

He began his career in the theater, participating in the CNTC before moving on to film acting. The website SpainIsCulture.com, maintained by Spain's Ministry of Culture and Sport, describes Gómez as "[o]ne of the most charismatic faces of Spanish films" and notes that he has won two Goya awards ("Carmelo Gómez"). Chris Perriam describes Gómez's style as incarnating "a solid yet sensitive virility," often playing similar roles that cast him as an ideal man for women and a role model for men (71). Through both his film roles and details of his personal life,

> [i]n his foundational period, in the mid-1990s, … Gómez came to embody cross-linked values relating to masculinity and to belonging: rootedness both to natural and to constructed environments, and allegiance to what Anderson has famously called 'imagined community'—*to 'being Spanish' at a number of different levels*.' (71-72; my emphasis)

This masculinity that Perriam describes is one of the many masculinities that has been theorized in post-Franco Spain and the masculinity that Gómez embodies in Miró's film, which will be discussed in a later section, is constructed in contrast to a strong female in a position of economic and social superiority. For Perriam, his role in *El perro del hortelano* is "a different reminder of Gómez's ease of connection with the common ground of the national imaginary," but we can also argue that the participation of Gómez (and Suárez) in the film reinforces the connection between the *Comedia* and the Spanish national imaginary, bringing popular Spanish actors to embody what Miró hoped to communicate as quintessentially Spanish roles, helping her to tap into the zeitgeist of 1990s Spain and present Lope's plays as resonant with Spanish popular culture (84). In this case, the casting of the film serves more than just the function of realizing the director's vision but also seeks that intangible connection with national identity.

In addition to strategic casting, as explored in the previous section the selection of this

particular play contributed to Miró's goal of (re)incorporating the *Comedia* into the mainstream of contemporary Spanish culture. In order to achieve her goal, Miró sought "una obra que fuera transgresora a la par que moderna" and chose *El perro del hortelano*, convinced of its efficacy and relevance (qtd. in Galán). In fact, Miró's summary of the play echoes the feminist reading described above as one of two equally plausible readings:

> *El perro del hortelano* trata de un tema insólito en el siglo XVII … Una mujer dueña y señora de voluntades que utiliza su ingenio y su posición para conseguir lo que quiere y como quiere. Una comedia palatina, corrosiva, maliciosa, inteligente y divertida. (qtd. in Galán)

This cultural currency that Miró found in Lope's play once again points back to the inherent indeterminacy of the *Comedia* that we have explored throughout this project. Miró took full advantage of that indeterminacy by developing the play text's potential for proto-feminist interpretation, as explored above. In the final years of the twentieth century, when most consider Spanish society, culture and government to have been working to catch up with the rest of the Western world through a revision of women's social roles and rights, the Spanish public was understandably receptive to the representation of progressive values, even if they were communicated by means of a literary genre that, as we saw in the previous chapter, the Franco regime had utilized with the intention to promote their opposite.

As Fernández and Martínez-Carazo affirm, social mobility, questions of love and honor, and the societal position of women are problems in *El perro del hortelano* that continue to exist: "La adaptación de Miró logra transmitir … el dilema de una mujer incapaz de lograr un equilibrio emocional y víctima de un conflicto que no ha quedado anacrónico con el tiempo: la relación dialéctica entre amor y honor" (318). Likewise, Wheeler notes that "*El perro* has the

potential to offer a powerful romantic charge while simultaneously undertaking an exploration of female subjectivity and sexuality that resists the charge of anachronism" (172). These characteristics contribute to the way that Lope's play and Miró's adaptation function as a bridge between the past and the present, reigniting public interest in a genre that the Spanish state had been trying to preserve since the transition to democracy. Given the *Comedia*'s legacy as Francoist propaganda, and despite the counterexamples of films like those of Guerrero Zamora and Camus, Miró's undertaking can also be described as a nationalistic project to dismantle that stigma. The film participates in the so-called "memory boom" of Spain in the 1990s as described by Jo Labanyi by "rescuing" the *Comedia* from cultural obsolescence for the sake of modernity. Labanyi argues that

> [a] problematic by-product of this notion that modernity [based on capitalist modernization] requires the jettisoning of the past is that it supposes that any desire to preserve the past is by definition reactionary; in other words, that conservation is politically conservative. And yet the cultural history of modernity is full of writers and artists who have expressed an attachment to the past or have protested against the compulsory obsolescence required by modernity, without necessarily being conservative in political terms. ("Memory" 91)

This film and its director fit Labanyi's description perfectly. Miró, as a member of the Spanish socialist party, was clearly not politically conservative, and though she was no longer working for the Spanish state at the time of making her film, the project has clear political implications both in her feminist reading of Lope and in her "conservation" project. This did not mean, however, that Miró compromised the artistic quality of the film for the sake of political modernization: in fact, its aesthetic qualities, in tandem with critical and popular success, were

precisely the objectives that she had pursued for Spanish national cinema in the 1980s.

3.4.2 Harmonizing Political Commitment, High Art, and Public Appeal

As opposed to the *franquista* mode of adaptation that placed ideology above aesthetics, Miró's film demonstrated a progressive, feminist reading of Lope's play that privileged high artistic quality as a means of reasserting a vision of PSOE-approved Spanishness. In *El perro del hortelano*, Miró succeeded in creating a visual richness—through the sumptuous and brightly colored wardrobe, the elaborate palace spaces in which the action was filmed, and a strategic use of perspective—that gave new life to the classic play and that helped to bridge the temporal distance between her audience and that of Lope. As noted, the original theatrical text contained few stage directions about how scenes should be presented, a common characteristic of the *comedias* that contributed to their open-endedness. Just as the *Falange* cinema took advantage of the *Comedia*'s interpretational opening, for Miró it was an important opportunity for reincorporating this classic form into Spanish popular culture by presenting a new way of visualizing and appreciating it, while at the same time rejecting the previous generation's more ideologically driven modes of interpretation. In this way, Miró's strategy for reintroducing "nuestros clásicos" extended beyond her selection of a *comedia* ripe for a feminist reading, and beyond her selection of a cast that would resonate with consumers of mainstream Spanish popular film, to the visual presentation of this cultural patrimony through her cinematography.

In "Encoding, Decoding," Stuart Hall describes the process of encoding a message for transmission and the ways in which its receptors then decode that message, emphasizing that the interpretive strategies for (authorial) encoding and (audience) decoding must be in sync for the cultural product to resonate with its consumers. Miró's film exemplifies this phenomenon. In *El*

perro del hortelano Lope crafted an entertaining narrative in discourses well-known and loved by his original audience. They had the linguistic and cultural competence of the time to decode this communication, as Lope's popular use of verse forms was the mainstay of early modern Spanish public theater. Miró's audience, on the other hand, was not accustomed to decoding this type of communication, and so she needed to re-encode it through the discourses of cinema, a medium that it would find far more accessible. The visual discourse of the film, therefore, performed a crucial role, perhaps even more than in other films precisely because of this lexical and discursive distance. Though it has been said that the adaptation of *El perro del hortelano* was very "faithful" to the original playscript, María José Alonso Veloso describes three types of changes made: suppressions, substitutions and additions. She explains that the fundamental aim of such alterations is lexical modernization and a lightening of the dialogue in preference for the action. Alonso Veloso proposes that Miró eliminated many of the verses that show the mental reflections of Teodoro and Diana, which caused an "adelgazamiento de la profundidad psicológica de los personajes" (380). This interpretation, however, suggests that psychological depth can only be communicated through the characters' spoken words. I would argue that this assessment of psychological *adelgazamiento* is contradicted by the complex visual strategies employed by Miró to compensate for her verbal reductions.

The psychology of the main characters, Diana and Teodoro, is a critical aspect of the drama, which hinges on their deliberations over how to pursue or suppress their desires for one another. As the subject of honor, especially female honor, was such an important early modern preoccupation, Lope emphasized this anxiety through the protagonists' soliloquies in the theatrical text. Since Lope's verse represented an obstacle for the average contemporary Spanish spectator, Miró helped the audience penetrate the concerns and emotions of Diana and Teodoro

through visual strategies, helping to fill in the possible gaps in understanding likely to result from dependence on the spoken text alone. We will see that the film's shots are deliberate, presenting different spaces both inside and outside the buildings of a carefully chosen set, as well as employing a variety of camera angles and distances to communicate ideas about social hierarchies and the feelings and emotions being represented by each character.

In Miró's film, Gómez as Teodoro does not occupy a position of early modern "hegemonic masculinity" as he is economically and socially inferior to his love interest Diana.[31] His insecurity in their relationship is marked again and again visually, contrasted with the ease in his relationship with Marcela, who exists on a more equal economic plane. Teodoro's masculinity is affirmed, however, in his interactions with Diana by means of his intellectuality and wit. In this sense, it would seem, Miró constructs a form of masculinity for her leading man that is more in line with twentieth-century ideas of gender equity. Beyond suggesting visually what Lope's text had communicated verbally, the camera also manipulates the viewer's point of view in a way that impacts his or her reading of these gender dynamics in the play. In some scenes, after Diana has learned about the relationship between her secretary and Marcela, which inspires in her a great deal of jealousy, the camera focuses on Teodoro from the perspective of the countess. Esther Fernández and Cristina Martínez-Carazo describe this focalization through Diana as a way to recuperate the female right to look and to desire, as the title of their article—"Mirar y desear: la construcción del personaje femenino en *El perro del hortelano* de Lope de Vega y de Pilar Miró"—suggests. The authors describe Diana's gaze as masculinized because it is one of power (321). Much like the gaze of Camus' Isabel, explored in the previous chapter, Diana upsets the hegemony of the male gaze. Teodoro, occupying the visual situation normally

[31] "Hegemonic masculinity" is a term coined by R. W. Connell in the 1980s and reexamined in 2005 in the article "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," co-authored by James W. Messerschmidt.

reserved for the passive female object of desire, appears perturbed to be the object of his mistress' gaze.

Moreover, the point-of-view shots, of both Diana and Teodoro, reveal the socially vertical relationship existing between them. The camera focalized through Teodoro's point of view observes the countess from a low angle, giving her the appearance of being taller, while the spectator often sees him from a high angle, making him smaller in comparison. This social distance that exists between the two is also marked again and again by a physical vertical distance; we see Diana in an elevated position when she converses with or observes Teodoro—on a staircase or in her throne-like chair, from a balcony or a window. These visual effects translate into a psychological message, informing the viewer of the social superiority of Diana.

Another visual resource that Miró used was the actors' wardrobes, as scholars like Emilia Cortés Ibáñez, Esther Fernández ("El coto erótico"), and Elaine Canning have commented. Many previous film adaptations or broadcast stage productions of early modern dramas would have been viewed largely in black and white, as the first *Comedia* adaptation filmed in color was *El príncipe encadenado* (Luis Lucía, 1960) and color television in Spain only became available in 1972 (Bethencourt 67). Through the use of color in the film's wardrobe, Miró was able to interpret Lope visually in a way that had not been available to many previous adapters. While we observed that Guerrero Zamora, in his 1972 *Fuenteovejuna*, utilized color in the makeup of his actors to communicate the savagery of the villagers, neither his film nor Camus' explored the potential of color film in the same way that Miró's does. The color of Diana's dress continually changes, between warm and cool hues, in the same way that her affective state alternates. In scenes in which Diana is feeling particularly jealous, when she feels more strongly her love or desire, and when she becomes angry, she wears red or orange gowns, fiery colors often

associated with heated passion. When she feels more secure in Teodoro's affections (and consequently treats him more coldly), or when she is in despair because Teodoro has determined to leave for Spain, she wears blue and purple gowns, colors notable both for their coldness and for their association with royalty. Diana appropriately wears these royal hues in those moments when her nobility and decorum prevent her from lowering herself to the love she desires.

Carmelo Gómez's wardrobe, on the other hand, is generally dark, characterized principally by earthy tones or more humble colors. This reflects not only his lower social position but also the perplexity—instead of clarity—that he experiences as a result of the confusing and inconsistent behavior of his mistress. I would argue that the ambiguous meanings of *oscuro* in Spanish (both "dark" and "confusing") are important in interpreting the choice of color for Teodoro's clothing, especially contrasted with the likewise ambiguous meanings of *claro* (both "bright" and "clear") as applied to that of Diana, who wears her emotions literally "on her sleeve" in her bright attire.

Finally, Miró subtly incorporated several cultural anachronisms into her film that playfully reinforce her interpretation of the play. In an off-the-shoulder gown Diana/Emma Suárez sports a tattoo on her back "que contrasta con la ambientación de la época, pero el cual sirve de referente cultural actual para el espectador contemporáneo" ("El coto erótico" 76). Similarly, after she dictates a message to (and for) her secretary, Diana uses gestures to communicate her meaning/desire to Teodoro that are otherwise out of place in a Golden Age play. As Fernández explains,

> La puesta en escena de Miró resulta original por el hecho de insertar una mueca gestual por parte de la condesa que le añade un guiño cultural actual. Una vez concluido el dictado, Diana/Emma Suárez hace a Teodoro/Carmelo Gómez un irónico gesto con la

> mano que implica que se dé por enterado ya que tales palabras van enteramente dirigidas a su persona. Una tal mueca de descarada ironía no formaba parte del comportamiento de una condesa del siglo XVII. Sin embargo, su anacronismo no quita su perfecta imbricación como parte de la personalidad de Diana, actualizando al personaje y acercándola al espectador de hoy en día. ("El coto erótico" 68)

Later, after striking her secretary in a heated moment of passion that subsequently leads to a fetishistic request for his blood-stained handkerchief, Diana seductively bites into a strawberry, "[u]n detalle atrevido para la época pero cuyo anacronismo subraya el erotismo de la escena apelando a la sexualidad del espectador contemporáneo" ("El coto erótico" 76). Explicit erotic physical contact between Diana and Teodoro would not have been represented on stage in the seventeenth century but was communicated by Lope through dialogue and innuendo that was risqué for the time.[32] Miró's protagonists not only embrace but share a very sensual kiss at the end of the film, representing the eroticism of the original play in terms that made sense to her contemporary audience but without explicitly altering the action or dialogue of Lope's playtext. Miró is also able to capitalize on the established on-screen relationship between Suárez and Gómez, who, as previously mentioned, had already starred together in multiple films prior to *El perro del hortelano*. This filmic "ghosting" of their relationship reinforces the erotic attachment of Diana and Teodoro, suggesting more than what is shown on the screen. As Fernández states, "[e]stas sutiles incisiones contemporáneas son uno de los grandes aciertos de esta adaptación ya que contribuyen a establecer un guiño con el espectador actual y reclamar la universalidad y atemporalidad de la obra" ("El coto erótico" 68).

[32] I have already commented on the erotic undertones of the *pluma* scene. See Fernández's article ("El coto erótico") for an in-depth examination of the erotic potential of Lope's text.

Unlike many of the Franco-era adaptations, Miró took the complicated details of social and gendered hierarchies of early modern Spain and rendered them visually in a way that made such information more accessible to the contemporary Spanish public, without prescribing any character's words or actions as models to be imitated. Indeed, Miró's work functions in the same spirit as Lope's *Arte nuevo*, "speaking" in a way her audience could understand. This is not to say that she was "selling out," as we might think of the concept, but rather that she attempted, as did Lope, to please the paying public, echoing the same concerns regarding the need to "hablarle en necio" that Lope himself describes in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (v. 48).

