

THEATRES OF ABSENCE: SEVILLE, 1248-1575

by

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Theatre in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## Abstract

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Despite a notable lack of historiographic attention to medieval Iberian theatre, a golden age of performance existed on the Peninsula well before the appearance of Lope de Vega at the end of the sixteenth century. New archival discoveries and innovative research methodologies reveal medieval Seville as a vital site of performance culture. This dissertation employs interdisciplinary critical methods of postcolonialism, ritual affect, and phenomenology in order to examine performances of religious and cultural interaction between Muslims, Jews, and Christians along the Andalusí frontier in late medieval, early modern Spain. The coextensive relationships between textual, spatial, and corporal forms are considered in the analyses of Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, which, as staged in a converted mosque, disclose traces of pre-conquest Andalusí poetic and musical forms; the late medieval penitential movement in Spain that facilitated metonymic associations between Christians and religious minorities through symbolic links across an array of processional enactments; and, in the context of religious and economic imperialism, restaging of Amerindian ritual that contributed to the invention of New World subjectivity. From Christian reconquest through the culturally heterogeneous periods of Atlantic exploration and colonialism, performance was a method of compensating for social imbalances, erecting and crossing religious divisions, and facilitating cultural admixtures, and these interactions gave meaning to public devotional practices and communal identities.

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Thanks to Manuel Gómez Lara, Max Harris, and Susan Verdi Webster for providing important leads into the Seville archives. Ronald Surtz and Elisa Legon offered guidance with translations of medieval Castilian and Galician-Portuguese; any errors in translation in the manuscript are my own. Invitations from Susan Boynton, Glenn Burger, and Simon Doubleday to participate in conference panels provided a number of opportunities to interrogate the material in new ways, and I appreciate their generous and insightful feedback. Theatre Program colleagues and friends Gad Gutterman, Linell Hanover, and Elisa Legon read pages from early drafts of the dissertation, and I am grateful for their feedback. I deeply value the support and friendship of my brilliant (and often hilarious) medievalist colleagues Elina Gertsman, Thomas Meacham, and Jill Stevenson.

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### Abbreviations

CSM	The Cantigas de Santa Maria
To	<i>Cantigas de Santa Maria. Códice de Toledo, MS 10069</i>
T	<i>Cantigas de Santa Maria. Códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial</i>
F	<i>Cantigas de Santa María. Códice B.R. 20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia</i>
E	<i>Cantigas de Santa María. Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo de El Escorial, B.I.2. (códice de los músicos)</i>
ACS	Archivo General del Arzobispado y Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla
BCC	Institución Colombina, Biblioteca Capitular y Columbina.
ABUS	Archivo de la Biblioteca de Universidad de Sevilla

## Introduction

### A Golden Age of Iberian Performance

Our city of Seville, Universal Plaza of the World, where all nations that exist on earth come to see, to look, and to take, not only of its worldly wealth of riches, jewels, pearls, silver, gold, merchandise, and fruits of the earth...[b]ut also of its spiritual wealth of good example, devotion, and holiness.<sup>1</sup>

Alonso Sánchez Gordillo

Medieval Iberian theatre maintains a peculiar status within, and between, medieval, Spanish, and performance disciplines. In medieval studies and in Spanish departments, Iberian medieval theatre is generally understood as an anomaly—especially as compared to the well-documented dramatic traditions of England and France. This blind spot in medieval theatre scholarship is due to a number of compelling factors, but mainly to the lack of evidence for medieval theatre as defined in terms of form, mode of performance, and mode of textual presentation. Even though the ways in which medieval European performance is defined has evolved over the past few decades, theatre scholars have done little with medieval Castilian or Andalusí archives.<sup>2</sup> Seeing an opportunity to participate in the shaping of this nascent field, I commenced research on religious and secular festival and procession in medieval Seville.

The present work is the outcome of this extended investigation. Three discrete examples constitute the central focus of the dissertation: the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM) by Alfonso X, “El Sabio” (King of Castile, Galicia, and León, 1252-1284),<sup>3</sup> late medieval

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<sup>1</sup> Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones que frequenta la devoción sevillana (1630)*. Sevilla: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradías de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1983, 4. Translated by Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age* (Kassel: Edition Reishenberger, 1988), 11.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the dissertation I use the adjective “Andalusí” in relation to al-Andalus (Islamic-ruled territory in medieval Iberia), and “Andalusian” in relation to the region that has now come to be known as Andalusia. “al-Andalus” and all derivations are anglicized and therefore do not require accents.

<sup>3</sup> The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* belong to a repertory of lyrical songs written in Galician-Portuguese, the poetic language of Peninsular troubadour culture in the thirteenth century. The songs were composed and compiled at the

penitential rituals of the Inquisition and Holy Week, and performances by Amerindians brought by Hernán Cortés to Seville in the early sixteenth century. Separate chapters are devoted to each main topic and a preview of each is provided below. Theatre scholars have examined none of these subjects, and in the following pages I offer an explanation for this lack of attention by summarizing certain historiographic and disciplinary trajectories in the academy.

Through the first half of the twentieth century, medieval theatre historiography was a positivist venture that, for the most part, had restricted itself to textual evidence of liturgies and tropes that prefigured the later “blossoming” of Renaissance drama. In contrast to the study of the theatre of the Spanish Golden Age, little work has been done on Iberian performance prior to the Salamanca school of dramatists and Lope de Rueda in the sixteenth century. It has been over fourteen years since an English-language volume on medieval Iberian theatre has been published, over twenty years since the publication of a Spanish-language monograph or collection,<sup>4</sup> and as far as I am able to discern not a single dissertation on medieval Iberian theatre has emerged from a performance studies or theatre Ph.D. program in the United States over the last twenty-five years, if ever at all. Since 1999, a handful of dissertations from history, romance languages, Spanish, and comparative literature programs have included theatrical subjects,<sup>5</sup>

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court of King Alfonso X and are conserved in four manuscripts, three of which are illuminated. The Cantigas are composed of 420 poems, 356 of which are narratives about miracles performed by the Virgin Mary. The rest are *cantigas de loores* (songs of praise) and Marian festival songs. Most editors of Cantigas volumes choose to leave the word “Maria” in the title unaccented; the “i” is unaccented in the original manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996) and Ana M. Álvarez Pellitero, *Teatro medieval* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, S.A., 1990).

<sup>5</sup> From 1996 to present, no doctoral projects on Spanish theatre—medieval or otherwise—have been listed in *Theatre Journal*. “Medieval” doctoral projects are subcategorized by the *Journal* beneath the heading “England.” The *Dissertation Abstracts* on-line database contains the following Ph.D. theses in the United States from 1996 to present. None of these comes out of a performance studies program but each deals in part with an aspect of medieval Iberian performance: William Egginton, “Theatricality and Presence: A Phenomenology of Space and Spectacle in Early Modern France and Spain” (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford University, Dept. of Comparative Literature, 1999); Ellen Cressman Frye, “The Development and Function of Dramatic Devices from Medieval to Golden Age Drama” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, Dept. of Romance Languages, 1998); Lucas A. Marchante-Aragón, “Ritual and Performance in Spanish Royal Festivals from 1400 to 1700” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania,

which suggests that medieval Iberian theatre may, in fact, be of greater interest to scholars outside of its “home” discipline.

A primary cause for this historiographic void has to do with the dominance of philology in Spanish universities throughout the twentieth century, which had the effect of stifling political and non-literary approaches to the history of Spanish culture and society.<sup>6</sup> As a result, medieval studies concentrated on texts in manuscripts, while other artifacts and subjects—manuscript illuminations, religious space, devotional art and reliquary, liturgy, human geography, material culture, gender, and theatre—were placed under a heading of “medievalism” and put aside.<sup>7</sup> Another major cause is the comparative lack of textual evidence for extraliturgical elements, biblical plays, and processional enactments in Castile. Catalonia’s archives, in contrast, have produced an abundance of documentary evidence of performances devoted to celebrations from the entire Christian calendar, and the sharp differences between the Castilian and Catalan records are elucidated by the unique geographic, political, and ecclesiastic histories of each Iberian kingdom. However, there is a good deal of evidence for non-liturgical performance in

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Dept. of Romance Languages, 2001); and Francisco Prado-Vilar, “In the Shadow of the Gothic Idol: the Cantigas de Santa Maria and the Imagery of Love and Conversion” (Ph.D. Diss., Dept. of the History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> The influence of eminent philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal in this regard cannot be underestimated. A ‘school’ of philology at the University of Madrid was founded in 1910, specializing in the study of the medieval origins of Spanish literature and language. Gonzalo Pasamar, *Apologia and Criticism: Historians and History of Spain, 1500-2000* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 127-28.

<sup>7</sup> Referencing Kathleen Biddick, Simon Doubleday writes that a history of silencing among medievalists responded “to the unacknowledged trauma of that late Victorian violence that forcibly segregated past and present, history and theory, (professional) medieval studies from (lay) medievalism. This trauma...is intimately entwined with the reality of imperial violence, and with a professional economy in which political silence came to pay.” Simon R. Doubleday, “‘Criminal non-intervention’: Hispanism, Medievalism, and the Pursuit of Neutrality,” in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of the Past*, ed. Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 7.

medieval Christian Castile, and, as Ronald Surtz points out, more recent discoveries reveal cracks in the argument that Castile lacked Latin or liturgical traditions.<sup>8</sup>

Old misconceptions about medieval Spanish theatre die hard, however, a fact made no less confounding by standard textbooks on theatre history. David Wiles's chapter in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, entitled "Theatre in Roman and Christian Europe," contains a single sentence regarding medieval Spain: "In Spain [and] in Spanish colonies... drama in the medieval style continued to be performed well into the seventeenth century."<sup>9</sup> Other than implying medieval backwardness in early modern Spanish empires, Wiles does not provide a single example or description of Catalonian, Galician, Castilian or Andalusian "style" of performance prior to the seventeenth century. Oscar Brockett's widely used *History of the Theatre* is more generous with examples, but here generalization leads to elision. Brockett writes that "in Spain (except the northern part which had been liberated about 800) the Muslim occupation prevented the spread of drama there," which is true only if one is seeking extensive evidence of liturgical drama, while ignoring the twelfth-century *Auto de Reyes Magos*, Gómez Manrique's fifteenth-century *representações*, lyrical poetry and song, dance, mock battles, mummings, festivals, tableaux, court entertainments, and royal entries in cities across the Peninsula.<sup>10</sup> Also misleading is the idea that Muslim occupation stymied the spread of drama, since Muslim-held cities in Castile fell to Christian forces as early as the eleventh century, and the thirteenth century saw the greatest Christian gains in territory from Muslim dynastic rulers. As early as the eleventh century, the suppression of the Mozarabic rite in Muslim cities

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<sup>8</sup> See Ronald Surtz, "Spain: Catalan and Castilian Drama" in *The Theatre of Medieval Europe: New Research in Early Drama*, ed. Eckehard Simon, 189-206 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>9</sup> David Wiles, "Theatre in Roman and Christian Europe," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, ed. John Russell Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 92.

<sup>10</sup> Oscar Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, *History of the Theatre*, 9<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003), 78.

coincided with the entry of the Roman rite in Castile by way of Cluny, and “there is no reason to oppose the view that it was introduced with the Reconquest.”<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the widely held perception that the practice of Islam was the principal cause for the lack of a medieval Castilian performance tradition may, in time and with further research, prove to be wrong. Evidence that Muslims freely participated in the festivals of Christian Mozarabic communities under Islamic rule suggests not only religious tolerance of performance but collaboration as well.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from a few important examples, the medieval academy has been no less desultory in its historical and critical work on medieval Iberian theatre. In part this has to do with the fact that prior generations of medieval theatre scholars used modern conceptual criteria (rubrication, narrative plot, dialogue, and impersonation) in an attempt to locate textually “dramatic” material in the medieval archive. The foundational works of Wickersham Crawford, Richard Donovan, Pamela King, José María Díez Borque, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, N. D. Shergold, Ronald Surtz, Carmen Torroja Menéndez, María Rivas Palá, and Francis Very have been indispensable in opening up the Spanish medieval archive to theatre scholars.<sup>13</sup> However valuable, their accounts of Corpus Christi processions, liturgical performance, Peninsular troubadour culture, and festival enactments often bind the evidence within generic boundaries that do little to explain the social purposes and outcomes of performance. Needed are new approaches that no longer judge the value of evidence according to the extent to which it prefigured the seventeenth-century *comedia*. Likewise, outside of a handful of new, important monographs and essay collections

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<sup>11</sup> Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 17.

<sup>12</sup> Reinhart Dozy and Francis Griffin Stokes, *Spanish Islam: A History of the Moslems in Spain* (Whitefish, Mont.: Kessinger Publishing, 2003), 483.

<sup>13</sup> My “Iberian Theatre and Performance” provides an annotated bibliography for these and a number of new pieces of scholarship from a range of disciplines. Christopher Swift, “Iberian Theatre and Performance,” *Medieval Studies: Oxford Bibliographies Online*. Oxford University Press, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (2012), <http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0008.xml>.

that represent an emerging interdisciplinary trend in medieval literature and book culture, performance and performative aspects of medieval narrative and epic poetry have been ignored by medievalists working in Spanish history.<sup>14</sup> This is despite the very plain fact that, as Evelyn Birge Vitz states, “[i]t is through live performance of some kind that most men and women knew, experienced, and appreciated the works contained in manuscripts.... [P]rivate reading was rare, silent reading almost non-existent.”<sup>15</sup>

The scant amount of recent work being done on liturgical, festival, and court performances in medieval Iberia comes from scholars working outside of theatre studies—in comparative literature, religious studies, gender studies, history, and art history. In these cases, however, the performance act itself is not the central focus and is generally understood as a kind of by-product of manuscript or literary culture, political necessity, or religious discourse; *how* narratives, liturgies, lyric poetry, and other texts were staged is, in these cases, of secondary importance. To sum up the discussion so far, it is fair to say that medieval Iberian performance has been subjected to triple marginalization by the very historians obliged to shepherd the discipline: medieval, Iberian, and performance studies scholars.

Things are beginning to change. Scholars Michel Kobialka, Pamela Sheingorn, and Carol Symes, among others, have reshaped the field of medieval theatre to include a wider range of public acts, including “representational practices,” “spectatorship,” jongleur performance, mock battles, festivals, tableaux, and royal processions.<sup>16</sup> Contemporary scholars are more

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<sup>14</sup> For example, see my annotations to Manuel Criado de Val, Denise Filios, David Wacks, and Susan Verdi Webster. *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Evelyn Birge Vitz, “Variegated Performance of Aucassin et Nicolette,” in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France: Essays in Honor of Nancy Freeman Regalado*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger, and E. Jane Burns (Woodbridge, U.K. and Rochester, N.Y.: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 235.

<sup>16</sup> See especially Michal Kobialka, *This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in*

likely to “acknowledge that the distinction hitherto posited between plays and other such [medieval] texts is practically meaningless” as they examine practices set in their specific times and locales.<sup>17</sup> Without these critical moves, the conception and execution of the work to which I have committed myself would not have been possible. Medieval theatre scholarship is now more rigorously contextualized, analyzing performances for social, political, spiritual, and performative meanings within specific medieval communities, broadening the horizon of scholarship by making available to it a more heterogeneous and larger archive.