3.4.3 The Legacy of Miró's *El perro del hortelano*

Critical consensus is that Miró's *El perro del hortelano* was a sophisticated and subtle achievement, and that it was able to attain commercial success while maintaining a certain fidelity to the original play, written four centuries ago. What Miró created was a film that reached the audience through its art, erasing the temporal boundaries and returning to the popular spirit originally championed by Lope. The success of Miró's adaptation of *El perro del hortelano* is therefore due to her ability to understand the cultural "baggage" acquired by the *Comedia* during the dictatorship, and to address that baggage in an original (and especially visual) way. She understood that to bring a classic text back to the public, she needed to consider the historical, ideological, and cultural associations and meanings that it had acquired *since* the Golden Age and to "unpack" that baggage. However, at the same time Miró was appropriating the text for her own cultural and social motives, leaving her own mark upon it. As Charles Ganelin has written, "[h]istory and literature ... are viewed not strictly as a succession of events

or texts following one another, but as a series of influences, each new work exercising an effect on the evolving receptions of its predecessor, and, in turn, serving as a point of departure for further evolution" (9). We can view Miró's film, therefore, not as an isolated event or text, but as a product of different influences, one that both responds to its predecessors and becomes a predecessor itself.

Miró's film seems to exemplify part of Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation, principally that an adaptation should not be studied as merely derivative or subordinate to the original text, and that often an adaptation is not experienced *as an adaptation*, but as a viewer's first experience with the narrative in question—at times spurring them on to read the "so-called original *after* we have experienced the adaptation, thereby challenging the authority of any notion of priority" (XIII; original emphasis). More than two decades later, Miró's film is still being praised for its contribution to the continued presence of Spanish classical theater in contemporary Spanish culture, but it is also recognized as a lasting force with which to be reckoned. When the CNTC opened its Fall 2016 season in Madrid with Lope's play, director Helena Pimenta and others recognized that "[l]a sombra de la película de Pilar Miró del año 1996 todavía es alargada veinte años después" ("El Teatro de la Comedia"). In Pimenta's own words, "[e]lla [Miró] hizo un homenaje y un favor a nuestro teatro clásico y a todos, aunque sí es cierto que a partir de su éxito en el cine hacerla en teatro ha sido más difícil" (qtd. in "El Teatro de la Comedia"). Pimenta's comments reveal the level of mutual awareness between the film and theater industries as well as an idea that, at least in the case of this film, they share the goal of reviving interest in the *Comedia*. As we will see in the case of our next film, Miró's *El perro del hortelano* showed the Spanish film industry that the classics could be adapted successfully, both financially and artistically, but in an apparent contradiction it has also made it harder to

successfully adapt other *comedias* for film, since *El perro del hortelano* has become something of a benchmark against which subsequent projects have been or will be measured.

Miró had plans to make further adaptations herself, in particular of *El castigo sin venganza* and *El caballero de Olmedo* (both Lope plays), but her untimely death in 1997 prevented these projects from materializing (Wheeler 174).[33] After *El perro del hortelano*, ten years passed before another director, Manuel Iborra, tried to take up the Golden Age *Comedia* mantle. In those intervening years significant changes took place in the Spanish film industry landscape, shifting away from a model of state sponsorship to one of multinational private financing. The ideals of artistic quality and political commitment that Miró had tried to institutionalize during her stint as *Directora General* now had to respond to the demands of the free market, a preference of the PP government of José María Aznar that succeeded Felipe González's administration in 1996. Another relevant development is the increasingly diverse cultural landscape in Spain, to which the film industry attended by attempting to service a plurality of interests and identities. As Barry Jordan has commented, "[a]gainst such a background of political and cultural dislocation, our chances of talking about a Spanish cinema in the singular become very problematic" (68). Consequently, this loss of cultural unity and hence specificity is tied both to the privatization of the film industry—in which a heavy-handed government was no longer pushing (via the classics) a narrative of cultural cohesion—and to the ever-fracturing concept of Spanishness in the age of the revindication of Spain's peripheral nationalities. In this climate, Manuel Iborra's film, *La dama boba*, set a different precedent for filmed versions of the *Comedia* which, as we will explore, sheds light on how twenty-first-century Spaniards interact with their classics. Going forward, the (mis)fortunes of this film have

[33] Miró's last project before her death was to direct a live theatrical production of the *comedia El anzuelo de Fenisa*, also by Lope, for the CNTC, which premiered in May of 1997.

had lasting effects for the *Comedia* in contemporary Spain.

3.5 Love, Money, and Women's Education in Lope's *La dama boba*

Manuel Iborra's decision to adapt *La dama boba* was informed by many of the same factors that influenced Miró's choice of *El perro del hortelano*. Themes of this play such as female agency vis-à-vis the patriarchy, women's intellectual potential, and intergenerational conflict were popular in Lope's time and have remained relevant throughout the centuries, especially in the Spain of the early 2000s that saw the election of the first self-described feminist as president (Zapatero in 2004). Pedraza Jiménez comments that, "[a] diferencia de otras obras hoy célebres de Lope de Vega que permanecieron varios siglos en el olvido, parece que *La dama boba* gozó de una presencia constante, tanto en el escenario como en el libro" (25). Sisters Nise and Finea are the female protagonists, characterized respectively as *bachillera* and *boba*, although Nise is made somewhat secondary as it is the transformation of Finea that is the principal theme of the play (as well as the source of its title). Though betrothed to the wealthy *indiano* Liseo, Finea's lack of wit inspires him to pursue her more cultivated sister, who resists his attentions because she is in love with the poor (but still noble) academic Laurencio. Laurencio, in turn, abandons his pursuit of Nise in favor of Finea's sizeable dowry, undeterred by her educational and intellectual shortcomings. Like many Golden Age *comedias*, in the end the female protagonist (Finea) is able to make use of her (newly acquired) discretion and cleverness to secure a marriage with the partner of her choosing, Laurencio.

Many scholars argue that love is one of, if not the principal theme of *La dama boba*.[34]

[34] See, for example, Robert ter Horst and Donald Larson.

In particular, scholars have described the play as principally a dramatization of Neoplatonic theory in which Love triggers the metamorphosis of Finea's intellect, transforming her from a "linda bestia" (v. 3164) that gets her man in the end.[35] To a lesser degree, Love is also the source of Nise's transformation in the play, taking her from haughty pedant to the young woman "rendida" to Liseo (v. 3072). The theme of Love as a teacher was a popular one among the Golden Age writers that drew heavily on the ancient Roman works of Ovid, the *Ars amatoria*, and the *Remedia amoris,* "and partly to such neo-Platonic compendia as the *Diálogos de amor* of León Hebreo. Lope shares in this general debt" (D. Larson 60). We will see ahead that in his film adaptation Manuel Iborra in particular focused on the theme of love, though in a decidedly more erotic and less Neoplatonic manner, highlighting what other scholars have argued is the true theme of the play, namely materialism.

A number of critics, including Robert ter Horst and Edward Friedman, have argued that to take the play's illustration of Neoplatonic ideals at face value is to ignore the strong current of materialism that underscores most of the relations in *La dama boba*. Friedman claims that in this context Lope weaves merely a "Neoplatonic gauze" and that "[a] view of the play as dramatized Neoplatonism … fails to consider the conventionalized and ultimately hypocritical use of these lofty ideals" (80). Ter Horst comments that "*La dama boba* is an interested worldly parody of disinterested literary love, stomach to Heliodorus' soul" (356), and indeed the actions of various characters actively undermine Nise's claim that "Nunca fundó su valor // sobre dineros amor, // que busca el alma primero" (vv. 1152-54). This undermining is given clear and humorous expression in the initial exchange between Laurencio and Finea:

LAURENCIO. ¿No entendéis que os tengo amor

[35] All citations of the play text, unless otherwise noted, refer to line numbers and are taken from the edition of *La dama boba* (Lope de Vega) edited by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez (2002).

puro, honesto, limpio y llano?

FINEA. ¿Qué es amor?

LAURENCIO. ¿Amor? Deseo.

FINEA. ¿De qué?

LAURENCIO. De una cosa hermosa.

FINEA. ¿Es oro? ¿Es diamante? ¿Es cosa

de estas que muy lindas veo? (vv. 767-72)

Unwittingly, Finea names the true motive behind Laurencio's Neoplatonic overtures (*el oro*) and, as Michaela Heigl points out, "distorsiona el neoplatonismo sin saberlo, parodiando al amor literario y puro que propone Laurencio" (298).

As a result of Laurencio's monetary motivation for pursuing Finea, the *dama* is practically transformed for him into a commodity. He refers to Finea as "una casa, // una escritura, un censo y una viña" (vv. 1635-36) and later he metonymically exchanges "discreción [Nise] por plata [Finea]" (vv. 1908). For ter Horst this language is "well-taken in a line of conduct that seeks to re-structure the ideal architecture of love on solid material principles," and he goes on to note that this materialistic view of woman is not limited to Laurencio, but rather that "[m]ost other men in *La dama boba* view the female as, essentially, a piece of reproductive machinery" (359). Liseo, for example, worries that if he marries a woman as silly as Finea, the prospects for his offspring will be quite poor—"¿qué puede parir de mí // sino tigres, leones y onzas?" (vv. 1015-16)—and Otavio, father of the two *damas*, only desires to see them "ocupada[s] y divertida[s] // en el parir y el criar," as his friend Miseno suggests (vv. 2136-37). In an interesting turnabout for the time, the *galán* in *La dama boba* is also objectified, for example in an exchange between Nise and Finea in Act II:

NISE. ¿No sabes que es prenda mía
Laurencio?
FINEA. ¿Quién te empeñó
a Laurencio?
NISE. Amor.
FINEA. ¿A fe?
Pues yo le desempeñé,
y el mismo amor me le dio. (vv. 1683-87)

And quite humorously, Finea contemplates Liseo's half-length portrait that her father has given her (which she believes to be her actual husband and not merely his likeness) and fixates upon the lack of his body from the waist down:

¿qué importa que sea pulido
este marido o quien es,
si todo el cuerpo no pasa
de la pretina? (vv. 872-75)

Scholars like David Gómez-Torres have pointed out that Finea's attention "se orienta más a las partes inferiores del cuerpo que a las altas, como la cara. Finea se queda en la materialidad del cuerpo al hacer referencias a estas partes" (Gómez-Torres 319). Others, like ter Horst, have observed Finea's concern (at least in her unenlightened state) with bodily functions such as eating and reproduction—citing, among others, the scene describing the birthing of La Romana's kittens—and have pointed out that "[t]his concern with basic physical functions contrasts markedly with Nise's preoccupations and suggests a physical feminine wisdom as an alternate to intellectual achievements" (Ter Horst 355). Even Finea's seemingly innocent remarks at her first

meeting with Liseo—"Mi cama pienso que sobra // para los dos" (vv. 980-81)—associate her firmly with the physical world, especially as it concerns the body. Later in the play it is Finea herself that highlights the animality/earthiness of her previous state, before Love unlocked her intellect:

> No ha dos meses que vivía
> a las bestias tan igual,
> que aun el alma racional
> parece que no tenía. (vv. 2043-46)

As Finea's intellect develops she sheds her connections with the material world—no longer referred to as "hermosa bestia" (vv. 315-16), "linda bestia" (v. 333), "una bestia del campo" (v. 1007), for example—but we will see that Laurencio's concern for the material survives until the very end.

From the outset of the play "Lope loses no time in bringing to the fore the conflicting forces of *La dama boba* [literary doctrines of love vs material reality]" (Ter Horst 351). Love is, undoubtedly, still an important theme of the play, however, in contrast to much of its contemporary theater, "the most urgent need is material" (Ter Horst 351). It is clear from the opening scene, set in Illescas, that Lope is mixing the high and the low. Holloway argued in the 1970s that this somewhat unprecedented mixing led to a critical focus on the play's superficial comedy which, for a long time, also entailed a critical neglect of its deeper complexities. In the decades since Holloway's study the scholarly focus has arguably widened but continues to explore both the philosophical heights and material depths as well as the very tensions between them.

All of these critical angles, rather than presenting irreconcilable conflicts or contradictions, can actually work together. Emilie Bergmann hints at this idea when she discusses Laurencio's sonnet in verses 635-48 ("Hermoso sois, sin duda, pensamiento"):

> La presentación de la mudanza de Laurencio por razones de provecho monetario en un soneto, forma poética privilegiada, concede a su discurso una importancia hasta ahora inadvertida por la crítica. Nos desorienta la explicación de valores espirituales y divinos, seguida por la declaración de la verdadera motivación del galanteo y del matrimonio, según Laurencio: el dinero. El soneto de Laurencio complica y enriquece la comedia, que no es ya una simple ilustración de conceptos filosóficos sobre el amor. (412)

Bergmann does not discount the Neoplatonism in play but rather tells us that the play's engagement with that philosophical tradition is complex and requires far more than merely noting its presence. Twenty-five years later Laura R. Bass took the case a step further:

> [T]o argue that Neoplatonism is undermined by materialism is to assume a dichotomy that Lope makes no attempt to tightly fix. As Mary Gaylord argues, he knows very well that there is no escape to a paradise of pure, naked love: we are all confined to the mediated realm of the symbolic….But this is not something to decry, for the symbolic, rooted itself in desire, is the very stuff of theatre. It is also the stuff of money. (774)

Bass argues that money, especially in the urban comedies, "had a visible place, and not only in opposition to higher, intangible values like discretion" (773). This makes perfect sense when we think about the characteristics and concerns of life in Spain's urban center, Madrid. Throughout the play different characters voice opinions of the use and effects of money in society. The opening Illescas scene paints a picture of the comings and goings of nobles seeking lucrative official positions in the new capital as well as of the *marquesotes* that court Finea, hopeful of

securing a financially advantageous marriage (vv. 136-40). Laurencio, more than any other character, announces a supremely practical view of love and marriage as a source of financial security:

Quiero decir que Finea
hora de sustento es,
cuyo descanso ya ves
cuánto el hombre le desea.
Denme, pues, las doce a mí,
que soy pobre, con mujer;
que, dándome de comer,
es la mejor para mí. (vv. 685-92)

And beyond supplying the necessary sustenance for life, Laurencio argues, money plays an important role in appearances and the judgment of character:

¿No ves que el sol del dinero
va del ingenio adelante?
El que es pobre, ése es tenido
por simple; el rico, por sabio. (vv. 719-22)

Otavio later echoes this same argument for the power of money in his attempt to convince Liseo to marry Finea:

Pero es limpia, hermosa y tiene
tanto doblón, que podría
doblar el mármol más fuerte.
……

¿hay falta en naturaleza

que con oro no se afeite? (vv. 2898-906)

Liseo's rejection of Finea in preference to Nise does not necessarily mark him as less materialistic than Laurencio; ter Horst notes that "[h]e rejoices in Finea's dowry of 40 thousand ducats. But since he himself has money, he can indulge his taste for other qualities in a woman, intelligence and beauty.…He can afford Nise" (352). The women, in this case, escape the epithet of *codiciosas* that is more traditionally applied to their sex. We would do well to remember, however, that Laurencio ostensibly comes out on top in this play, which facilitates a reading in which the emphasis on money is not explicitly condemned within the drama. As previously discussed, scholars like Elizabeth Wright have closely studied the life and trajectory of Lope de Vega and his ambivalent relationship to money. Although of different dispositions and social ranks, we can see a similarity between the windfall marriages of Laurencio in this play and Teodoro in *El perro del hortelano*, both of whose wit and charm could be self-portraits of the playwright himself.