By analyzing a variety of performance practices in late medieval Seville and linking these to specific performative operations and cultural negotiations within the multicultural city, this dissertation contributes to the general effort to pull the field of medieval Iberian theatre out of a relative “dark ages” of critical historiography. Despite a notable lack of attention to medieval Iberian theatre from the academy, a golden age of performance existed in Castile—and in Seville especially—prior to the European Renaissance.

Of all the cities on the Peninsula, medieval and early modern Seville (under Islamic and Christian rule) was distinctly heterogeneous in terms of religion, nationality, ethnicity, language, and the arts. Seville’s geographical location contributed to a multiculturalism that is evident in the variety of the city’s performance practices and spaces. As with other medieval Iberian cities with long histories of Muslim and Christian rulership, Seville was, to varying degrees, a city of religious coexistence and conflict, containing autonomous parishes as well as integrated sectors of social life among Jews, Muslims, and Christians. Located at the nexus of Extremadura,

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*Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); Carol Symes, “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater,” *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778-831; Marilyn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan’s Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); and Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Symes, “Early Vernacular Plays,” 782.

Castile, and al-Andalus, Muslim Seville fell to Fernando III's armies during the most active period of Christian *Reconquista* (Reconquest)<sup>18</sup> and Peninsular realignment. Although nearly two hundred and fifty years separate the Christian victory at Seville in 1248 and Christopher Columbus's 1492 "discovery," the story of Iberian conquest in the southern Peninsula in the intervening time is far from moribund. Conquest and colonization in other parts of Iberia, in northern Africa, and of the Canary Islands were crucial developments that contributed to Seville's social character prior to New World encounters.

Under Christian rule during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, Seville was a colonial city of intellectual interdependence, migrations, and resettlements. This social situation fostered interest among the Christian community in the "exotic": thirteenth-century Iberian miniaturists painted an incredible range of animals, fauna, landscapes, architectures, and peoples from unfamiliar places around the Mediterranean rim. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal argues that in Seville especially there was a distinct interest in non-Iberian artifacts due to the "multi-national" composition of the community, most notably the influx of Genoese from the thirteenth century onward.<sup>19</sup> The *Primera crónica general de España* (1289) of Alfonso X and Sancho IV (King of Castile, Galicia, and León 1284-1295) documents awareness that Seville's geographical location

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<sup>18</sup> *Reconquista* is a controversial term in Iberian studies, some scholars arguing that the term should be put into disuse. The argument goes that *Reconquista* was not in use at any time during the gradual rise of Christian hegemony on the Peninsula and that an attempt to connect the events of 711, when Berber and Muslim forces overcame Visigothic Iberia, to Christian victories, from the eleventh century through the conquest of Granada, is to make claims without historical basis. However, I have been convinced by Joseph O'Callaghan's argument that despite these gaps, the whole of the Christian effort against the Muslims on the Peninsula was underwritten by a persistent discourse of crusade and Visigothic triumphalism: medieval Christians believed that the purpose for waging war against the Muslims was to repossess territories they believed had been lost to them centuries earlier. Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> "De resulta, en Sevilla [del siglo XIII] había calles de portugueses, genoveses, pisanos, venecianos, lombardos, franceses, ingleses, alemanes y flamencos." (As a result, in Seville [in the thirteenth century] there were streets of Portuguese, Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, Lombards, French, English, German and Flemish.) Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *La España del siglo XIII: leída en imágenes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1986), 293. The influx of Genoese Mediterranean commercial culture, which included trade in oranges and wine, and gold from North Africa, was essential for the successful development of Seville as a port of trade. M. González Jiménez, "Genoveses en Sevilla (siglos XII-XV)," in *La presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV-XVIII* (Sevilla, 1985), 115-30.

and proximity to maritime trade routes (the “town to which the ships of the sea come up the river every day”) contributed to the city’s uniquely heterogeneous culture.<sup>20</sup> From the mid-fourteenth century through the early modern period, Seville was marked by periods of plague, ethnic violence, and religious conversion and expulsion. Early modern Seville, described by Luís de Góngora as the “*Gran Babilonia de España*” (Great Babylon of Spain),<sup>21</sup> benefited economically and strategically from its location on the Guadalquivir River, making it the most active urban center for Mediterranean commerce and trade, and from the mid-fifteenth century the gateway to new European exploration in the Atlantic world. The city’s fluid and complex cultural landscape was continually (re)constructed as Muslims, Jews, Christians, Castilians, Aragonese, Genoese, Andalusí, Africans, European foreigners, and peoples from the New World managed their livelihoods, introducing new performance forms into the thriving city. The tremendous energy spent by ecclesiastics, royal courts, trade guilds, and charitable confraternities in constructing a centuries-long culture of performance can be explained, to a large degree, by the city’s unique position within a network of cultural and religious exchange and negotiation.

Seville was a city with a highly performative culture. A few examples will give the reader an idea of the richness of performance in medieval Seville. Under Islamic rule (712-1248) Seville came to be known as a center of musical knowledge and production that contributed to aspects of religious, royal, and social life.<sup>22</sup> Abbad III, al-Mu’tamid ‘ala Allah (King of Seville, 1069-1091) and his son ‘Ubayd Allah al-Rashid were great patrons of the arts, and an active network of exchange was maintained between Baghdad and Seville, the latter

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<sup>20</sup> “villa a quien el navio del mar le viene por el río todos los días.” Alfonso X, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, and Sancho, IV, *Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), 769.

<sup>21</sup> Luís de Góngora, quoted in Francisco Rodríguez Marín, *Miscelánea de Andalucía* (Madrid: Editorial Páez, 1927), 11.

<sup>22</sup> S. M. Imamuddin. *Muslim Spain, 711-1492 A.D: A Sociological Study* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 33; 204-05.

surpassing Baghdad as the hub of musical industry and export in the eleventh century.<sup>23</sup> This cultural tradition would not disappear in the post-conquest period. Under the patronage of Alfonso X, production of lyric poetry and music became an important site for cross-cultural exchange. After Urban IV extended the feast of the Corpus Christi to the whole Church in 1264 in the bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo*, Seville's records document a very early celebration of the feast, in 1282.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the medieval period and beyond, civic, Holy Week, and Corpus Christi processions were essential aspects of Sevillian life. Seville was also the first Spanish city to institute the Inquisition, which conducted a procession of the *auto da fé* in 1481. The city was an important, early center of print culture in Europe, and Fernando Rojas's *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (commonly known as *The Celestina*) benefited from a number of early printings in Seville.<sup>25</sup> Lope de Rueda himself was born in Seville in 1520, and by mid-century his troupe was performing *autos sacramentales* there.

What set late medieval and early modern performance in Seville apart from other Iberian cities with vibrant traditions of performance—such as Toledo, Murcia, Majorca, Barcelona, Valencia, and Elche—was the character of performative restitution present in its particularly energetic, insistent, and often violent processions and ceremonies. The material losses and cultural displacement in Seville that rematerialized in performances were especially dynamic, even for Iberian standards. A number of historical traumas, each of which was responded to in

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 185. A great variety of instruments were played in Islamic al-Andalus, including the cithern, pandore, reed-pipe, qithara, rabeb, lute, and tambor.

<sup>24</sup> Francis George Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession* (Valencia: Editorial Castalia, 1962), 4-6. Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century *alumnos de coros* were sung responsories and versicles that were incorporated into the Sevillian Corpus Christi procession.

<sup>25</sup> *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* was originally published by the printer Fadrique de Basilea in Burgos in 1499. Some scholars question the dating of the Burgos edition and consider the version published in 1500 in Toledo to be the first. *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* contains sixteen acts and a copy is conserved in the Hispanic Society of New York. In 1501 Stanislao Polono printed a similar edition in Seville. Polono may have been the printer of the next edition published in 1502 with an additional five acts, bringing the total to twenty-one acts. This edition, printed in Seville, is entitled *Libro de Calixto y Melibea y de la Puta Vieja Celestina*, and a copy is held in the British Museum.

the performing arts community, are exemplary. First, when the *Libros de Repartimiento*<sup>26</sup> were issued after Christian conquest in 1248, nearly the entire Muslim community migrated to rural communities beyond Seville's walls, many more fleeing to Muslim Granada. This sudden absence destabilized the economic and social life of the city. Next, widespread violence against Jews in the city in 1391 inaugurated a rise of a persecuting society and set off a terrible chain of destructive anti-Jewish riots across the Peninsula. The Catholic Monarchs, Fernando II (King of Aragón, 1479-1516) and Isabel (Queen of Castile and León, 1469-1504), chose Seville as the site to inaugurate the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The inquisitorial trials and executions that followed, culminating in the expulsion of Jews in 1492 and Muslims a decade later, created a scene of nearly unmanageable social crisis. Throughout the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the demographic profile of Seville drastically altered as new peoples and wealth poured into the city. An influx of foreign merchants, soldiers, sailors, royal administrators, mendicants and preachers, Protestants fleeing persecution elsewhere, gypsies, vagabonds, international performers, and African slaves joined an already diverse group of Christians and converted Jews and Muslims. The social heterogeneity that was particular to Seville created a scene of anxiety that found its expression in the ornate, dynamic Christian calendar festivals, some of the most spectacular on the Peninsula. Finally, fundamental challenges to Christian ontology during the period of discovery required specific performance responses of their own. Rituals of imperialism and conversion, and performances of religious identity—contained in books, bodies, voices, and sacred spaces—are linked to these moments of trauma and disruption.

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<sup>26</sup> *Libros de Repartimiento* were legal instruments used by the Christian conquerors for resettling and redistributing lands previously occupied by Muslims. A repartimiento was implemented in Seville in 1291 and the instrument was used throughout the remainder of the medieval period and during the conquest of Granada in 1492. Olivia Remie Constable, *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 228.

My initial assumption that the combined facts of *cultural diversity* and *imperial discourses* in Seville contributed to producing fascinating and distinctive cultures of performance was eventually supported in research. From medieval Reconquista to New World discovery and colonization, Seville developed into a military, administrative, mercantile, and imperial center, and these facts helped fashion the unique and compelling performance forms practiced there. Seville's centuries-long traditions of festivals and public ceremonies that commemorate Christian conquest have contributed to the construction of the city's imperial identity. Performance in Seville was unique in the ways it managed interreligious and transnational relations; it was a vital site of theatrical culture where acts of cooperation and conflict between Muslims, Jews, and Christians were staged.<sup>27</sup> The theatrical and ritual subjects of this dissertation are born of the tensions, negotiations, suppressions, and resistances brought about by coexistence in a frontier city.

Across three centuries, two historio-religious characters resided at the center of Seville's performance culture: the relics and statues of the Christian conqueror Fernando III and the *Virgen de los Reyes* (Figure X.1), articulating statue of the Virgin Mary and Child. As they are today, ancient festivals celebrating the thirteenth-century king and his sacred automaton were focused around the inner sanctum of *La Catedral de Santa María la Sede* (Cathedral of Saint Mary of the See), the *capilla real* (royal chapel), constituting a constant and powerful presence in the performative life of the city. King Fernando and the patron saint of the city were ubiquitous presences during Seville's translation and saint's day celebrations, functioning as mnemonic touchstones that united the entire outdoor performance culture of Seville with pervasive themes of militaristic and spiritual empire.

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<sup>27</sup> Outside the Islamic kingdom of Granada, between 1264 and 1511 two of the three most important Muslim communities in Christian Spain existed in Seville's jurisdiction. Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), xvi.



**Figure X.1**

*Virgen de los Reyes and the Relic of San Fernando III  
Capilla Real, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*

The three historical performance subjects of this thesis—the Cantigas de Santa Maria, penitential procession, and imported Amerindian ritual—are generically distinct, however they were all performative methods for navigating complex fields of social difference. Physical and musical realizations of the Cantigas enabled the post-conquest community to come to terms with the loss of its Muslim component by revivifying pre-conquest artistic traditions. At the same time, the songs set a scene for the conversion experience by delineating religious boundaries. In the late medieval period, the public display of corporal pain during Passion Week mimetically rehearsed the spectacle of punishment and sacrifice of the auto da fé, allowing the hegemonic Christian community to imaginatively occupy the space of the other; penitential processions provided its performers with a ritual form that suggested the suffering of persecuted non-Christians. Finally, as the horizon of the Spanish empire expanded westward in the period of Atlantic exploration, the terrible sense of Christian absence from newly “discovered” places was performatively recovered in spectacles of otherness in Seville. Artifacts and humans from the New World were trafficked through the city on display, and by recalling familiar processions of relics and kings, the theatricalization of Amerindian ritual and entertainment attempted to close the widening chasm between imperial ideology and the experience and imagination of the unfamiliar. These ceremonies, spectacles, games, and quasi-liturgical processions were all methods of compensating for social imbalances, erecting and crossing religious divisions, and facilitating colonial admixtures.

The chapters of the dissertation are organized chronologically, although there is substantial overlap. It is important to point out that different eras of Sevillian history are not typologically coded to reflect distinct breeds of colonial interaction. Species of performances and performative effects emerged, faded, and reemerged throughout the later Middle Ages,

reinvigorating memories of historical ideals through which present identities were negotiated and formed. The period of time under consideration begins with the fall of the Muslim caliphate in 1248 and continues through the early Renaissance, to 1575. Although most of the theatrical forms discussed here were performed well into seventeenth century, 1575 marks a crucial development in Spanish performing arts in Seville because it was the year of the first recorded performance in a *corral*, by the touring *commedia dell'arte* entrepreneur Zan Ganassa. The occasion did not lack controversy, and attempts were made to cancel performances, apparently with little effect.<sup>28</sup> The advent of the corral transformed the social lives of audiences and performers in the late sixteenth century, and so I end the dissertation at this moment in theatrical history.

The bulk of evidence that I have found of interfaith and intercultural performance in the Sevillian contact zone exists in two material forms: the bodies of performers and the city spaces that contain, shape, and narratively inform these corporal entities. Somatic and spatial metaphors serve as interpretive frames through which historical objects are analyzed. My approach to the analysis of body effects and corporal memory is inextricably bound to a coordinated analysis of theatrical spaces through which bodies moved, and a spatial logic structures this study.<sup>29</sup> The

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<sup>28</sup> “La compañía de Ganassa representaba, según Pellicer, comedias italianas, la mayor parte mímicas y bufonescas, de asuntos triviales, figurando en ellas el Arlequín, el Pantalone y el Dotore.... lo acontecido en Sevilla durante su estancia en el año 1575, en que, habiendo dado en el mes de Junio algunas representaciones en el antiguo corral de *Don Juan*, fué tal el número de espectadores, sobre todo de gente del pueblo, que D. Melchor Maldonado, Veinticuatro, y Baltasar de Aguilar, Jurado y Mayordomo del Cabildo de Jurados, pidieron á la Ciudad negase el permiso para estas representaciones.” (The company of Ganassa staged, according to Pellicer, Italian comedies, for the most part mimic and clownish, of trivial subjects, featuring Arlecchino, Pantalone, and the Doctor.... [D]uring their stay in Seville in 1575, in which, there having been performances in the old corral of *Don Juan* in the month of June, such was the number of spectators, especially of people of the town, that D. Melchor Maldonado, XXIV, and Baltasar de Aguilar, Magistrate and Majordomo of the Town Council of Judges, asked the City to deny permission for these performances.) José Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes á los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1898), 48-49. See Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909), 47, for a translated letter from Ganassa from the same year. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