Then again, while some scholars view Laurencio's "victory" as an affirmation of the social legitimacy of his financial interest in Finea, others, like Luis González and María Dodman, have read a criticism of this interest inasmuch as it reveals a decided disdain for female intelligence. González states that Lope "atac[a] a los hombres que buscan una mujer con dinero, prefiriendo esto a otras virtudes como la inteligencia" and cites Nise's reproach of Laurencio—"¡Desvía, fingido, fácil, // lisonjero, engañador, // loco, inconstante, mudable" (vv. 1234-36)—, which employs adjectives traditionally applied to women (González 56). Dodman points out that "Laurencio anhela a la Finea de otros tiempos, o sea, a la boba" (107); he does not rejoice in the

prospect of having a wife who is both rich and clever but rather sees her mental improvement as a danger to his happiness:

> ¡Ay, Finea! A Dios pluguiera
> que nunca tu entendimiento
> llegara, como ha llegado,
> a la mudanza que veo!
> ……
> Inocente te quería,
> porque una mujer cordero
> es tusón de su marido,
> que puede traerla al pecho. (vv. 2427-42)

It is telling that Laurencio uses two animal images to describe his ideal wife (*tusón* and *cordero*), reinforcing the idea that he wishes for the Finea from before, who was more like an unenlightened beast; he desires what today we might call a trophy wife—or even a beautiful pet—and not a partner with whom to match wits. Liseo, by comparison, begins to desire Nise before even meeting her, based solely on the report he receives in Illescas of her intelligence as opposed to the stupidity of his betrothed:

> LISEO. En fin, señor, ¿Nise es bella
> y discreta?
> ……
> LISEO. ¿Tan necia es esa Finea?
> LEANDRO. ¡Mucho sentís que lo sea!
> ……

LISEO. Que me ha de matar, sospecho,

si es necia y propia mujer.

……

LISEO. También advierte

que, siendo tan entendida

Nise, me dará la vida,

si ella [Finea] me diere la muerte. (vv. 145-84)

Even though Liseo values material wealth (he is surprised and disappointed that, as sisters, Nise and Finea do not have equal dowries), he also places value on other characteristics of his prospective wife.

This theme of the treatment and value of women's education and of women as objects of exchange in the "marketplace" of marriage underlies the whole drama of *La dama boba* and has received significant scholarly attention. In the most basic sense, women's education is seen to be framed in terms of service to the patriarchy, specifically securing advantageous marriages for the daughters of the Spanish nobility, and we see through the cases of Finea and Nise, respectively, that too little is as much a vice as too much. In no uncertain terms, Aurora Egido outlines this as the principal theme of *La dama boba*: "contra lo que suele decirse, *La dama boba* es una apología del tipo de educación que a la mujer conviene, es decir, la que le lleva a la meta deseada por todas las damas de la comedia: el matrimonio" (362). Adrienne L. Martín argues that the attitudes of Lope's characters promoted wifely *discreción* as opposed to academic knowledge. The ideal knowledge for a woman is that which is innate, possibly dormant, and limited to what is necessary to make her a proper wife and mother and Martín proposes that Finea is "appealing for [her] spirit, ingenuity, and natural cleverness, not because of any formal teaching [she]

receive[s]….Thus [her] lessons in attaining understanding are limited to the realm of emotion rather than true or full intellect" (189). She goes on to argue that "Lope ultimately declares that marriage is the most perfect love of all, the most natural state for women, and therefore the logical purpose and goal of their education" (189). Finea's extreme *bobería* has hitherto hindered her marriage prospects, as has her sister's extreme pedantry. Otavio, however, has a preference:

> Si me casara agora (y no te espante
> esta opinión, que alguno la autoriza),
> de dos extremos, boba o bachillera,
> de la boba elección, sin duda, hiciera. (vv. 213-16)

Otavio's words and the play's outcome show that Finea's sin, ignorance, is more readily forgiven and remedied, while Nise's "demasiada discreción termina castigándola al final" because she resigns herself to marrying Liseo instead of Laurencio (Dodman 107).[36]

Though by today's standards it is certainly sexist, Otavio's opinion of Nise is quite typical of the time. Lope presents Otavio as a reasonable and even caring father figure, concerned, of course, with maintaining his family's honor, but also diligent in trying to both educate his daughters and provide for them through appropriate marriages. Donald Larson explains that, against a common trend of fathers as what he calls blocking characters to the amorous outcomes desired by many a *comedia*'s protagonists, we are "somewhat surprised to discover that oftentimes in Lope, fathers, far from putting up a 'humorous' resistance to the plans of their children, are conspicuously accommodating, helpful, and understanding" (46-47), and he

[36] Critics generally agree that Lope promotes a female education that prepares and guides women to marriage, a line of reasoning completely harmonious with the misogynistic society in which he lived. Where there is lack of consensus, however, is in the nuances of Lope's opinion of *las mujeres instruidas*. For more information see Dodman and Martín.

outlines very specifically the great lengths to which Otavio goes out of his fatherly affection and sense of duty toward Finea and Nise, a task to which

> he brings large amounts of patience and sympathy, and in the course of the comedy both are severely depleted by his daughters' antics….Fortunately, Otavio's indulgence is never entirely exhausted, and the end of the work finds him prepared to give his blessing to the matches his daughters have made, even though they are not the ones to which he had devoted his time and care. (47)

Otavio desires for his daughters to be educated, at least along the lines of education outlined by Juan Luis Vives in his *De institutione feminae christianae*. When he tells Miseno that he would choose a wife who was *boba* over a *bachillera* he has to somewhat clarify and justify his position:

> que yo no trato aquí de las discretas;
> sólo a las bachilleras desengaño.
> De una casada son partes perfetas
> virtud y honestidad. (vv. 219-22)

and a little later on:

> Resuélvome en dos cosas que quisiera,
> pues la virtud es bien que el medio siga:
> que Finea supiera más que sabe,
> y Nise menos. (vv. 237-40)

Otavio, unlike Laurencio, appears to agree with the belief that the ignorant woman would be unable to protect her chastity, i.e., her honor (and indeed Finea's actions and worlds illustrate the validity of his concern). It is clear that Otavio has devoted effort to his daughters' education;

Nise has taken this to the extreme while Otavio still struggles, through various teachers, to instruct the adult-child Finea in the most basic of subjects.

Throughout the play Otavio is repeatedly characterized as an honorable nobleman, worthy of the respect of the other protagonists. Leandro, in the Illescas scene, informs Liseo that Otavio, "[s]i es quien yo pienso, es arfil // y pieza de estimación" (vv. 115-16). In the extended chess metaphor employed by Leandro and Liseo in this scene the *arfil* (bishop), though below the king and the rook, is valuable and is definitely not a "pieza vil" (v. 114). When Otavio discusses his concerns over Finea and Nise's respective excesses and their marriage prospects his friend Miseno comments "Habláis cuerdo y grave" (v. 240) and later, when Otavio must resolve the situation of Finea's marriage, Miseno again reminds his friend (and the audience): "Otavio, vos sois discreto" (v. 3147). His own daughters also recognize his authority and wisdom, as when Nise reassures the other characters in the face of Feniso's fear that "[n]o suceda alguna cosa" (v. 3110) even though Finea has just been discovered in the attic with a man: "No hará, que es cuerdo mi padre" (v. 3111). Otavio, in short, is a representative of the "old guard" of this intergenerational conflict, but his character is treated by all as worthy of respect and honor in Lope's play, characterized as the "voice of normalcy, of common-sense" (D. Larson 50). We will see, however, that Iborra's adaptation drastically revises this figure of patriarchal authority.

Through the dramatization of ideas of love, materialism, and women's education in *La dama boba* Lope de Vega reveals some of the tensions present in his society. He does not shy away from the objectification of women in the course of illustrating the shifting opinions about money and mercantile activity. Though the treatment of gender and female education ultimately reaffirms a patriarchal order, emphasizing that the principal value of women's education is the increased exchange value for female *discreción*, the events of the play allow for an exploration

of the value and capacity of female intelligence in a way that most scholars have seen as notably progressive for his era.[37] What we will see is that Lope's play, as expounded by those scholars, has a potential to be synchronized with contemporary feminism, but sadly Iborra doesn't take advantage of that potential. The decision to focus on the materialistic aspects of the play (and decidedly more on the bodily/erotic than on the monetary) undercuts the contemplation of female education and leaves some of the play's details that are most ripe for a twenty-first-century revision largely untouched.

3.6 An Uncritical Revision: Manuel Iborra's *La dama boba* (2006)

As a source text, we have seen that *La dama boba* was arguably more famous than *El perro del hortelano*. Besides the cultural aspects we have just discussed it was also a natural choice for Manuel Iborra to adapt to film because the play "addressed, in an inventive and beautiful manner, the perennial subject of Iborra's films: love" (Wheeler 176). However, Iborra chose to focus on the superficial comedy of the play that we previously explored. Wheeler observes that "[f]or better or worse, Iborra does not seem to take either himself or the Golden Age all that seriously" (181). The film emphasizes Lope's play on words, wit, and farce, but does not delve deeply into the emotional or educational transformations of any of the characters. Despite a star-studded cast and the precedent set by Miró, *La dama boba* failed to engage audiences, reflected in poor box-office returns and unfavorable reviews by film critics. In this section we will examine how the film's treatment of gender—more specifically its superficial

[37] Scholarship regarding how *La dama boba* engages with early modern patriarchal ideologies is plentiful. See Friedman ("Boy Gets Girl"), Gaylord ("Las damas") and O'Connor (*Love in the 'Corral'*) for prominent examples. Margaret Boyle's *Unruly Women* is an informative and broader treatment of the experiences of women in the face of these ideologies.

engagement with Spanish feminism—and its uncritical treatment of the Golden Age help to explain its failure to resonate with audiences.

Similar to Lope's play, Iborra's film focuses on the relationship between Finea and Laurencio, played by Silvia Abascal and José Coronado respectively. The Nise/Liseo storyline is made decidedly secondary, and, as we will see, their characterization strongly influences the film's treatment of gender. Most notably, Otavio's character has been substituted by the mother Otavia, played by Iborra's then-partner Verónica Forqué. Coronado is unique among the film's cast both for his experience with theater of the period and for not having previously worked with the director. Albeit a somewhat nepotistic cast, *La dama boba* attempted to capitalize on the idea of a Spanish star system in ways that echo the casting decisions made by Pilar Miró, as Abascal, Coronado and Forqué are all well-known names that would have appealed to different generations amongst the audience. Abascal had previously gained popularity in the Spanish television series "Pepa y Pepe" (where she also played daughter to Forqué), and in 2004 received her first Goya nomination for best actress (for *El lobo*); Coronado "must surely be the epitome of the old-style leading man to a significant segment of the audience," having played roles such as Don Juan, a young Goya, and even "the extremely expert lover in Vicente Aranda's erotic literary adaptation *La Mirada del Otro / The Naked Eye* (1998)" (Perriam 201); Forqué, a "Chica Almodóvar" and generally beloved Spanish actress, has won four Goya awards and has a long theater, film and television resumé.

The film had a promising outing at the Málaga Film Festival (17-25 March 2006), at which Silvia Abascal won the Biznaga de Plata for best actress, Roberto San Martín (Liseo) and Macarena Gómez (Nise) won for best supporting actor and actress, and Lorenzo Caprile won for best wardrobe ("Festival de Málaga"). At the box office, however, the film disappointed, seen by

fewer than 70,000 viewers and bringing in just under 400,000 euros ("Dama Boba, La"). As a means of comparison, Pilar Miró's *El perro del hortelano* had over 975,000 spectators and earned over 3.2 million euros, which would have been closer to 4 million euros in 2006 ("Perro del Hortelano, El"). Further, in comparison to *El perro del hortelano's* slew of seven Goya awards, *La dama boba* won none, with only Abascal receiving a nomination.

As stated earlier, Lope's *La dama boba* was arguably more well-known than his *El perro del hortelano*. Presumably, the abundance of female characters in the play leave it ripe for a pro-feminist interpretation, especially in the era of the PSOE government of Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, installed in 2004, that oversaw numerous efforts toward gender equality such as the legalization of same-sex marriage, abortion law reform, and ambitious legislation for protection against gender violence. However, the film's treatment of gender and its engagement with feminism was an issue raised by much of the film's negative critical assessment. Wheeler refers to the "*ostensibly* gynocentric narrative" that worked in the film's favor in the planning stage, explaining that "[t]he strong female roles provided a good fit for the mainstream and arguably *cosmetic* feminism that is now firmly embedded in Spanish film production and consumption" (177; my emphasis). For Iborra's film, like many others, feminism served as an important marketing buzzword, which, as Wheeler notes, is

> reflected by the fact that, despite bearing little relation to the film, the synopsis in the press book states, "*La dama boba* está ambientada en el siglo XVII y centra la trama en dos hermanas que se evaden de la sociedad machista de la época de dos formas muy distintas. Una, a través de los libros, y la otra, haciéndose la tonta." (177)

The publicity for Iborra's film also emphasized the connection with Miró's earlier adaptation, the praise for which Wheeler describes as having "the potential to offer a powerful romantic charge

while simultaneously undertaking an exploration of female subjectivity and sexuality that resists the charge of anachronism" (172). Iborra and his marketing team sought to capitalize on Miró's success, but if anything, rather than evade the *machista* society, the protagonists of his adaptation internalize and reinforce its patriarchal structure.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the transformation of the father Otavio into the mother Otavia. What might have seemed to Iborra to be a simple change—regardless of what might have motivated it—flies in the face of a prevalent trend in the *Comedia*, the diminished representation of mothers. Emilie Bergmann notes that "mothers virtually disappear as cultural protagonists in literary representation, and most notably in the multitude of treatises concerning women's behavior published in the sixteenth century" (124). Darci Strother describes the "clear trend of favoring a male parental force over a female one" in the *Comedia,* which reflected the patriarchal value system of Spanish society at the time (142). Though Strother discusses three plays that do include mothers, she stresses that:

> it is important to realize the essential difference between playwrights' use of male and female parental characters. While the fathers are permitted to carry out the parenting of their children autonomously, none of the three mothers presented in this section is allowed to function alone—male assistance is required in every instance. (174)

Regardless of Iborra's awareness of scholarship on this issue, his choice to cast Otavio as Otavia clearly steps beyond the standard casting practices of the early modern *Comedia* tradition and, as we will see, this choice entailed significant ramifications for the film's treatment of gender.

As previously discussed regarding Lope's play, Otavio's character is generally considered by scholars to be that of a reasonable man, both a voice of prudence—especially regarding his family's honor—and an affectionate father to his daughters. Iborra's Otavia, on the

other hand, is portrayed as a comic and at times even farcical character and, more problematically, a female predisposed to fits of hysteria. Noble Wood describes that, rather than performing the moderate behavior expected of a Golden Age *anciano/a*, Otavia "is a neurotic and hysterical figure, prone not to considered reflection but to violent knee-jerk reactions, both emotional and physical" (193). Due in part to cuts made to Lope's playscript, especially the asides used to explain characters' reasoning, Forqué portrays "an unsympathetic character with an almost autistic unawareness of her daughter's emotional needs," only tempered by the warmth and familiarity of the actress's star persona (Wheeler 181). The change from Otavio to Otavia, on the one hand, undermines the importance of the father figure in Golden Age drama, and on the other, "fundamentally [distorts] the basic theme of honour, a staple of many of Lope's plays" (Noble Wood 194). Noble Wood has commented that most of the play's dialogue discussing honor has been removed and so

> [w]hen Nise … informs Octavia that there are men hiding in her attic, Octavia's lines "¿Hombres? ¡Bueno va mi honra!" and "¡Mil vidas he de quitar // a quien el honor me roba!"—her only mentions of honour in the film—ring hollow. (194)

By removing the focus on family honor, a concept likely outdated for a twenty-first-century audience, the film attempts to make the action more palatable for its viewers. However, without the honor plot, much of Otavia's efforts to keep Finea from Laurencio lose their *raison d'être*, especially since, as other scholars have noted, his more mercenary motivation is downplayed in the film.[38] This erasure of tensions tied to familial honor also contradicts what Lope says in the *Arte nuevo*, that "[l]os casos de la honra son mejores, // porque mueven con fuerza a toda gente" (vv. 327-28).