<sup>29</sup> Stanton Garner mentions the irony in the fact that phenomenology of performance often relies on textual evidence to the exclusion of all other forms: “It may appear surprising to some that a study concerned with the

chapters chart a sequential evolution of performance space from micro to macro topography: the Cantigas de Santa Maria were likely performed inside the capilla real, and then through the following decades, processional activities expanded into the naves of the cathedral, the streets of Seville, past the stations of the cross and places of execution outside the city walls, and finally, in the sixteenth century, within a network of pilgrimage and translation routes from the Atlantic seaboard through Andalusia and Extremadura. The unifying, centralizing theatrical space for all the subjects is La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, a converted Almohad Friday mosque until 1401, when the massive religious structure was almost completely razed and construction began on a new cathedral. The Gothic cathedral, the largest in Europe when measured in cubic meters, took nearly a century to complete. Few reminders of the eleventh-century mosque survived; however, three Islamic architectural features are significant: the central open air patio once used by Islamic worshippers to wash themselves prior to entering the mosque (*Patio de los Naranjos*); the main door to the Patio (*Puerto de Perdón*) (Figure X.2); and the bottom three quarters of *La Giralda*, a minaret that was the tallest man-made structure in Seville for centuries (Figure X.3).<sup>30</sup>

The arguments put forward in the thesis are supported by a heterogeneous archive. Analyses of the Cantigas de Santa Maria rely on the surviving manuscripts of the CSM, archeological information about the central mosque/cathedral (destroyed in 1400), the thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas*, Islamic poetry and books on engineering, and early chronicles of the

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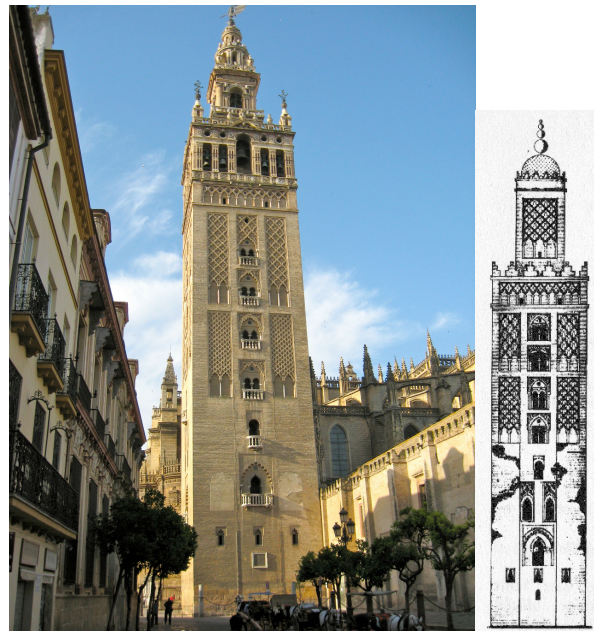
phenomenological parameters of theatrical performance should conduct its investigation largely in reference to the dramatic text, that prescriptive artifact whose traditionally literary authority contemporary performance theory has sought to overthrow.” Stanton B. Garner, Jr., *Bodied Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), 5.

<sup>30</sup> For the sake of clarity, when referring to the eleventh-century Almohad mosque prior to Christian conversion in 1248, I use the terms *masjid jami'* or Friday mosque. When referring to the mosque structure after it was dedicated to Santa María de la Sede in 1248, and before the structure was leveled in 1401, I use the term mosque/cathedral or *La Mezquita* (or “The Mosque,” as it has been called by members of all faiths since). When discussing the fifteenth-century Gothic cathedral that was built in its place, I use the terms *La Catedral* or, simply, the cathedral. Historically speaking, the term *La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede* was used for both *La Mezquita* and the newer Gothic structure.



**Figure X.2**

*Puerta del Perdón, Almohad and Renaissance, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*



**Figure X.3**

*La Giralda* (Almohad 1198, belfry 1560-68), *Catedral de Santa María de la Sede*, Seville (Gothic, fifteenth century). Wall on right is remnant from original Almohad *mezquita*.  
Inset: drawing of original minaret from the *masjid jami'* of Seville (1198)

kings of Castile. The CSM manuscripts contain a great deal of performance information about music, notation, staging, instrumentation, and methods of transcription, some of which has been explored in a massive CSM bibliography. However, my own theatrical intervention into the study of thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese song culture has few precedents, and I have only scratched the surface in this regard. The performative manifestations of songs of the *Cantigas* would not be nearly as revealing and detailed without the available anatomical information on the statute of the *Virgen de los Reyes*. The municipal, confraternity, and archbishopric archives of Seville offer a generous amount of evidence on liturgical processions, songs, and dances, civic festivals, penitential rituals, and architecture. Ecclesiastic rules and prohibitions from the early sixteenth century forward also suggest theatrical activities that attracted the scrutiny of the Church, and the records of the Inquisition are still the most important source of information on the processions of the *auto da fé*. As many medieval European theatre historians have done in the past, I contextualize surviving evidence with general knowledge about Islamic, Christian, and Jewish devotional, liturgical, and performance traditions.

### ***Chapter One: Phenomenology of Coexistence***

In order to accomplish the goals of this project I conduct a critical intervention into a particular intertextual node between performance studies (which already offers unique and multidisciplinary approaches) and Iberian historiography. Any approach to the subject of Iberian performance in the Middle Ages must, in some way, navigate the most influential historiographical paradigm at play in the field of medieval Iberian studies in the last thirty years: *convivencia* (“living together”). *Convivencia* outlines an ongoing culture of cooperation and conflict between the three religious communities of medieval Iberia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians. For the purposes of this study, I employ the term as a heuristic tool that may help to shed light on intercultural and interreligious performance forms. I do so with caution, however.

As I argue in the first chapter, the claim that *convivencia* can be used to describe a pervasive, uniform culture or form of social contract is fallacious.

Bringing performance into this conversation has led to an interdisciplinary approach that engages critical methods of postcolonialism, ritual affect, and phenomenology. Chapter one develops a methodological frame consisting of the coextensive relationships between textual, spatial, and corporal forms, and the ways in which these interactions gave meaning to public devotional practices and communal identities. The term I have given to the particular conceptual lens I use to analyze the performance subjects of chapters two, three, and four is “phenomenology of coexistence.” A theory of colonial performance and a critical portal for entering a history of social cognition and religious cohabitation, phenomenology of coexistence reveals the performative dynamics among groups of Sevillian Christians, Jews, Muslims, Africans, and native peoples of the Atlantic.

### ***Chapter Two: The Cantigas de Santa Maria and Performative Reorientation of the Sevillian Colony***

In Chapter Two I analyze the performative aspects of the Alfonso X’s *Cantigas de Santa Maria* as they were staged in devotional, sensual, and symbolic terms. The extant manuscripts that contain the songs are illuminated poetic compilations in which the thirteenth-century king of Castile and León praises the Virgin Mary through the language of courtly love. Joseph O’Callaghan and other medieval Iberian scholars have convincingly argued that the *Cantigas* were written to be performed at court and after Alfonso’s death in the Cathedral of Seville.<sup>31</sup> One intervention into *Cantigas* studies that I make here is to consider the staging of the songs in

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<sup>31</sup> Alfonso requested that “*todos los libros de los Cantares de loor de Sancta Maria sean todos en aquella iglesia do nuestro cuerpo se enterrare, e que los fagan cantar en las fiestas de Sancta Maria*” (all the books of the songs of praise of Holy Mary should all be [kept] in that church where our body will be interred, and that they should have them sung on the feasts of Holy Mary). Alfonso X, in Manuel Gonzalez Jimenez, *Diplomatario Andaluz de Alfonso X* (Seville: El Monte, 1991), 560, fn. 521.

theatrical spaces, in particular the converted Almohad Friday Mosque of Seville. The fact that Christian practices were staged in a spatial retrospective of Muslim culture relates to a central research question in the chapter: to what degree was a Muslim presence revealed in the performances of songs?

There are a number of Muslim components to the *Cantigas* that are accentuated when the lyrics and music are lifted from the parchment and enter a performative space. Illuminations capture multicultural performance of Muslim and Christian musicians with instruments endemic to pre-conquest Andalusí culture.<sup>32</sup> The lyrics are written in medieval Galician-Portuguese, the preferred vernacular of Iberian troubadours at that time, and in a verse form derived from Arabic (*zajal*). Moors are also the subject of a number of *Cantigas*, where they are constructed as religious others and offered up as ideal candidates for conversion. The mother of Jesus, the protagonist and object of adoration in Alfonso's vast collection of poems and songs, is a venerated figure in the Qur'an, and I argue that she performed the role of spiritual mediator and intercultural agent of non-coercive conversion in the songs.<sup>33</sup> Bodies, spaces, and voices of the Islamic past haunt the performance of a text that vacillates between portraits of Muslims as infidels and as people capable of Christian conversion. The songs are thus ambivalently situated between fields of opposing discourses. Alfonso's illustrated "guidebook" for spiritual performance does not represent a move towards erasure of difference, but rather, from a particularly Christian point of view, an attempt to ease tensions between two religious groups

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<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that illuminations are not documentary in intention and must be used with care as evidence of actual practice. At the very least, however, the *Cantigas* illuminations suggested to users of the manuscript staging and musical possibilities.

<sup>33</sup> In the *Siete Partidas* Alfonso makes it clear that Christians should not endeavor to convert Moors by violent means but that conversions should be performed "voluntarily and without coercion..." Part. VII, Tit. XXV, law II. Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las Siete Partidas*, ed. Robert I. Burns, trans. Samuel Parsons Scott, 5 vols. (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), vol. 5, 1438-39.

that were, in the not-too-distant past, mortal enemies. Alfonso's vast collection of Marian poems was a form of appropriation that welcomed variegation.

### ***Chapter Three: Penance, Conversion, and Affective Convivencia***

In the *City of God*, Augustine speculates that even monstrous races and bi-gendered groups, alternating in their sexual practice between "begetting and conceiving," all fit into God's order.<sup>34</sup> The whole of Christian selfhood was composed of diverse parts in his concept of *via negativa* (negative way), a condition required in order to achieve completeness, which helped to define Augustine's own process of spiritual conversion. Augustine offers for the religious other a paradigm of conversion, specifically one that moves from carnality to esthetic reasoning. But, as many scholars have pointed out, Augustine was confronted with a difficult paradox since "even spiritual knowledge began in carnal images," some of which were drawn from his experiences at pagan theaters.<sup>35</sup> It was precisely this ambivalent tension between the body and spirit that circulated in the performances of religious conversion in late medieval Iberia.

Starting in 1391 when anti-Jewish violence ignited in Seville and spread across the Peninsula, conversions of Jews to Christianity increased markedly; the conversion movement among Muslims reached its apex after the unification of Christian kingdoms in the late fifteenth century. Christian anxieties about Jewish and Muslim corporality, however, were hardly diminished upon completion of the conversion rite. Steven Kruger writes that through medieval Christian thought ran a discourse in which "[e]ven as it is made to die, to disappear, Judaism comes to occupy our field of vision.... Jewishness is a *spectral* presence, strongly felt and yet

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<sup>34</sup> Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin, 1984), 661-62.

<sup>35</sup> Karl F. Morrison, "*I Am You*": *The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 141, and Saint Augustine, 2.4, 26. For Augustine's description of Terence, see *Confessions*, 1.16, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961).

just as strongly derealized.”<sup>36</sup> On the one hand, Jewish presence was an “Other who had guaranteed the integrity of Christendom by marking its exteriority,”<sup>37</sup> a corporal reminder of the incarnational moment of Christian history. On the other, the spectral Jew produced deep doubts about sincere Christian transformation, facilitated by underlying economic jealousies and community panic stemming from years of plague.<sup>38</sup>

Perceptions of resemblance and difference on the landscape of converso and morisco bodies created a need for specific kind of Christian performance characterized by interactive symbols: distinctive markers defining ethnic difference, and expressive stamps of humiliation that do penance for that very difference. New converts were made to continue a “conversion performance” of everyday life in Seville, which included dress codes, rites of intermarriage with “Old Christians,” and public acts of penance. The need to rid the Christian social body of a perceived corruptive otherness was entwined with ambivalent fantasies of corporal susceptibility and malleability that would eventually underwrite state-sanctioned mass baptisms and executions in Spain. Chapter Three examines processes of performative dematerialization of Jews from Sevillian society, from religious minorities held in a careful state of coexistence to phantasmagoric figures that imperiled the sanguine center of Christian life itself: the body of Christ as represented by the Roman Church and the consecrated Eucharist.

Converso identity construction operated within a pervasive performance culture of Eucharistic transformation, and the inauguration of the inquisition in 1480 in Seville coincided

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<sup>36</sup> Steven F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: (Dis)embodiment and the Dynamics of Medieval Jewish/Christian Interaction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xvi-xvii.

<sup>37</sup> Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), 119.

<sup>38</sup> About mid-fifteenth century Seville, Benzion Netanyahu writes “Seville lay at the heart of the area where the storm against the Marranos was raging, and its converso community was the largest and richest of all New Christian communities in Spain. As such it constituted the most coveted prize of the anti-Marrano faction. A violent strike against the Marranos in Seville... could shatter the position of the conversos everywhere and precipitate the destruction of their national influence.” Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 805.

with a steady elaboration of the Corpus Christi and Passion devotion in the city.<sup>39</sup> I examine conversion culture within the wider context of Eucharistic praxis and ideology, arguing that transformative social rituals vitally informed one another by providing an outline of Christian embodiment through which profanation and violation of the social body could be explored. In an era where Jews were dematerialized, penance and contrition expressed through *imitatio Christi* and rogation rituals *rematerialized* these identities in the guise of the real presence of Christ. I juxtapose the auto da fé and penitential processions in order to highlight the ways in which non-Christians publicly memorialized the death and resurrection of Christ through their painful and humiliating perambulations across the cityscape. Likewise, in the wake of the disappearance of Jews in Seville, their spectral presences haunted penitential processions of Passion Week, some of which flowed through the old Jewish quarters.

#### ***Chapter Four: Imperial Performance within the Economy of Medieval Relic Veneration***

The subjects of the fourth chapter are ritual acts, sport, and entertainments from the New World, performed by groups of Amerindians brought to Europe by the *conquistadores*. Although the details of these performances are sparse, the events were considered significant enough to be included in two prominent conquest chronicles.<sup>40</sup> In one performance, five

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<sup>39</sup> The first detailed description found among Sevillian records of the Corpus Christi procession is from the year 1454. There is evidence of the use of costumes in the procession in the records of the Cathedral of Seville from 1462. The inauguration of inquisition in Seville took place in 1481 and the first auto da fé was performed the same year. José Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes á los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1898), 4; N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times Until the End of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 97; and Jean Plaidy, *The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth and End* (Citadel, New York, 1967), 117.