[38] See, for example, Noble Wood p. 195 and Wheeler p. 183.

Lope's appreciation for the dramatic suspense and tension afforded by representing conflicts of honor would appear to be supported by the consequences of Iborra's choice to ignore the directive, in light of the film's tepid reception. Contrary to the tradition, Otavia is a mother raising her daughters apparently without any masculine influence, which presents the opportunity to portray a successful matriarchy in contrast to the *Comedia*'s traditional patriarchy. Indeed, her friend and trusted advisor/confidant is not the Miseno of Lope's play but rather Gerarda, another woman, visually characterized as being of a sober temperament as she is dressed all in black (though she curiously and inexplicably dons an eye patch). However, Otavia's authority is repeatedly undermined by the actions of her daughters, and her own volatile behavior—exemplified by her histrionic duel with Laurencio at the end of the film—shows her to be an erratic and ineffective authority figure, melodramatically flinging herself to the ground after a futile attempt to challenge Laurencio with a sword and then tearfully accepting his marriage to Finea. In light of this resolution of maternal disempowerment and gender-encoded weakness, the change from Otavio to Otavia can be said to confirm the female internalization of the patriarchal system. In the absence of a father figure Otavia carries out the normally male role of dealing with the marriage arrangements of her daughters. Though the theme of honor is downplayed in the film, it still must be tacitly understood as one of her primary motivators. In this way, Otavia is seen repeatedly to act against the desires of her daughters, who in turn undermine her wishes and jealously compete with one another for Laurencio—who, as discussed in greater detail below, is characterized and presented as stereotypically "macho" in contrast with the courtesan Liseo, his foppish and effeminate rival. The result is an almost complete breakdown in female solidarity over the pursuit of one man, and the reinforcement of many of the sexist stereotypes that feminists in Spain (like Pilar Miró) had worked so hard to overcome.

The characterization of Nise (Macarena Gómez) represents yet another missed opportunity to reimagine Lope's text more in harmony with twenty-first-century feminism. As we previously explored, in Lope's play it is Nise's false and pedantic erudition that is ridiculed, and the projected ideas of education appropriate for a woman are limited to what makes a good wife and mother. But instead of portraying a genuinely intellectual female for a twenty-first century audience, in Iborra's film Nise is portrayed as highly eroticized yet sexually repressed, with most evidence of her intellect and education removed from the film. Because much of her erudition comes in Lope's play through exchanges with her maid Celia, Iborra's choice to eliminate Nise's *criada* further emphasizes the change. Most of the play's literary references are also removed from the film and Nise's "literary academy" is reduced to a farcical scene in which Duardo's recitation of his "La calidad elementar resiste" sonnet becomes a comic backdrop to her orgasmic fainting spell, brought on, strangely, by the sonnet and/or the mere presence of Laurencio. Indeed, apart from an intertitle at the film's opening, this scene is the audience's introduction to and first impression of Nise. As Noble Wood points out,

> Iborra's Nise is less erudite pedant/potential "don Quijote mujer" (2147), more sexually frustrated woman, who from her coquettish opening line … at the start of I.7 is portrayed as a bundle of nervous sexual energy. (201)

Although Nise's intelligence remains an important detail to the development of the plot—discussed by Otavia as a source of frustration, by Liseo as a desirable trait contrasted with Finea's *bobería*, and by Laurencio as a virtue he must renounce in order to pursue Finea's dowry—, her sexual energy and frustration are her most prevalent on-screen characteristics.

In order to ensure that viewers understand the crucial intellectual contrast between the two sisters, a series of intertitles appear at the beginning of the film, the second and third of

which establish the basic nature of each sister: “Nise, la mayor, era hermosa e inteligente y todos la admiraban” and then, “Finea, la pequeña, era boba, pero había heredado una gran fortuna” (*La dama boba* 00:01:53-00:02:04). This explicit messaging is necessary because the words and actions of the film’s characters—Nise in particular—tend to undermine accounts of Nise’s erudition. While Laurencio, Duardo and Feniso praise Nise’s intelligence to her face, Laurencio does so in such a manner that we may believe it to be little more than interested flattery (especially given the almost orgasmic effect it has on her). Throughout the film he exercises the erotic power he has over her, reducing Nise to most resemble a puddle of frustrated sexual desire. In light of how Otavia is rendered a comic and hysterical figure, her account of Nise’s intelligence does not carry the same weight as that of her Lopean counterpart. Finally, Liseo’s desire for Nise, though motivated in the play by both her physical charms and her elevated mind, is heavily determined in the film by the physical. They take turns teasing one another with sensual caresses and kisses, exploiting the sexual desire of each but especially of Nise, at times even against her volition. Both characters are reduced to caricatures of erotic energy, stripped of their servants and thus psychological depth, prone to hot flashes (with the rapid deployment of hand-held fans for ventilation) and heavy breathing.

Noble Wood also comments on the change to Nise’s characterization, noting several substitutions of the adjectives that other characters use to describe her:

> The introduction of the pejorative *sabi(h)onda* [for *discreta* in line 209] has the effect not only of subtly altering the characterisation of Nise and her parent’s attitude towards her but also, when seen in conjunction with other such changes (“discreta” to “divina” in line 1967, … etc.), of undermining the interplay between *discreción* and *bobería* that is a cornerstone of the play text. (Noble Wood 192)

These changes are indeed problematic in a twenty-first-century context because instead of promoting feminist sympathy for Nise's character, the film participates in the perpetuation of a *machista* stereotype of women as irrational, weak and prone to losing control of sexual desire. Lope's treatment of Nise took pains to demonstrate a disdain for the *bachillera* and contrasted her, principally through Otavio's dialogue, with the *discreta*, whose educational needs were limited to what would make her an honorable wife and mother. The discussion of literature and literary theory identified by Robert ter Horst and others as key to the play's thematic development is virtually eliminated. In Iborra's film, Nise's intellect is replaced with a shallow parody, the awkwardly erotic counterpart to the emasculated Liseo. Finea, on the other hand, receives an all-together different treatment, infantilized at the outset of the film and slowly transformed into object of desire.

The film's focus on the materiality of Lope's play manifests itself in both a heightened sense of eroticism, especially in the characterization of Nise, and a certain flattening of the two sisters' characters. We have just discussed Nise's loss of psychological depth in exchange for her farcical eroticism. Though Finea is not over-eroticized, her character receives a similarly shallow treatment, not allowed the same depth of transformation that Lope's character undergoes. Appropriately, this superficial transformation of Finea is principally communicated through the visual medium of wardrobe. As with Miró's film, the wardrobe in *La dama boba* can be seen as an extension of the protagonists' mental state and personality, and it is also an important element in the comedy of the movie. Throughout the film Finea and Nise don exquisite gowns that, aside from visually enriching the action on screen, contribute to the audience's understanding of each sister's character. Likewise, we will explore how Liseo's comically elaborate and spectacular

outfits, contrasted with Laurencio's more sober attire, play a major role in the emasculation of his character and, in turn, in the film's treatment of gender.

The changes in Finea's wardrobe in particular trace her supposed transformation from *dama boba* to *discreta enamorada* by the end. We are first introduced to Finea as she struggles to learn the alphabet with the *maestro* Rufino. With ringlets and ribbons in her hair and a gown that is both poofy and shapeless, with bows at the elbows and chest, in muted pinks and reds, Finea has the appearance of an overgrown child. Later, in anticipation of the arrival of her betrothed, the process of educating Finea to be a woman must begin, and Wheeler describes that

> [t]he simulated nature of non-essential gender categories is literally visualized on screen as we see Finea being harangued into taking on her feminine role as various layers of costume and apparel are forced on her prior to her first meeting with Liseo. (182)

At the end of the process, although appearing feminine, Finea's childishness is still prominently communicated. She still wears her hair in ringlets and ribbons and her elaborate and frilly red dress comes all the way up in a collar around her neck, giving her the air of a child playing dress-up. Her attire states, in sharp contrast to Nise's off-the-shoulder black gown that accentuates the contours of her collarbones and cleavage, that Finea is not (yet) an erotic object.

Finea's characterization starts to change after Laurencio's attentions to her increase, with the transformation beginning visually when she shares a bath with Nise, both sisters clad in translucent white bathing gowns. Though Finea still wears a dress with ruffles up to her neck in the scene of her first kiss with Laurencio and subsequently when she gives her word to be his wife (in order to "cure" her of her jealousy), a change is already noted in her appearance, with her hair instead worn long in a relaxed braid and the hint of a rosier, slightly made-up complexion. When Finea is next seen by Liseo, in a scene in which she and Nise perform a dance

to musical accompaniment, her rich red and tightly corseted dress now shows her to be a true rival to Nise in terms of seductiveness, evidenced as well by the bedroom eyes with which Liseo now gazes upon her. Finally, in Act III, after Otavia has banned Laurencio from the house, Finea appears refined in a red, off-the-shoulder gown, her hair softly framing her face, with earrings and subtle makeup giving her an air of easy sophistication, a change that matches her cleverness when she now plays the *boba* to her own advantage. Though she is not eroticized in the same (excessive) way that Nise is, Finea is indeed now a woman.

While Finea's visual characterization is subtle in comparison to that of her sister, the male protagonists' wardrobe functions much more explicitly, especially in the case of Liseo, whose first appearance is strikingly farcical. He prances into the presence of Otavia and her daughters with rouged cheeks, a drawn-on beauty mark, cream-colored wide-brimmed hat decorated with fluffy pink feathers and bows, an elaborate suit adorned with lace and pearls, pink gloves and stockings, and shoes with high heels. His exaggerated, effeminate mannerisms match his outlandish and effeminate attire. Noble Wood sees Liseo as "a foppish twit, an effeminate dandy more at home with a fan than a sword, whose carefully coiffed hair, heavily made-up face, manicured nails, and psychedelic attire mark him out as a figure of fun" (201). Iborra describes Liseo as one of his "caprichos" in the film and explains: "Transformé a Líseo [sic], el indiano rico, en un indiano «lindo» porque me gustaba más que fuera «lindo» que simplemente un indiano tonto y rico" (138). Though he claims that making Liseo into a *lindo* was merely a whim, the decision has significant bearing, again, on the film's treatment of gender. As studies by scholars like Harry Vélez-Quiñones have shown, the *lindo* figure in early modern poetry and

theater is one of a set of types of persons representing a "queer subjectivity in Spain [that] may date back to, at the very least, the early modern period" (36).[39]

As Wheeler has observed, *La dama boba* "simultaneously appears to subvert and uphold essential gender categories" through the contrasting treatment of Liseo and Laurencio (185). Liseo, as both *indiano* and *lindo* is doubly criticized/marginalized in the film. In a perhaps uncritical move, Iborra's "othered" Liseo is played by Cuban actor Roberto San Martín, unconsciously communicating the idea of the former colonies representing an inferior form of Spanish masculinity that must be reformed. Unlike his rival, Laurencio "adopts an androgynous pirate glamour that is nevertheless rooted in an archetypal masculinity," which, as the author notes, is reminiscent of Johnny Depp's portrayal of Jack Sparrow in the *Pirates of the Caribbean* film series (Wheeler 184). Coronado's experience as a leading man in other films has already been mentioned, and his portrayal of Laurencio draws heavily on this stereotype. Although Laurencio's financial motivation for pursuing Finea is downplayed much more in the film than in Lope's play, the protagonist's precarious economic situation and social undesirability are highlighted throughout. As Wheeler comments,

> Iborra delights in Laurencio's rakish qualities that allow him to live by the skill of his wits … appeal[ing] to traditional notions of masculinity while simultaneously mocking them with a degree of self-conscious and carefully calibrated camp that is associated with a performance-based approach to life and actions. (183)

Butler's notion of performativity is heavily at play in the character of Laurencio, as Wheeler notes the mockery his character makes of certain notions of masculinity. Laurencio is characterized throughout the film as a rogue and a sort of Don Juan that neither Nise nor Finea

[39] In the play Lope does not use the term *lindo* to characterize Liseo.

can resist. He always wears the same attire, dark pants and white shirt, and has a rugged appearance, his sword at hand at all times.

Patterson has suggested that the extreme contrast with the flamboyant wardrobe of Liseo was "motivated by an effort to portray Laurencio as more sexually potent than his rival, something that in the play is mainly achieved through his poetic prowess," reiterating what we have observed as the broader pattern in Iborra's and Miró's films to rely more on visual than verbal cues (527). This idea is also reinforced by the contrast between Laurencio's skill with his sword and Liseo's lack thereof, as well as by the way Laurencio mocks and laughs at his rival. The film participates in an essentializing discourse on masculinity, and we see that Liseo's masculinity is ultimately determined to be problematic since, "[i]n a very Lopean conceit, love teaches Liseo to take on his appropriate gender role as, when he and Nise are eventually reconciled, he dons a more sober outfit that clearly echoes Laurencio" (Wheeler 184-85). As Butler argues, "gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences. … indeed, we regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right" (190). In the end, then, a more traditional heteronormative masculinity is confirmed and cemented through the heterosexual pairings of Laurencio and Finea, Liseo and Nise, and the servants Pedro and Clara. In Iborra's interpretation, love transforms all of the characters, Laurencio included, as evidenced by the film's epilogue of the happy couples voicing an adaptation of Laurencio's exposition on love, originally from Act II of the play. As a result, however, the film loses the sense—detected by a number of scholars in Lope's play—of a woman who manipulates the events to "salir con lo suyo," perhaps to the dismay of even Laurencio, who, although he gets his hands on the forty-thousand-ducat dowry, must now contend with a clever wife. Though scholars have read Lope's play as proto-feminist, Iborra ignores this possible reading and instead embraces the more

conventional (and conservative) reading, that all's well that ends well, with Finea and Nise now both able to take on the role of *perfectas casadas*.

This neat, happy ending that closes the action, a hallmark of the *Comedia*, in this case also makes sense in the logic of a film that, in a curious mixing of genres, invokes the fairy-tale tradition. This is established by the first of the three previously mentioned graphic intertitles at the beginning of the movie, informing us that "Érase una vez una madre con dos hijas que sólo le daban quebraderos de cabeza" (*La dama boba* 00:01:46-00:01:52). In this way the light-hearted tone of the film is established from the very first scene, along with the mythologized narrative of the Golden Age developed during the Franco regime that Pilar Miró and other contemporary filmmakers had worked to deconstruct. "Érase una vez" connotes a distant, ahistorical and idealized time and place, but early modern Madrid is indeed a very concrete setting whose privileged status in Spain's historical memory has come more and more under scrutiny in the decades since the death of Francisco Franco. And while films like *Alatriste* make use of historical events to explicitly situate their plots both spatially and temporally, Iborra's *La dama boba*, with most of the action confined to Otavia's home and its immediate surroundings, makes an effort to efface its specific setting. Most of the play's references that serve to locate it in the court of Madrid—the opening scene in Illescas where Liseo first hears of Finea's *bobería*, Clara's description of Madrid and the Calle Mayor in her tale of the kittens' birth (vv. 419-21), Liseo's invitation to Laurencio to duel "detrás de los Recoletos" (v. 1349), and all of Finea's scheme in naming the attic "Toledo"—have been removed from the film.[40] Iborra's film makes a decided move away from cultural specificity, in keeping with the Spanish film industry of the

[40] The only two references to the play's setting in Madrid that remain are the announcement that Liseo "por la calle de Toledo … entró por la posta" (vv. 889-90) and Nise's chastisement of Laurencio's absence during her illness: "Tú en la tierra, y de Madrid, / donde hay tantos vendavales / de intereses en los hombres, / no fue milagro mudarte" (vv. 1273-76).

early 2000s, which had become increasingly privatized and globalized after decades of more direct subsidies and regulation by the state. In this climate Spanish cinema no longer saw itself as particularly dedicated to national unity or to serving Spanish *interés nacional*.

In this way Iborra can be seen as an opportunist who saw in *La dama boba* the potential to profit from the more socially committed work done by Miró. The cuts to geographical and cultural specificity described above serve to make the film more accessible to twenty-first-century audiences and downplaying the references to Madrid and the financial interests of the players at court allows Iborra to focus principally on the "fairy tale" love story of Finea and Laurencio. In his own words, Iborra describes his personal vision of Lope's play:

> Todos los guiones de mis películas parten … de un sentimiento o una emoción que me toca aquí dentro … Buscando esa emoción o sensación leí una y otra vez las diferentes versiones … hasta que por encima de los enredos, los divertidos equívocos y los bonitos romances, apareció algo que yo podía sentir aunque no lo hubiera escrito: el amor nos hace sabios. (Iborra 136)

Audience and critical response to Iborra's *La dama boba* has shown, nonetheless, that this Lopean fairy tale did not coincide with contemporary society's conception of the Golden Age and its classic texts and in particular its fairy-tale portrayal of love.

Although there has been an ongoing and increasingly nuanced feminist debate since the 1970s "over the value of fairy tales based on their representation of females" (Haase 2), many scholars will agree that the highly "Disneyfied" fairy tales that have become part of mainstream culture (and shaped largely by the groups of men "who dominated the selection, editing, and publication of fairy tales") have played a role in female acculturation to patriarchal order (Haase 1). Mary Daly's 1978 book *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* opens its first

chapter with a pointed indictment of the deceptive power of myth in general and of the fairy tale in particular "as a carrier of the toxic patriarchal myths that are used to deceive women" (Haase 3). Daly complains:

> Patriarchy perpetuates its deception through myth …The child who is fed tales such as *Snow White* is not told that the tale itself is a poisonous apple, and the Wicked Queen (her mother/teacher), having herself been drugged by the same deadly diet throughout her lifetime (death-time), is unaware of her venomous part in the patriarchal plot. (Daly 44)

The naivete of Iborra's invocation of the fairy-tale tradition might be more dismissible under different circumstances, but, as María García Puente has argued, the first fifteen years of the third millennium witnessed a global boom in the popularity of rewriting the fairy tale. In particular, García Puente studies the boom of feminist rewritings of fairy tales in Spain, "que es producto y reflejo de las particulares circunstancias socioeconómicas y políticas del contexto local en el que inscribe" (5). She examines a number of films that either immediately precede or coincide with *La dama boba* and that, through the theme of disenchantment,

> asumen un relevante papel social funcionando como "espejos concienciadores", sobre los que los escritores y directores actuales proyectan sus ansiedades en relación a [sic] la precaria situación de la mujer española actual, con el fin de dar pie a un cambio social. (8)

In this context, then, it is significant that Iborra uncritically invokes the fairy-tale tradition to frame his already problematic reimagination of Lope's play, one that does not question the treatment of women but instead celebrates the traditional happy ending.

Whereas Miró and the PSOE government preceding her film made efforts to influence the relationship between contemporary Spaniards and "nuestros clásicos" of the Spanish Golden

Age, Iborra used the fairy tale tropes to convey a sense of timelessness and universality—presenting a "classic" in the more globalized, Hollywood or "Disneyfied" sense. This seemingly small detail—the Hollywood usage of the "érase una vez" trope—crystallizes Iborra's departure from Miró's successful model. These fairy tale tropes combined with the film's focus on the materiality and farce of Lope's play depart significantly from the "high art" approach of *El perro del hortelano*. The film depends on exaggerated erotic humor and spectacle (delivered mostly by the Nise/Liseo pairing), instead of on the more subtle suggestion of *lo erótico* found in its predecessor. And while Pilar Miró's film took pains to update the treatment of women and reengage the Spanish *Comedia* genre in a meaningful way for the post-Franco Spanish society, leaving us with a female who truly comes out on top, Iborra's film misses the mark and reveals a lack of substance to its feminist veneer. Finea does come out on top, but literally rather than figuratively, as the closing image is of her in bed with Laurencio after their wedding has taken place. In the end, the film promoted a feminist agenda only so far as it was hoped to improve its marketability, participating in the trend of female-centered film and television that sprang up during the Zapatero era.

As mentioned earlier, 2006 was a year that saw an unprecedented number of films based on Spain's early modern history, including *Alatriste*, the highly anticipated film based on Arturo Pérez Reverte's best-selling novel series (Wheeler 178). These other period films from 2006 took great pains to distinguish themselves from the treatment the Golden Age had received under Franco and "[t]his reaction against earlier cinematic traditions was key to the acceptance of these twenty-first century historical films" (Wheeler 186-87). Films like *Teresa, el cuerpo de Cristo* (Ray Loriga), *Tirante el Blanco* (Vicente Aranda), *Los Borgia* (Antonio Hernández), and the previously mentioned *Alatriste* (Agustin Díaz Yanes) all portrayed a grittier, bloodier, more

erotic, and generally darker side of early modern Spanish reality than was present in Franco's projection of his beloved Golden Age. The concentration in a single year of films based on the early modern period is indicative of renewed interest in Spain's past, but with a more critical and less idealized approach than what had been used during the dictatorship. Iborra's film sought to recreate the success that *El perro del hortelano* had enjoyed ten years earlier, but it neither critically engaged its subject, as Miró did, nor did it eschew the dictatorship's idealization of the Golden Age, as its contemporary films had done. Instead, "by presenting a more light-hearted and colourful version of the Golden Age, *La dama boba* came to be irrelevant, outdated and therefore deemed unworthy of attention by audiences, film critics and *comedia* specialists alike" (Wheeler 187). This high volume of films set in the Golden Age did not occur, of course, without a cultural precedent. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the renewed interest in the period was set in motion decades earlier, both by state efforts in the realm of national theater and, subsequently, by the popularity of other ventures like Miró's film and the successful *Capitán Alatriste* novel series by Pérez Reverte.[41]

The fact that Iborra's film managed to flop in an environment so open to reengaging the Golden Age means that his interpretation did not interest, or was expressly rejected by, the majority of Spaniards. Not only was its vision of the Golden Age generally un-critical, but *La dama boba* failed to present a universal message that was also easily transferable to the reality of the viewing public, as *Alatriste* had done: "*Alatriste* ofrece temas que permiten trazar paralelismos con la España actual: la política, la Guerra, la opresión de estamentos sociales, las luchas de poder entre líderes o las intrigas y sus consecuencias" (Berger 71). Manuel Iborra claimed that he was making a movie about love. However, the vision of love presented in *La*

[41] To my point, Pérez Reverte was inspired to write the first novel of the series by his disappointment in the way his daughter's textbooks represented Spain's early modern history.

dama boba was not "universal" enough to excuse what viewers and critics saw as the film's other shortcomings. It is precisely in the film's treatment of love and gender that Iborra's miscalculations are laid bare and we can detect the missed opportunities to engage critically with Lope's play. It can be argued that this failure has had a lasting impact on the *Comedia*, with no feature films adapted from these plays in the ensuing fourrteen years. But regardless of to what we attribute this lack of subsequent film adaptations, the tepid reception of Iborra's film demonstrates that Spanish audiences are looking for a more genuine engagement with social issues like those espoused by mainstream feminism, and for a more critical take on their nation's often whitewashed history.

3.7 Conclusions

The overarching narrative that we have been tracing in this chapter is that of the *Comedia*'s journey through the transition to democracy and beyond. In the wake of the dictatorship the classics needed to be purged of their Francoist cultural baggage in order to survive. This was made a priority of the state as evidenced by efforts of the PSOE government under Felipe González, including the founding of the CNTC and the Instituto Cervantes as well as the preparations for all of the commemorative events of 1992. These efforts combined with Miró's film showed that "nuestros clásicos" could be successfully re-deployed to advance a more democratic and feminist vision of Spain, both to Spaniards and to the rest of the world. Though the *Comedia* greatly benefitted from Miró's *El perro del hortelano* and despite being filmed during the time of Spain's first self-described feminist Prime Minister, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, the increasingly market-driven and globalized nature of Spanish cinema led Manuel

Iborra to choose Lope's *La dama boba* not out of political consciousness but rather as an attempt to echo the cinematic discourses of Hollywood that would be successful in that marketplace.

At the time of this writing, no other film adaptation of the *Comedia* has been made for the cinemas, which I argue to be indicative of a cultural crossroads at which Spain, like many other societies, finds itself. Paul Julian Smith has argued that in Spain "television has displaced cinema as the creative medium that shapes the national narrative" (*Dramatized Societies* 3). Unlike cinema, Smith claims, Spanish television is a successful industry that has managed to marginalize US production and connect with national audiences (*Dramatized Societies* 1). In addition to the increasingly globalized nature of film, the growing popularity and importance of television in terms of shaping national identity is due in large part to the medium's ability to address contemporary issues in real time, as opposed to cinema which is hindered by lengthy production and editing times (Smith, *Dramatized Societies* 1). National television programming, therefore, is better equipped to engage its home audience, speaking to their social reality better than a foreign product. If in the previous chapter we argued that the *Comedia* in film was at the height of its utility for shaping the national narrative during the dictatorship, then in this chapter we have seen how, post Miró and *El perro del hortelano*, Iborra's film is evidence of its decline. As Smith's arguments above indicate, this is not only true of the *Comedia* in film but of Spanish film in general, and just as political utility has shifted to the realm of television, there, too, is where we should expect to see the Golden Age vie for continued cultural validity, as indeed it has already begun to do.

Conclusion

The films examined in this dissertation represent only a small portion of the ways in which the *Comedia* has been utilized for centuries, from its original performances in seventeenth-century *corrales* and continuing to the present day, to project notions of Spanishness. In each chapter we have looked at how this was achieved, in different moments of Spain's history, via the dominant modes of representation of Spanishness at the time. In the early modern period, their original context, these plays were deployed to demonstrate cultural splendor at the same time that they responded to the cultural plurality that undermined the fictional façade of racial purity and unity championed by those in power. In post-Civil War Spain, under the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, film was at the height of its political utility and mass appeal, and film adaptations of the *Comedia* were used both as vehicles for nationalist propaganda in support of a narrative of cultural superiority, but also as a means of contesting that same propaganda and criticizing the effects of a repressive regime.

In the early years of post-Franco democratic Spain, tainted by its long association with the Franco regime, the *Comedia* became a sort of cultural "endangered species" that had to be promoted by the state to protect the inherent cultural value it was believed to possess. In the 1990s the Golden Age made a comeback through government promotion, solidified by Pilar Miró's popular film adaptation of *El perro del hortelano*. However, the early twenty-first century saw the failure of Manuel Iborra's film *La dama boba* to appeal broadly to Spanish (or any) audiences. This decline in high-profile feature film adaptations, however, should not be considered in isolation as indicative of the *Comedia*'s persistent utility and relevance for twenty-first century Spaniards. National and international touring of the Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico continues to expand, for example, as does Almagro's annual Festival Internacional de

Teatro Clásico. Rather than a cultural rejection of the *Comedia* itself, the unfavorable reception of Iborra's film is indicative of the resistance to a more globalized and less culturally specific (as well as less politically conscious) interpretation of the Spanish classic in a medium that had become increasingly characterized by these same traits.

While the fate of Iborra's *La dama boba* has perhaps deterred investment in other film adaptations of the *Comedia*, the Spanish Golden Age continues find its way into Spanish popular culture, where it continues to exercise its traditional role as touchstone for articulations of Spanish national identity. As noted at the end of the previous chapter, in Spain, as elsewhere, television has taken film's place as the dominant mode of representation (and indeed formation) of the national (Smith, *Dramatized Societies*). Given the trajectory we have been tracing, it comes as no surprise that in this arena we see representations of the Golden Age and some of its best-known figures, like Cervantes and Lope de Vega, deployed to project contemporary notions of Spanishness.

The continued political and cultural utility of the Golden Age is visible in the historical fiction programming that has been televised in Spain over the last ten years, in particular by the state-sponsored public broadcaster RTVE. Through a steady diet of historical fiction based on the early modern period—programs like *Águila Roja*, *Isabel*, and *El Ministerio del Tiempo* (which is set to return in 2020), and the made-for-television docudrama *Cervantes contra Lope*—RTVE has participated in navigating the tensions between notions of national unity inherent in the idea of "nuestros clásicos," and an increasingly plural Spain. The timing of this boom in historical fiction is not coincidental, as it appears to have developed at a time in which signs of Spain's ongoing national identity crisis are not difficult to discern. [42]

[42] My use of the term "national identity crisis" is tentative because, for many scholars, such a crisis is principally confined to the realm of politics and its media. Balfour and Quiroga note that "the much publicized idea that there is

In addition to the pre-existing peripheral nationalities of Spain, with their history of struggles for official recognition and cultural and political autonomy, the period of Spain's economic boom from the mid-1990s until the early 2000s led to a steady increase in "the arrival of foreign workers in the country, their incorporation into the Spanish labor market and the rapid transformation of Spanish society in terms of ethnic, national and religious diversity" (López-Sala 40). The economic crisis beginning in 2008 had a major impact on immigration to Spain, significantly slowing the arrival of foreign workers and also increasing the number of voluntary departures (López-Sala 64). In more recent years, however, immigration to Spain has once again been on the rise, even though the country's economy is still recovering. The ethnic, national and religious diversity that López-Sala notes is plain to see in day-to-day life especially in Spain's major cities.

As explored in Chapter One, racial, ethnic, and especially religious diversity has always been a characteristic of the territories that constitute present-day Spain. Series like *El Ministerio del Tiempo* try to render more visible this historical reality, thus revising the idealized master narrative of Spain's past to account for it with characters that represent a more diverse ethnic background and who are from diverse geographical regions of Iberia. Nonetheless, we do not see the same self-consciousness of cultural diversity in representations of the present. Recent studies have concluded that the immigrant population is underrepresented in Spanish prime-time televisual fiction and that immigrants, when they are represented, are more often (in comparison to native Spaniards) portrayed as background characters, of lower socioeconomic status, and/or

---

a crisis of identity and governance in Spain today should be treated with skepticism, [however] there are real problems about social cohesion and the role of the state that cannot easily be addressed by politicians" (v).

as engaged in criminal activity.[43] The politics of belonging, in other words, still tend to view Spain largely in terms of its homogenous and imaginary early modern avatar.