<sup>40</sup> Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's chronicle of New World exploration, *De Orbe Novo*, is an account of the first contact between Europeans and Native Americans, commissioned by the Emperor Carlos V and published in 1530. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, 2 vols. (New York; London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912). Bernal Díaz del Castillo's often polemical account of the conquest was written decades after he served under Hernán Cortés in 1519: *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1632). *Facsimil de Manuel Porrúa, S.A.* (Librería, Mexico, 1977). As Rolena Adorno points out (and other critics agree), Bernal Díaz's account of the facts cannot be wholly trusted, since his *Historia* "can be characterized by what he hoped to achieve (royal recognition of his efforts, a comfortable life) while at the same time a set of attitudes, emerging at the royal court and its councils, confounded

Totonacs were “fashionably tailored and bejeweled in Seville before travelling to Valladolid.”<sup>41</sup>

In another extraordinary event, two Amerindians performed a re-creation of Aztec war and sacrifice for a private audience. Ritual violence was replaced by a “feigned” imitation of sacrifice and dismemberment. The eyewitness account makes it clear that the mock ritual was physicalized in great detail.<sup>42</sup> One wonders how an Aztec ritual once performed on monumental sacred temples for thousands of spectators was restaged for a small gathering of Europeans, and for what purpose.

My research suggests that the expanding Christian empire required that the presentation of strangeness and exotica be framed in familiar rituals of relic translation and royal itinerancy in order to legitimize the domination of resources in the Spanish colonies. Starting in the late fourteenth century, Christian encounters with Canary Island aborigines were vastly different from their contemporaneous experiences of Muslims and Jews. Spanish Christians and peoples of the Atlantic were ignorant of each other’s cultures and methods of warfare, and, without a familiar context within which to approach colonization, the Spanish needed to create a means of negotiating alterity. Ultimately, it was concluded that the “peoples of the Canaries and those of the Indies were not infidels because they were not guilty of rejecting Christ.”<sup>43</sup> Atlantic peoples were made to convert to Christianity but, unlike Iberian Muslims and Jews, they could not be

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and conflicted with those goals and required him to rationalize and justify his right to gain.” Rolena Adorno, “Bernal Díaz del Castillo: Soldier, Eyewitness, Polemicist,” in Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The History of the Conquest of New Spain*, ed. David Carrasco (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 397. Still, some of the details of Cortés’s return to Spain among Spanish noblemen and the royal personages may stand up to scrutiny since Bernal Díaz would not have sought to contradict in writing what the readers of his *Historia* witnessed for themselves. Indeed, the sources for his narrative of Cortés’s return to Spain likely relied on histories written prior to his own since he did not accompany Cortés on these trips.

<sup>41</sup> Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 175.

<sup>42</sup> Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 2, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1912), 195; 202-04.

<sup>43</sup> Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, “The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 3 (July 1993): 522.

enslaved due to their ontological exteriority to Christian sacred history. The medieval Iberian approach to colonization, based in ideologies of Reconquista, the rite of *Requirimiento*,<sup>44</sup> and repopulation of conquered territories, was shifting during the initial phases of Atlantic exploration and conquest to envelope the strange, but vastly exploitable, New World Amerindians. Here, in part, lies the performative outcome of staging Amerindians in Seville: the Spanish imperial project needed new discursive forms in order to legitimize the conversion movement, while simultaneously publicizing the riches of gold, silver, and exotic objects flowing from the New World. As Mary Gossy points out, “queerness is embedded in the fiction that is the building and maintenance of empire.”<sup>45</sup>

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Seville was the principal port of entry and dispatch for explorers, merchants, and military men of the Spanish empire, and the city was inundated with a flow of cultural artifacts, gold, and African and Moorish slaves entering its ports from the Mediterranean, African coast, Canary Islands, West Indies, and New Spain. In the context of a thriving mercantile system, I interpret these performances as ways of marketing the exploration of the New World with exotic images of wealth to the Sevillian population of sailors, merchants, and royal financiers.<sup>46</sup> Performances of ritual sacrifice and embodiments of Amerindian gods were overwritten by a narrative of bounty and repossession. During Spain’s imperial expansion westward, a terrible sense of Christian absence from newly discovered places

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<sup>44</sup> The frame and substance of the protocol of the Requirement can be traced to earlier medieval Islamic procedures on the battlefield in Muslim Spain. Later, during the Reconquista, Christian forces adopted the custom of tribute and demand for surrender. In the New World, the *requirimiento* statute justified the use of force by the conquistadores in cases where the Amerindians did not acknowledge the superiority of the Christian religion. Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70-74.

<sup>45</sup> Mary Gossy, “Uncannily Queer Iberia: The Past and Present of Imperial Panic,” *La coronica* 30, no. 1 (2001), 229.

<sup>46</sup> Felipe II witnessed mock battles between Europeans and “savages” in Binche in 1549, possibly containing imitations of elaborately adorned Incan dancers. In Rouen, a mock battle featured the sinking of a Portuguese ship by a French ship, representing the real-life tensions over trade with indigenous communities in which merchants of Rouen had a stake. Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 179-82.

was performatively reconciled as colonial artifacts and humans were trafficked through the city in a Barnum-like display of carnival difference. In the conclusion to the dissertation, the summary of guiding principles and theatrical subjects is framed in a brief conversation about the importance of Iberian medieval studies to the discipline of theatre.

Although the corpus of theatrical work in Seville in the three centuries between 1248 and 1575 is larger than the representative subjects of the dissertation, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, penitential processions, and Amerindian displays are bound together by a common performative action. As I explain in the following pages, these ritual theatres were all methods of social interaction that the citizens of the city used to negotiate religious coexistence and formulate community identities. In the next chapter I explicate the methodological approach I use to illuminate these performative acts.

## Chapter One Phenomenology of Coexistence

Consideration of intercultural relations and exchange within the medieval Iberian scene of religious and ethnic diversity has become *pro forma* in Iberian scholarship over the last few decades, productively invigorating Iberian historiography and bringing new and well-deserved attention from the academy to a heretofore-understudied European geography. Yet performance historians have not engaged *convivencia* in any extended or meaningful ways. There seems to be enormous analytical potential in enacting an interdisciplinary project involving performance studies and *convivencia*, but before I make the case for connections across fields, I briefly discuss particular genealogical strands within performance and *convivencia* studies that lend themselves to combination with one another.

Spanish historian Américo Castro elucidated the concept of *convivencia* in 1948 in order to reorient a conventional Iberian historiography that was, at the time, fixated on cultural difference and autonomy. Castro made a persuasive case for an Iberian past of religious cooperation and productive intercultural exchange, radically changing the direction of Iberian studies. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory Hutcheson have called Castro's intervention a "queering" of Iberian history by exposing the Semitic roots of the modern Spanish identity and 'outing' as the descendants of Jews or Muslims such icons as Fernando 'el Católico,' Teresa of Avila, and Cervantes."<sup>1</sup> Recent scholarship has critiqued and refined Castro's idealistic narrative of Iberian history. Without rehearsing the debate in detail here, it is fair to summarize that *convivencia* was a highly contingent form of social ordering and accommodation between various religious communities based on temporal and local vicissitudes. Lucy Pick identifies thirteenth-century *convivencia* at work in the polemics and policies of Archbishop Rodrigo of

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<sup>1</sup> Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson, "Introduction," *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Blackmore and Hutcheson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.