A 2018 article from *The Washington Post* describes the idea that "[n]ationalist tendencies in Spain … are constrained by memories of Francisco Franco's dictatorship" and so a nationalist rhetoric is still anathema for many Spaniards (McAuley and Rolfe). However, Balfour and Quiroga argue that the question is more complicated:

> [t]he unicultural, unipolar identity imposed by the regime deeply eroded the legitimacy of Spanish nationalism. Francoism contaminated the symbols of and debate about the nation with totalitarian meanings. The result is that Spanish nationalism has had to undergo an implicit purge and to disguise itself in many different forms. If by nationalism we mean an ideology that assumes or claims a territorially defined community to be a nation legitimized by history and enjoying (or seeking) sovereignty, then Spanish nationalism is alive and kicking. (1)

This "disguised" nationalism has become more and more apparent in recent years in the increasingly polarized nature of Spanish politics. There is indeed concern about what constitutes Spanishness and, though perhaps not couched in terms of "nationalism," Spaniards are actively (re)defining their country, a country of which some groups no longer desire to be a part. We can see in national politics that Spain is increasingly decentralized, resulting in what politicians perceive as an ever-diminished sense of national identity. The well-known activities of the now-disbanded ETA terrorist group are synonymous with Basque nationalism and separatist movements, and the Basque Country, along with five other autonomous regions of Spain, have regional languages that are co-official with Castilian Spanish. In 2017, the Catalan referendum

[43] See Igartua, et al. and Ramos, et al.

on independence from Spain made international headlines as it was deemed illegal under Spanish law, sparking a political crisis that led to the invocation by the government of then-Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy of Article 155 of Spain's constitution (for the first time ever), suspending, until the formation of a new government, Catalonia's political autonomy. The monumental trial of the twelve leaders of the Catalan independence movement was concluded in June of 2019, however "[a] verdict in the trial, one of the most important in Spain's judicial history," was only recently handed down in October of the same year (Minder). The sentencing of the leaders of the movement, amounting to a collective 100 years in prison, again sparked riots and division among pro- and anti-separatist Catalans and Spaniards.

Since the early 1980s, control of the Spanish government has swung, pendulum-like, back and forth between the right-wing Partido Popular (PP) and the left-wing Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE). Since former Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy (PP) was ousted from office in 2018 after a vote of no confidence, Pedro Sánchez (PSOE) holds the title of Prime Minister, but his party struggled for nearly a year to gain a governing majority in Spain's parliament (McMurtry), with 17 different parties now comprising Parliament and Sánchez facing the necessity of forming a coalition government (Ramiro). The recent rise of the Vox party is strongly tied to the Catalan independence question and illustrates how the issue of separatism has become a major obstacle for Sánchez's government. This division within the government and among the autonomous regions is symptomatic of the division within the nation regarding articulations of a Spanish national identity as projected by politicians and the media. Although the average Spaniard may not personally perceive such a crisis, mainstream popular culture has sought, consciously or unconsciously, to explore *who* Spaniards are based on from where (or from whom) they have come. This is seen primarily through a renewed interest over the last ten

to fifteen years in Spain's past, and in the Golden Age in particular.

The previously mentioned RTVE historical fiction programming has sparked Spaniards' interest in revisiting their past with critical eyes. In 2009 the network premiered *Águila Roja*, a fictional series set in the seventeenth century that follows the adventures of Gonzalo de Montalvo, an early modern vigilante laboring under the pseudonym of Águila Roja. The protagonist brings a critical, and arguably contemporary, perspective to the attitudes of the Golden Age, as the series' page on RTVE's website describes it: "Hombre de modernos ideales a pesar del oscurantismo de la época que le ha tocado vivir, Gonzalo de Montalvo es un personaje atrapado en su triple condición de hombre, padre y héroe" ("Águila Roja - La Serie"). Like Miró did in the mid-1990s, this series is another example of how Spaniards continue to critically examine attitudes of their society's past and highlight how they clash (or how they should clash) with contemporary postures, which is effectively the opposite of what Franco used the Golden Age to accomplish. As noted in a recent study on historical fiction television and movies based on premodern rulers:

> Historical dramas have much to tell us about the present in which they are created because we define our present by comparison to our past, and vice versa. Modern attitudes and practices are 'modern' because they are perceived as being different from premodern attitudes and practices. (North, et al. 7).

At the height of its popularity, *Águila Roja* garnered more than five million viewers, a 29.6% share of the national total, and it maintained its place atop Spanish viewership for six seasons ("'Águila Roja' terminará con su novena temporada.").

Between the fourth and fifth seasons of *Águila Roja*, in September of 2012 TVE debuted (after a significant delay) *Isabel*, another hit historical fiction series, although this time based on

real historical figures. *Isabel* is based on Isabel of Castile (1451-1504) and "[t]he plotline of the first season focuses on the figure of the future queen and how she had to overcome various trials and tribulations *in a man's world* to become queen and prove her worth and determination" (Franquet and Villa Montoya 2305; my emphasis). The creation of *Águila Roja* and *Isabel* for Spain's public broadcaster is indicative of a continued desire at the state level to promote the exploration of the country's foundations and to value its cultural history. The critical perspective that each series brings to the period and/or persons portrayed communicates to the public that, unlike the dictatorship that promoted an unproblematic return to that "glorious" past and its outdated values, contemporary Spanish society should appreciate its cultural legacy but also continue to interrogate the received master narratives of its national history, in a way rescuing the Golden Age from its Francoist legacy. The popularity of both series would seem to indicate that the public is in agreement with such a critical re-visitation of the events that have shaped the modern nation-state of Spain.

In perhaps the most overt foray into the critical reevaluation of the past, RTVE's series *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, launched in 2015, literally (re)visits key moments in Spain's past, but in order to preserve history, not to change it.[44] Set to re-launch this year after a three year hiatus, the show has created an interesting cultural phenomenon whose repercussions are still actively being explored by academics. The series was created by Pablo and Javier Olivares, the same brothers that created *Isabel*. It follows the adventures of a patrol unit of government employees from different centuries, working for the secret Ministry of Time, guardian of a network of doors leading to different moments in Spain's history. As the series' website states:

[44] Beginning with the third season of the show (aired in 2017), RTVE sold the broadcasting rights to Netflix, which offered the show to a worldwide audience after the Spanish broadcaster finished its emission ("'El Ministerio del Tiempo' viaja"). As of February 2020, the show has apparently been removed from the Netflix platform.

> Nuestros protagonistas no son superhéroes, sino gente corriente expuesta a situaciones nada corrientes. Julián [Rodolfo Sancho], un enfermero del SAMUR de hoy en día, Amelia Folch [Aura Garrido], la primera mujer universitaria en la Barcelona de 1880 (imagen de la España moderna) y Alonso de Entrerríos [Nacho Fresneda], un soldado de los Tercios de Flandes (ejemplo del valor y sacrificio patriótico de nuestros ejércitos). Todas las Españas juntas por un fin común.
>
> Su misión: luchar para que el pasado no cambie, lo que supondría que nuestro presente no sea el que es. Para ello deberán luchar con mercaderes y organizaciones que quieren manipularlo en su beneficio o en el de potencias extranjeras. El Ministerio es la última barrera para que, con su grandeza y sus penas, nuestra Historia sea la que es. ("El Ministerio del Tiempo – La Serie")

The cast of characters is meant to appeal to Spaniards broadly, with a *madrileño* (Julián), a *catalana* (Amelia), and a *sevillano* (Alonso) forming its nucleus. The wording of the description (of "[t]odas las Españas juntas") is also telling of the desire to project a united Spain.

While the series interrogates episodes from the breadth of Spanish history, its treatment of some of Spain's most famous Golden Age figures has garnered a great deal of attention. In the show's second episode, "Tiempo de gloria" (originally aired on 2 March 2015), Julián, Amelia and Alonso are tasked with returning to the year 1588 to make sure that Lope de Vega boards a galleon of the Spanish Armada that survives the disastrous confrontation with England so that he can go on to write some of his most famous works. Julián's limited familiarity with Lope—when asked what he knows about the *Fénix* he responds: "fue un escritor"—is most likely meant to be representative of the average Spaniard, even if perhaps somewhat exaggerated ("Tiempo de gloria" 00:06:15). After their boss, Salvador Martí, details some of Lope's amorous shenanigans,

an amused Julián comments that "el Lope era un figura," to which Salvador responds: "Sí, efectivamente. ¿Ve usted lo que se pierde por no leer a nuestros clásicos?" ("Tiempo de gloria" 00:07:25-00:07:30). In contrast, as Rubio-Hernández and Raya Bravo have pointed out, Amelia's star-struck reaction to being in Lope's presence—she essentially becomes his Golden-Age groupie, ending up, uncharacteristically, in his bed—is meant to poke fun at the academic popularity of the writer using a familiar fan stereotype (143). This encounter also produces consequences for the young intellectual, who in subsequent episodes must try to avoid Lope lest he notice suspiciously that she has not aged (which, in fact, he does). Víctor Clavijo brings to life a young and charismatic Lope de Vega and the show does not shy away from characterizing him as an unabashed—but very likable—womanizer. In fact, it is this approach to portraying the *Fénix*, combined with the "gran interpretación que hizo Víctor Clavijo," that led to Lope de Vega being a trending topic on Twitter as was noted at the beginning of this dissertation:

> El primero, y más importante [factor], es que la serie dibujó a un Lope de Vega sin adornos…: el mujeriego, el embaucador, una persona en la que no confiar… La serie mostró a la perfección ese otro lado de Lope que le llevó a tener 15 hijos distintos con tantas mujeres que no podías contarlas con los dedos de una mano…. Y así es como uno de los autores más gloriosos que ha dado España se convierte en trending topic un lunes por la noche y amanece entre lo más comentado un martes por la mañana. (Redondo)

Esther Fernández has observed that, while the show's portrayal of Lope actively undermines the "imagen mítica y hegemónica del escritor[,] [i]rónicamente, este Lope desmitificado es el que ha conseguido, más que ningún otro en la historia de TVE, acercarse y despertar la curiosidad del público más joven y de la audiencia en general" ("Lope de Vega" 26).[45] RTVE also used its web

[45] In this article Fernández does remind us that the exploration of Lope's contemporaneity is not a novelty in *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, but it is in this series (and the telefilm *Cervantes contra Lope*) that the approach has borne

platform to publish related material along with each episode of the show, offering the fans (who were quickly dubbed "ministéricos") interactive content, clips of the best moments, behind-the-scenes information, the episode's script, and especially in the first season, historical information about the events portrayed. "Tiempo de gloria" viewers can peruse information about the *Armada invincible* but also a detailed outline of the (known) romantic liaisons of Lope de Vega (Quirós). Clavijo came back as Lope in two other episodes, both of which also starred Pere Ponce as Miguel de Cervantes. The exploration of the competition between the two figures further humanized these Spanish icons, bringing the Golden Age a little closer to home for the twenty-first-century audience.

In the break after *El Ministerio del Tiempo*'s second season, at the end of 2016 RTVE capitalized on the series' momentum to produce the TV-film *Cervantes contra Lope*, a fictional documentary in which a camera crew from the twenty-first century returns to the year 1614 to interview Cervantes and Lope after the publication of the *Quijote de Avellaneda*. The film was just one part of a host of "exhibitions, concerts, plays and dance productions, film cycles, books and studies, research projects, tourist itineraries, digital projects and countless educational activities to learn about – and promote the reading of – the work of [Spain's] most universal writer," Miguel de Cervantes, in the year that marked the 400th anniversary of his death, and, coincidentally, that of Shakespeare ("400th Anniversary"). So, although the film was created as part of the commemorative activities, it continued the trend of showing a more human side of some of Spain's greatest icons, attempting to demonstrate their continued cultural relevance

---

the most fruit: "No obstante, es justo recalcar que desde las primeras emisiones del programa *Teatro de Siempre*, en donde el marco histórico del corral de Almagro dialogaba con el nuevo lenguaje televisivo, hasta el último telefilme de Huerga, Lope nunca ha perdido su relación explícita con el presente cuando se nos presenta a través de la televisión. Mantener esta cercanía y contemporaneidad del dramaturgo y experimentar con ella ha sido un proyecto en marcha desde sus primeras apariciones en TVE y solo ahora, en pleno siglo XXI, parece haber cosechado su éxito más absoluto" ("Lope de Vega" 29).

alongside their *genio* status. The website of Minoría Absoluta, one of the film's co-producers, describes the plot that examines the confrontation between the two protagonists:

> The *Quijote de Avellaneda* has just been published and a bitter quarrel has broken out between the two literary geniuses. The documentary looks at the intrigue surrounding the identity of Avellaneda, while showing Cervantes and Lope as two brilliant individuals *plagued with self-doubt and feelings of failure*. ("Cervantes contra Lope;" my emphasis)

Humanizing the figures of "nuestros clásicos," making them not only palatable but popular, keeps the Golden Age relevant and (at least in theory) makes it accessible to all Spaniards. Beneath the surface, however, these representations also participate, whether consciously or unconsciously, in a continual process of appealing to notions of national unity and performing a role similar to the broad dissemination of print material in Anderson's "imagined communities." Whether intentionally or not, one could argue that the focus on the Golden Age period and specifically on figures like Lope and Cervantes participates in a centralizing project, or at least a centralizing discourse. So, while the critical representations of the Golden Age seem to communicate that Spaniards today are more civilized, more tolerant, and more conscious of the problems in their past (and consequently better prepared to combat their present manifestations), there is at the same time an implicit identarian continuity that fails to dismantle and discredit the monolithic representation of Spanishness that is at the heart of many of the social problems faced by contemporary Spaniards.

Works Cited

"400th Anniversary of the Cervantes' Death." *Observatory of the Spanish Language and Hispanic Cultures in the United States.* cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/en/activities/other/400th-anniversary-cervantes-death. Accessed 17 July 2019.

"Águila Roja - La Serie." *RTVE.es* www.rtve.es/television/aguila-roja/serie/. Accessed 8 July 2019.

"'Águila Roja' terminará con su novena temporada." *El País*, 4 January 2016. elpais.com/cultura/2016/01/04/television/1451908446_324776.html29 July 2019.

Albrecht, Jane White. *The Playgoing Public of Madrid in the Time of Tirso de Molina.* UP of the South, Inc., 2001.

El alcalde de Zalamea. Directed by José Gutiérrez Maesso, CIFESA, 1954.

Alonso Veloso, María José. "*El perro del hortelano*, de Pilar Miró: una adaptación no tan fiel de la Comedia de Lope de Vega." *Signa: Revista de la Asociación Española de Semiótica* vol. 10, no. 1, 2001, pp. 375-393.

Alpenfels, Ethel J. "The Anthropology and Social Significance of the Human Hand." *Artificial Limbs*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1955, pp. 4-21.

Álvarez-Junco, José. *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations.* Manchester UP, 2013.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Verso books, 2006.

Arellano, Ignacio. *Arquitecturas del ingenio. Estudios sobre el teatro de Tirso de Molina.* Instituto de Estudios Tirsianos, 2001.

Aronson, Stacey L Parker. "They Said, She Said: Making the Case for Rape in Fuenteovejuna." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 67, no. 2, 2015, pp. 33-47.

Ayerra, Carmen Madorrán. "The Open Window: Women in Spain's Second Republic and Civil War." *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, vol. 15, no. 1-2, 2016, pp. 246-253.

Balfour, Sebastian, and Alejandro Quiroga. *The Reinvention of Spain: Nation and Identity Since Democracy.* Oxford UP, 2007.

Bass, Laura R. "The Economics of Representation in Lope de Vega's *La dama boba*." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 83, no. 6, 2006, pp. 771-787.

Bayliss, Robert. "The Best Man in the Play: Female Agency in a Gender-Inclusive *Comedia*." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 59, no. 2, 2007, pp. 303-323.

Bennett, Susan. *Performing Nostalgia: Shifting Shakespeare and the Contemporary Past.* Routledge, 2013.

Berger, Verena. "El teatro del siglo de oro y el cine español: *La dama boba* (2006) de Manuel Iborra." *Escenarios compartidos: cine y teatro en España en el umbral del siglo XXI*, edited by Verena Berger and Mercè Saumell, Lit Verlag, 2009, pp. 61-73.

Bergmann, Emilie. "The Exclusion of the Feminine in the Cultural Discourse of the Golden Age: Juan Luis Vives and Fray Luis de Leòn." *Religion, Body and Gender in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Alain Saint-Saëns, Mellen Research UP, 1991, pp. 124-36.

Bethencourt, Tomás. "Del directo al color. Una visión tecnológica de la televisión en España." *Archivos de la Filmoteca*, no. 23/24, 1996, p. 54.

Beverley, John R. "On the Concept of the Spanish Literary Baroque." *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, edited by Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, U of Minnesota P, 1992, pp. 216-30.

Blinkhorn, Martin. "Spain: The 'Spanish Problem' and the Imperial Myth." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1980, pp. 5-25.

Boyd, Carolyn P. *Historia Patria: Politics, History, and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975.* Princeton UP, 1997.

————. "The Politics of History and Memory in Democratic Spain." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 617, no. 1, 2008, pp. 133-148.

Boyle, Margaret E. *Unruly Women: Performance, Penitence, and Punishment in Early Modern Spain.* U of Toronto P, 2014.

Britt Arredondo, Christopher. *Quixotism: The Imaginative Denial of Spain's Loss of Empire.* SUNY P, 2005.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* Routledge, 2011.

Byrd, Suzanne W. *La Fuente Ovejuna de Federico García Lorca.* Pliegos, 1984.

Canning, Elaine. "Destiny, Theatricality and Identity in Contemporary European Cinema." *New Cinemas: Journal of Contemporary Film*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2007, pp. 159-171.

Carlson, Marvin. *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine.* U of Michigan P, 2001.

"Carmelo Gómez." *Spain is Culture*. www.spainisculture.com/en/artistas_creadores/carmelo_gomez.html. 28 June 2019.

Carmona, Alba. *La comedia áurea en el lienzo de plata: análisis de la recepción de la comedia nueva a partir de sus reescrituras fílmicas.* 2018. Universitat Autonòma de Barcelona, PhD dissertation.

Carr, Raymond. *Modern Spain 1875-1980.* Oxford UP, 1980.

Cascardi, Anthony J. *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age.* Penn State P, 1997.

La Celestina. Directed by Gerardo Vera, Lolafilms, et al., 1996.

"Cervantes contra Lope." *Minoria Absoluta* www.minoriaabsoluta.com/en/programa/cervantes-contra-lope/. Accessed 16 July 2019.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, edited by Luis Andrés Murillo, Castalia, 1978.

Childers, William. *Transnational Cervantes.* U of Toronto P, 2014.

"Chronology." *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*, edited by Helen Graham and Jo Labanyi, Oxford UP, 1995, pp. 426-442.

Colmeiro, José. "A Nation of Ghosts?: Haunting, Historical Memory and Forgetting in Post-Franco Spain." *452 F: revista de teoría de la literatura y literatura comparada*, no. 4, 2011, pp. 17-34.

"La Compañía." *Compañía Nacional de Teatro Clásico*, teatroclasico.mcu.es/la-comp/que-es-la-cntc/. Accessed 19 July 2019.

Connell, Robert W., and James W Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society*, vol. 19, no. 6, 2005, pp. 829-859.

Cortés Ibáñez, Emilia. "Un clásico en el cine: El perro del hortelano." *Actas del XIII Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, Madrid 6-11 de julio de 1998*, Castalia, 2000, pp. 303-308.

Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*. Madrid, Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1904.

Cruz Petersen, Elizabeth Marie. *Women's Somatic Training in Early Modern Spanish Theater.* Routledge, 2016.

Daly, Mary. *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism.* Beacon Press, 2016.

La dama boba. Directed by Manuel Iborra, Belén Gómez, et al., 2006.

"Dama Boba, La." *ICAA Catálogo Cinespañol,* sede.mcu.gob.es/CatalogoICAA/Peliculas/Detalle?Pelicula=125305. Accessed 29 July 2019.

Davidson, Jessica. "Women, Fascism and Work in Francoist Spain: The Law for Political, Professional and Labour Rights." *Gender & History*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2011, pp. 401-414.

Díez Borque, José María. *Sociedad y teatro en la España de Lope de Vega: Ensayo*. Bosch, 1978.

Diez Puertas, Emeterio. *El montaje del franquismo: la política cinematográfica de las fuerzas sublevadas.* Laertes, 2002.

Dixon, Victor. "Dos maneras de montar hoy "El perro del hortelano", de Lope de Vega." *Cuadernos de teatro clásico*, no. 8, 1995, pp. 121-140.

————. Introduction. *Fuente Ovejuna*, edited by Victor Dixon, Aris & Phillips, 1989, pp. 1-48.

————. Introduction. *El perro del hortelano*, edited by Victor Dixon, Tamesis Texts, 1981, pp. 9-67.

Dodman, Maria J. "La linda bestia y la hermosa discreta: hacia una interpretación simbólica y emblemática de *La dama boba*." *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2004, pp. 99-110.

Don Juan en los infiernos. Directed by Gonzalo Suárez, Ditirambo Films and TVE, 1991.

"Don Juan en los infiernos." *ICAA Catálogo de Cinespañol,* sede.mcu.gob.es/CatalogoICAA/Peliculas/Detalle?Pelicula=14191. Accessed 29 July 2019.

"Don Juan, mi querido fantasma." *ICAA Catálogo de Cinespañol,* sede.mcu.gob.es/CatalogoICAA/Peliculas/Detalle?Pelicula=14089. Accessed 29 July 2019.

Don Juan, mi querido fantasma. Directed by Antonio Mercero, BMG Films, et al., 1990.

Donnell, Sidney. *Feminizing the Enemy: Imperial Spain, Transvestite Drama, and the Crisis of Masculinity.* Bucknell UP, 2003.

Egido, Aurora. "La universidad de amor y La dama boba." *Boletín de la biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo*, vol. 54, 1978, pp. 351-371.

Elder, Cayce. "«Don Juan, ¿español?» Sobre la españolidad en *Don Juan* de José Luis Sáenz de Heredia." *El teatro clásico español en el cine*, edited by Marco Presotto, Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2019, pp. 139-152.

Esteban, Joan. "The Economic Policy of Francoism: An Interpretation." *Spain in Crisis. The Evolution and Decline of the Franco-Regime*, edited by Paul Preston, Harvester Press, 1976, pp. 82-100.

Evans, Peter William. *From Golden Age to Silver Screen: The Comedia on Film.* Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1997.

Fernández, Esther. "El coto erótico de Diana: *El perro del hortelano*, de un texto sexual a un sexo visual." *Gestos*, vol. 21, no. 42, 2006, pp. 57-81.

————. "Lope de Vega en televisión." *Anuario Lope de Vega. Texto, literatura, cultura*, vol. 24, 2018, pp. 10-37.

————. "Los corrales de comedias del siglo XVII madrileño: espacios de sensualidad urbana." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 60, no. 1, 2008, pp. 71-90.

Fernández, Esther, and Cristina Martínez-Carazo. "Mirar y desear: la construcción del personaje femenino en *El perro del hortelano* de Lope de Vega y de Pilar Miró." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 83, no. 03, 2006, pp. 315-328.

"Festival de Málaga." *Ayuntamiento de Málaga*, festivaldemalaga.com. Accessed 25 March 2019.

Fish, Stanley. *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities.* Harvard UP, 1980.

Franquet, Rosa, and Maria Isabel Villa Montoya. "Cross-Media Production in Spain's Public Broadcaster RTVE: Innovation, Promotion, and Audience Loyalty Strategies." *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 8, 2014, pp. 2301-2322.

Friedman, Edward H. ""Girl Gets Boy": A Note on the Value of Exchange in the *Comedia*." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 39, no. 1, 1987, pp. 75-83.

Fuchs, Barbara. *Passing for Spain: Cervantes and the Fictions of Identity.* U of Illinois P, 2003.

Fuenteovejuna. Directed by Antonio Román, Alhambra Films and C. E. A., 1947.

Fuenteovejuna. Directed by Juan Guerrero Zamora, RAI and TVE, 1972. *YouTube*, www.youtube.com/watch?v=XeHO-bFGgG8&t=157s.

Galán, Diego. "'El perro del hortelano', de Pilar Miró." *El País*, 26 Mar 2004. https://elpais.com/diario/2004/03/26/cine/1080255611_850215.html30 May 2019.

Ganelin, Charles. *Rewriting Theatre: The Comedia and the Nineteenth-Century Refundición.* Bucknell UP, 1994.

García, Andrés, et al. "Spanish Horror Film." *Cine y....: Revista de estudios interdisciplinarios sobre el cine en español*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2009, pp. 38-55.

García Posada, Miguel. "'La Celestina'." *El País*, 21 Nov 1996. https://elpais.com/diario/1996/11/21/cultura/848530813_850215.html30 May 2019.

————. "Un perro muy particular." *El País*, 6 Feb 1997. https://elpais.com/diario/1997/02/06/cultura/855183606_850215.html30 May 2019.

García Puente, María. *Érase de nuevo una princesa: las reescrituras feministas de cuentos de hadas de la España del tercer milenio.* 2014. University of Kansas, PhD dissertation.

García Sebastiani, Marcela, and David Marcilhacy. "The Americas and the Celebration of 12 October." *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Javier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Berghahn, 2017, pp. 161-180.

Gaylord, Mary. "'Las damas no desdigan de su nombre': decoro femenino y lenguaje en el *Arte nuevo* y *La dama boba*." *Justina: Homenaje a Justina Ruiz de Conde en su ochenta cumpleaños*, edited by Elena Gascón Vera, Asociación de Licenciados y Doctores Españoles en Estados Unidos, 1992, pp. 71-81.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures.* Basic Books, 1973.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism.* Cornell UP, 1983.

Gibson, Ian. *Federico García Lorca: A Life.* Faber and Faber, 1989.

Gilbert-Santamaría, Donald. *Writers on the Market: Consuming Literature in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain.* Bucknell UP, 2005.

Gilmore, Fiona. "A Country—Can it Be Repositioned? Spain—The Success Story of Country Branding." *Journal of Brand Management*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2002, pp. 281-293.

Gómez Torres, David "*La dama boba* de Lope de Vega: un caso de subversión aparente o el proceso de formación de un discurso monológico." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 48, no. 2, 1996, pp. 315-328.

González, Luis M. "La mujer en el teatro del Siglo de Oro español." *Teatro: Revista de Estudios Culturales/A Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 6, no. 6, 1995, pp. 41-70.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion." *Glyph*, vol. 8, 1981, pp. 40-61.

Guerra, Alfonso. "Las misiones pedagógicas y La Barraca: la cultura en la II República." *Letra internacional*, no. 100, 2008, pp. 5-12.

Gutiérrez Nieto, Juan Ignacio. "La limpieza de sangre." *Dogmatismo e intolerancia*, edited by Jesús Lalinde Abadía, et al., Editorial Actas, 1997, pp. 33-48.

Haase, Donald. "Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship." *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches*, edited by Donald Haase, Wayne State UP, 2004, pp. 1-36.

Hall, Stuart. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff, Routledge, 2014, pp. 35-47.

————. "Encoding, Decoding." *The Cultural Studies Reader*, edited by Simon During, 2nd edition, Routledge, 1999, pp. 507-517.

Heigl, Michaela. "La representación de la mujer en *La dama boba*." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 50, no. 2, 1998, pp. 291-306.

Higginbotham, Virginia. *Spanish Film Under Franco.* U of Texas P, 1988.

Hjort, Mette, and Scott Mackenzie. Introduction. *Cinema and Nation*, edited by Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie, Psychology Press, 2000, pp. 1-14.

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge UP, 2012.

Holloway, James E. "Lope's Neoplatonism: "La dama boba"." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1972, p. 236.

Hume, Martin A. S. *Philip II of Spain.* The Macmillan Company, 1897.

Humlebæk, Carsten. "The 'Pacto de Olvido'." *The Politics and Memory of Democratic Transition: The Spanish Model*, edited by Gregorio Alonso and Diego Muro, Routledge, 2011, pp. 183-198.

Hutcheon, Linda *A Theory of Adaptation.* Routledge, 2006.

Iborra, Manuel. "Lope y el cine." *Arte nuevo de hacer teatro en este tiempo*, edited by Fernando Doménech Rico and Julio Vélez-Sainz, Ediciones del Orto, 2011, pp. 135-142.

Igartua, Juan José, et al. "The Image of Immigration in Fiction Broadcast on Prime-Time Television in Spain." *Palabra Clave*, vol. 17, 2014, pp. 589-618.

"Instituto Cervantes." Instituto Cervantes (España) www.cervantes.es. Accessed 18 July 2019.

Johnson, L. Carl. "The (ab)Uses of Characterization in *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*." *Tirso de Molina: His Originality Then and Now*, edited by Henry W. Sullivan and Raúl A. Galoppe, Dovehouse Editions, 1996, pp. 133-143.

Jordan, Barry. "How Spanish is it? Spanish Cinema and National Identity." *Contemporary Spanish Cultural Studies*, edited by Barry Jordan and Rikki Morgan-Tamosunas, Arnold, 2000, pp. 68-78.

Kahn, Aaron M. "Introduction: Connecting Past and Present." *Connecting Past and Present: Exploring the Influence of the Spanish Golden Age in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries*, edited by Aaron M. Kahn, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, pp. 1-10.

Kallendorf, Hilaire. ""¿Qué he de hacer?": The *Comedia* as Casuistry." *Romanic Review*, vol. 95, no. 3, 2004, p. 327-359.

Kamen, Henry. *Imagining Spain: Historical Myth and National Identity.* Yale UP, 2008.

————. *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision.* Yale UP, 2014.

Kinder, Marsha. *Blood Cinema: The Reconstruction of National Identity in Spain.* U of California P, 1993.

Kirschner, Teresa J. *Técnicas de representación en Lope de Vega.* Tamesis, 1998.

Labanyi, Jo. "Impossible Love and Spanishness: Adventures of Don Juan (Sherman, 1949) and Don Juan (Sáenz de Heredia, 1950)." *Crossing Fields in Modern Spanish Culture*, edited by Federico Bonaddio and Xon de Ros, Legenda, 2003, pp. 146-154.

————. "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War." *Poetics Today*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2007, pp. 89-116.

————. "The Politics of Memory in Contemporary Spain." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2, 2008, pp. 119-125.

Larson, Donald R. ""La dama boba" and the Comic Sense of Life." *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. 85, no. 1, 1973, p. 41-62.

Larson, Paul E. "Fuente Ovejuna: History, Historiography, and Literary History." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 53, no. 2, 2001, pp. 267-290.

Lauer, Robert A. "A Neo-Historical Reading of *Fuenteovejuna*." *Brave New Words: Studies in Spanish Golden Age Literature*, edited by Edward Friedman and Catherine Larson, UP of the South, 1996, pp. 209-219.

Lehfeldt, Elizabeth A. "Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain." *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2008, pp. 463-494.

La leyenda del alcalde de Zalamea. Directed by Mario Camus, RAI, et al., 1973.

Lope de Vega. *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, edited by Evangelina Rodríguez, Castalia, 2011.

————. *La dama boba*, edited by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, Biblioteca Nueva, 2002.

————. *Fuente Ovejuna*, edited by Victor Dixon, Aris & Phillips, 1989.

————. *El perro del hortelano*, edited by Victor Dixon, Tamesis Texts, 1981.

————. *El perro del hortelano*, edited by Mauro Armiño, Cátedra, 1997.

López-Sala, Ana. "Managing Uncertainty: Immigration Policies in Spain During Economic Recession (2008-2011)." *Migraciones Internacionales*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2013, pp. 21-69.

"Los cómicos del arte." *Academia: Noticias del Cine Español*, no. 216, 2015, pp. 31-33, PRISMA Database with HAPI Index.

Maeztu, Ramiro de. *Don Quijote, don Juan y la Celestina: Ensayos en simpatía.* Visor libros, 2004.

Mañas Martínez, María del Mar. "Reflexiones sobre *El perro del hortelano* de Pilar Miró." *Dicenda: Cuadernos de Filología Hispánica*, vol. 2, 2003, pp. 139-157.

Maravall, José Antonio. *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca*, edited by Francisco Abad, Editorial Crítica, 1990.

Mariscal, George. *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture.* Cornell UP, 2018.

Martín, Adrienne L. "Learning Through Love in Lope de Vega's Drama." *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World*, edited by Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernández, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 177-190.

Martínez Bermejo, Saúl. "Beyond Luxury: Sumptuary Legislation in 17th-Century Castile." *Making, Using and Resisting the Law in European History*, edited by Günther Lottes, et al., Plus-Pisa UP, 2008, pp. 93-108.

McAuley, James, and Pamela Rolfe. "Spain is the Most Welcoming Country in Europe for Migrants. Will it Last?" *The Washington Post*, 28 October 2018. www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/spain-is-the-most-welcoming-country-in-europe-for-migrants-will-it-last/2018/10/27/73aa0c0a-c0e9-11e8-9f4f-a1b7af255aa5_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.12046fa5a616. 3 July 2019.

McKendrick, Melveena. *Identities in Crisis: Essays on Honour, Gender and Women in the Comedia.* Edition Reichenberger, 2002.

————. "The "mujer esquiva". A Measure of the Feminist Sympathies of Seventeenth-Century Spanish Dramatists." *Hispanic Review*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1972, pp. 162-197.

————. *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity.* Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2000.

————. *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the mujer varonil.* Cambridge UP, 1974.

McMurtry, Alyssa. "Despite Uncertainty, Spain Sets Date to Form Government." *Anadolu Agency*, 3 July 2019. www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/despite-uncertainty-spain-sets-date-to-form-government/1521726. Accessed 3 July 2019.

Minder, Raphael. "Trial of Catalan Independence Leaders Ends in Spain." *The New York Times*, 12 June 2019. www.nytimes.com/2019/06/12/world/europe/spain-catalan-leaders-trial.html. Accessed 3 July 2019.

"El Ministerio del Tiempo - La Serie." *RTVE.es* www.rtve.es/television/ministerio-del-tiempo/la-serie/. Accessed 15 July 2019.

Montero, Enrique. "Reform Idealized: The Intellectual and Ideological Origins of the Second Republic." *Spanish Cultural Studies*, edited by Jo Labanyi and Helen Graham, 1995, pp. 124-133.

Morcillo, Aurora G. *True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco's Spain.* Northern Illinois UP, 2000.

Moreiras Menor, Cristina. *Cultura herida: literatura y cine en la España democrática.* Ediciones Libertarias, 2002.

Morrow, Carolyn. "Gender Anxiety in *El alcalde de Zalamea*." *Gestos*, vol. 10, no. 20, 1995, pp. 39-54.

Mujica, Bárbara. *Women Writers of Early Modern Spain: Sophia's Daughters.* Yale UP, 2004.

Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, edited by Robyn R. Warhol and Diane Price Herndl, Rutgers UP, 1997, pp. 438-448.

Nash, Mary. "Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain." *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States*, edited by Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, Routledge, 1991, pp. 160-177.

Nieva de La Paz, Pilar. "Pilar Miró ante el teatro clásico." *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, vol. 26, 2001, pp. 255-276.

Noble Wood, Oliver. "A Silly Little Thing Called Love: Foolishness, Farce, and Fancy in Manuel Iborra's *La dama boba* (2006)." *Connecting Past and Present: Exploring the*

Influence of the Spanish Golden Age in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries, edited by Aaron M. Kahn, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015, pp. 187-209.

Noddings, Nel. *Women and Evil.* U of California P, 1989.

Nonnenmacher, Hartmut. "Avatares cinematográficos de Don Juan en tiempos de la democracia. Las películas *Don Juan, mi querido fantasma* de Antonio Mercero y *Don Juan en los infiernos* de Gonzalo Suárez." *El Siglo de Oro en la España contemporánea*, edited by Hanno Ehrlicher and Stefan Schreckenberg, Iberoamericana, 2011, pp. 273-295.

North, Janice, et al. *Premodern Rulers and Postmodern Viewers: Gender, Sex, and Power in Popular Culture.* Springer, 2018.

O'Connor, Thomas Austin. "Culpabilidad, expiación y reconciliación en la versión de *Fuenteovejuna* filmada por Juan Guerrero Zamora." *Hispanic Essays in Honor of Frank P. Casa*, edited by A. Robert Lauer and Henry W. Sullivan, Peter Lang, 1997, pp. 122-131.

————. *Love in the "Corral": Conjugal Spirituality and Antitheatrical Polemic in Early Modern Spain*. Peter Lang, 2000.

Ortega Alcántara, Leonor. "Don Juan: su huella en la historia literaria." *Isla de Arriarán: revista cultural y científica*, no. 16, 2000, pp. 245-258.

Parker, Jason T. "Recruiting the Literary Tradition: Lope de Vega's Fuenteovejuna as Cultural Weapon during the Spanish Civil War." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2010, pp. 123-143.

Patterson, Charles. "Lope on YouTube: Film Analysis and Amateur Video Production in a "Comedia" Course." *Hispania*, vol. 98, no. 3, 2015, pp. 522-532.

Payne, Stanley G. *Franco's Spain.* Crowell, 1967.

Pedraza Jiménez, Felipe B. Introducción. *La dama boba*, edited by Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez, Biblioteca Nueva, 2002, pp. 9-32.

Pérez Bowie, José Antonio. "Más allá de la adaptación: El reciclado de materiales temáticos del teatro áureo español en el cine." *El teatro clásico español en el cine*, edited by Marco Presotto, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2019, pp. 43-61.

Perriam, Christopher. *Stars and Masculinities in Spanish Cinema: From Banderas to Bardem.* Oxford UP on Demand, 2003.

El perro del hortelano. Directed by Pilar Miró, CARTEL, et al., 1996.

"Perro del Hortelano, El." *ICAA Catálogo Cinespañol,* sede.mcu.gob.es/CatalogoICAA/es-es/Peliculas/Detalle?Pelicula=85494. Accessed 29 July 2019.

Perry, Mary Elizabeth. *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*. Princeton UP, 1990.

————. *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain.* Princeton UP, 2005.

Phillips, Kim M., and Barry Reay. *Sex Before Sexuality: A Premodern History.* Polity Cambridge, 2011.

Price, Patricia L. "Cultural Geography and the Stories We Tell Ourselves." *Cultural Geographies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2010, pp. 203-210.

Quirós, Paloma G. "Amelia Folch no fue el único amor de Lope de Vega…¡Tuvo 15 hijos con 6 mujeres!" *RTVE.es*, 2 March 2015. www.rtve.es/television/20150302/amelia-folch-no-fue-unico-amor-lope-vegatuvo-15-hijos-6-mujeres/1092289.shtml. Accessed 17 July 2019.

Ramiro, Joana. "Spain's Pedro Sánchez is Paying the Price for Underestimating the Far Right." *New Statesman America*, 11 November 2019.

https://www.newstatesman.com/world/europe/2019/11/spain-s-pedro-s-nchez-paying-price-underestimating-far-right. Accessed 6 December 2019.

Ramos Arena, Fernando. "Un cine leído. Cultura cinematográfica, censura y especulaciones en la España de la década de los sesenta." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 18, no. 3, 2017, pp. 239-253.

Ramos, M. Marcos, et al. "The Representation of Immigration in Contemporary Spanish Prime Time TV Series." *Revista latina de comunicación social*, vol. 74, 2019, pp. 285-307.

Redondo, David. "¿Qué ha convertido a Lope de Vega en Trending Topic?" *Cadenaser*, 3 March 2015. cadenaser.com/ser/2015/03/03/television/1425377727_091191.html. Accessed 16 July 2019.

"El rey pasmado." *ICAA Catálogo de Cinespañol,* sede.mcu.gob.es/CatalogoICAA/Peliculas/Detalle?Pelicula=100191. Accessed 29 July 2019.

El rey pasmado. Directed by Imanol Uribe, Aiete Films S. A., et al., 1991.

Rhodes, Elizabeth. "Gender and the Monstrous in "El burlador de Sevilla"." *MLN*, vol. 117, no. 2, 2002, pp. 267-285.

Richmond, Kathleen J. L. *Women and Spanish Fascism: The Women's Section of the Falange 1934-1959.* Routledge, 2003.

Rowe, Erin Kathleen. *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain.* Penn State P, 2011.

Rubio-Hernández, María del Mar, and Irene Raya Bravo. "Amelia Folch: entre la dama decimonónica y la heroína del siglo XXI." *Dentro de El Ministerio del Tiempo: el libro*

sobre la serie que ha revolucionado la Televisión en España, edited by Concepción Cascajosa, Léeme, 2015, pp. 137-144.

Ryan, Lorraine. "A Case Apart: The Evolution of Spanish Feminism." *Feminisms: Within and Without*, edited by Rebecca Pelan, National Women Studies Centre, 2006, pp. 56-67.

Don Juan. Directed by José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, Chapalo Films S. A., 1950.

Sánchez, Jelena. "The Transvestite Woman: A Paradigm of Feminized Masculinity and Society in Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (1615)." *LLJournal*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 122-144, 2006.

Sánchez-Conejero, Cristina. *Spanishness in the Spanish Novel and Cinema of the 20th–21st Century.* Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

"Seville." *Bureau International des Expositions* www.bie-paris.org/site/en/component/k2/item/219-1992-seville. Accessed 23 July 2019.

Sieber, Harry. "The Magnificent Fountain: Literary Patronage in the Court of Philip III." *Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1998, pp. 85-116.

Smith, Paul Julian. *Dramatized Societies: Quality Television in Spain and Mexico.* Oxford UP, 2016.

————. *Vision Machines: Cinema, Literature, and Sexuality in Spain and Cuba, 1983-93.* Verso, 1996.

Sontag, Susan. "Film and Theatre." *Theater and Film: A Comparative Anthology*, edited by Robert Knopf, Yale UP, 2005, pp. 134-151.

Soufas, Teresa Scott. *Women's Acts: Plays by Women Dramatists of Spain's Golden Age.* UP of Kentucky, 1997.

Strother, Darci. *Family Matters: A Study of On- & Off-Stage Marriage & Family Relations in Seventeenth-Century Spain.* Peter Lang, 1999.

Stroud, Matthew D. "Defining the Comedia: On Generalizations Once Widely Accepted That Are No Longer Accepted So Widely." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2006, pp. 285-305.

————. ""¿Y sois hombre o sois mujer?": Sex and Gender in Tirso's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*." *The Perception of Women in Spanish Theater of the Golden Age*, edited by Anita K Stoll and Dawn L Smith, Bucknell UP, 1991, pp. 67-82.

Suárez Miramón, Ana. "Las producciones televisivas de teatro clásico." *Del teatro al cine y la televisión en la segunda mitad del siglo XX*, Visor, 2002, pp. 571-596.

"El Teatro de la Comedia acoge una nueva versión de 'El perro del hortelano'." *Telemadrid*, 18 October 2016. www.telemadrid.es/noticias/cultura/Teatro-Comedia-acoge-version-hortelano-0-1840315996--20161018085013.html. Accessed 28 June 2019.

Ter Horst, Robert. "The True Mind of Marriage: Ironies of the Intellect in Lope's *La dama boba*." *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 27, 1976, pp. 347-363.

Thacker, Jonathan. *A Companion to Golden Age Theatre.* Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2007.

Thompson, I. A. A. *War and Government in Habsburg Spain 1560-1620.* Athlone Press, 1976.

Thompson, Michael. *Performing Spanishness: History, Cultural Identity and Censorship in the Theatre of José María Rodríguez Méndez.* Intellect Books, 2007.

Threlfall, Monica. "Gendering the Transition to Democracy: Reassessing the Impact of Women's Activism." *Gendering Spanish Democracy*, edited by Monica Threlfall, et al., Routledge, 2004, pp. 23-66.

"Tiempo de gloria." *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, RTVE, 20 Mar. 2015.

Tirso de Molina. *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, edited by Enrique García Santo-Tomás, Cátedra, 2009.

Trapero Llobera, Patricia. "*Fuenteovejuna* (trans)nacional: de los discursos hegemónicos a las apropiaciones estéticas en Antonio Román y Juan Guerrero Zamora." *Anuario Lope de Vega. Texto, literatura, cultura*, vol. 24, 2018, pp. 119-151.

Triana-Toribio, Núria. *Spanish National Cinema.* Routledge, 2012.

Tuana, Nancy, and Mildred Jeanne Peterson. *The Less Noble Sex: Scientific, Religious, and Philosophical Conceptions of Woman's Nature.* Indiana UP, 1993.

Valiente, Celia. "Combating Violence Against Women." *Gendering Spanish Democracy*, edited by Monica Threlfall etl al., Routledge, 2004, pp. 113-136.

————. "The Feminist Movement and the Reconfigured State in Spain (1970s-2000)." *Women's Movements Facing the Reconfigured State*, edited by Lee Ann Banaszak, et al., Cambridge UP, 2003, pp. 30-47.

Velasco, Sherry Marie. *Lesbians in Early Modern Spain.* Vanderbilt UP, 2011.

Vélez-Quiñones, Harry. "Capones, italianos, ermitaños y lindos: Towards a Queer Subjectivity in Golden Age Poetry." *Calíope: Journal of the Society for Renaissance and Baroque Hispanic Poetry*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1999, pp. 35-45.

Vernon, Kathleen M. "From Patterns to Passion: Cinema-Going Prior to the 1960s." *A Companion to Spanish Cinema*, edited by Jo Labanyi and Tatjana Pavlovic, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2012, pp. 465-473.

Vives, Juan Luis. *De institutione feminae christianae*, edited by Joaquín Beltrán Serra, Ajuntament de Valencia, 1994.

Vollendorf, Lisa. *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain.* Vanderbilt UP, 2005.

————. *Reclaiming the Body: María de Zayas's Early Modern Feminism.* UNC Press Books, 2001.

Wheeler, Duncan. *Golden Age Drama in Contemporary Spain: The Comedia on Page, Stage and Screen.* U of Wales P, 2012.

Wright, Elizabeth R. *Pilgrimage to Patronage: Lope de Vega and the Court of Philip III, 1598-1621.* Bucknell UP, 2001.

Yarbro-Bejarano, Yvonne. *Feminism and the Honor Plays of Lope de Vega.* Purdue UP, 1994.