Toledo, “a cultural situation in which potential cooperation and interdependence in economic, social, cultural, and intellectual spheres coexist with the continued threat of conflict and violence.”<sup>2</sup> Recent art and architecture scholarship has evaluated cross-cultural transactions as they are revealed in hybrid artifacts and illuminations.<sup>3</sup> David Nirenberg stresses the economic foundations of *convivencia* in his influential study of violence in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Aragón and Catalonia, stating that “violence was not directed at strangers or at economically marginal groups occupying insignificant niches in local economies.... Attacker and victim alike were tightly bound in a wide variety of relations that enmeshed movements of violence and gave them meaning.”<sup>4</sup> As a concept built on the foundation of identity politics, *convivencia* has been further enriched by scholarship from gender and sexuality studies, which highlights concomitant formations of ethnicity, gender, and nationhood where “sex is explicitly bound up in the exercise of power....”<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, the debate is more than semantic: the stakes involved in (re)defining Spain’s history of religious (in)tolerance and intercultural negotiation are high. The rush to memorialize what is often depicted as a model of enlightened cultural coexistence, a historical analogy with the potential to inform contemporary religious interaction, has contributed to an

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<sup>2</sup> Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, eds. *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Braziller in association with the Jewish Museum, 1992); Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *La España del siglo XIII leída en imágenes*; Francisco Prado-Vilar, “In the Shadow of the Gothic Idol: The Cantigas de Santa Maria and the Imagery of Love and Conversion” (Ph.D. Diss., Dept. of the History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University, 2002); and Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>4</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 40.

<sup>5</sup> Blackmore and Hutcheson, “Introduction,” 11.

oversimplification of complex cultural interactions.<sup>6</sup> As Jonathan Ray points out, the Iberian history of coexistence “has been embraced and distorted by an ever-widening group of academics, journalists, and politicians” and this phenomenon “challenges historians of medieval Spain to return *convivencia* to its original context.”<sup>7</sup> Maya Soifer goes further, arguing that the term *convivencia* may have outlasted its use altogether.<sup>8</sup> To date, the lively debate has not resulted in a consensus in meaning and invites further critical encounters. I suggest that one way to take up the challenge of capturing the complexity of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian interaction, structures of power, and religious colonization without obliterating the exceptionality of Iberian medieval history is to examine living-togetherness as it was negotiated and experienced within the parameters of ritual and theatrical performance on the Peninsula.

What is revealed in the controversies cited above is how much *convivencia* describes not only artifacts of cultural hybridity but is itself a method of interaction, a performative operation, and a communal discourse on power, belief, and necessity. The fluctuation between productive exchange, strained coexistence, and violence was negotiated and actively realized through social rituals and public iterations of self and other. These performative strategies of survival often arose in order to stabilize relations during periods of social imbalance, reorganize shared spaces of faith, and produce moments of consent among divisive forces. As Catherine Bell puts it,

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<sup>6</sup> In her influential *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, María Rosa Menocal quite openly calls for a reevaluation of contemporary interreligious conversations in light of medieval Iberian models, valorizing “first rate” instances of interaction between Christians, Muslims, and Jews prior to 1492, while omitting many contemporaneous instances of oppression, violence, and intolerance between religious groups. Menocal, *Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002). For a keen critique of Menocal, see Denise Filios, “Expulsion from Paradise: Exiled Intellectuals and Andalusian Tolerance,” in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of History*, ed. Simon Doubleday and David Coleman, 91-113 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Jonathan Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval *Convivencia*,” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Maya Soifer, “Beyond *Convivencia*: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2009), 19-35.

“[r]itualization both implies and demonstrates a relatively unified corporate body, often leading participants to assume that there is more consensus than there actually is. It leads all to mistake minimal consent of its participants for an underlying consensus or lack of conflict....”<sup>9</sup> The intensely social aspect of public performance is a privileged site for expositions of cultural difference and interaction, creating “the illusion of a stable entity in the face of kaleidoscopic change, stimulated even more intensely by the multiple kinds of difference the peninsula offered.”<sup>10</sup> This is not to imply that interculturalism in medieval societies was only made available through a trick of theatrical façade.<sup>11</sup> However, in a number of instances, social performances facilitated the traversing of difficult divides and seemingly unworkable contradictions. Islamic, Jewish, and Christian performance cultures were not discrete or fixed entities; the abundant examples available of coexistence—in language, translation, architecture, juridical and institutional processes, and literary forms—were animated by flexible and adaptive categories of embodied iterations of difference and boundary-crossing rituals in the Iberian Middle Ages.

As the authors of *The Arts of Intimacy* write, Castilian culture developed “in a series of spaces—castles, cities, battlefields, courts, mosques, synagogues, and cloisters—spaces destroyed and redrawn scores of times over the centuries.”<sup>12</sup> According to this definition, then, the landscape of *convivencia* not only invited cultural fusion and religious accommodation, but it was also pockmarked with decimation and loss. The difference-making and persecutions that characterized early modern Iberia had precedents in medieval Reconquista and colonialism, and,

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<sup>9</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 210.

<sup>10</sup> Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *Arts of Intimacy*, 6.

<sup>11</sup> Different from the related concepts of pluralism and marginalism, “interculturalism has been a rubric to a cultural inclusiveness.” Daryl Chin, “Interculturalism, Postmodernism, Pluralism,” *Performing Arts Journal* 11, no. 3 (1989), 166.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

conversely, remnants of early convivencia persisted into the culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century nation-building and religious expulsion. Social performances were compensatory and played a crucial role in reclaiming the material and human losses from a previous age. In the bodies of ritual performers, memory entered the vacancies carved in the colonial landscape and traces of the other were retained through maintenance and citations of the past. Performance practices of surrogation arose after episodes of loss to occupy the ruptures left in the wake of religious persecution and human privation, to echo and memorialize the past and to enact both agentive forms of resistance and failed substitutes.<sup>13</sup> Joseph Roach writes:

...selective memory requires public enactments of forgetting, either to blur the obvious discontinuities, misalliances, and ruptures or, more desperately, to exaggerate them in order to mystify a previous Golden Age, now lapsed.... [T]he doomed search for originals by continuously auditioning stand-ins—is the most important of the many meanings that users intend when they say the word *performance*.<sup>14</sup>

Using surrogation as a lens to examine the Andalusí city of Seville, a city conquered and colonized throughout the ancient and medieval periods by Romans, Visigoths, Muslims, and Christians, we can observe a tug and pull between “Golden Age” periods of coexistence and periods of religious violence in which the absence of “originals” created the necessity for stand-ins to enter the urban cultural life through theatrical display. Within the city walls of Seville, I identify moments of religious and ethnic living together that were possible even in times that

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<sup>13</sup> In *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*, Joseph Roach defines surrogation as a performative process through which “culture reproduces itself and re-creates itself...as actual or perceived vacancies occur in the network of relations that constitute the social fabric.” Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 2. The idea of performative substitution has been widely influential across the field of performance studies and related disciplines of literature, postcolonialism, and gender studies. A few examples include Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Gay Gibson Cima, *Early American Women Critics: Performance, Religion, Race* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and David Lambert, *‘Part of the blood and dream’: Surrogation, Memory and the National Hero in the Postcolonial Caribbean* (London: Routledge, 2007).

<sup>14</sup> Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 3.

appear monolithically Christian, when traces of the past persevered in colonial life through corporal and spatial performance practices.

The subjects of this dissertation are bound by a broadly defined category of performance elucidated by sociologist Jeffrey Alexander as “social performance”: symbolic, corporal acts that have the ultimate goal of social fusion.<sup>15</sup> These acts include mass rituals, where the “belief dimension is experienced as personal, immediate, and iconographic,”<sup>16</sup> as well as social dramas, whose processes are more complex and depend on performative acts of legitimization and negotiations of political and economic powers. Although these concepts have their roots in earlier work by Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz, Alexander reverses the threadbare trope from the anthropological turn in performance studies, which holds that all performance has at its core a ritual action. Rather, we might consider that “all ritual has at its core a performative act.” He argues that integration is the final aim of social performance but in complex societies (modernity is implied) fusion requires more planning and depends on a network of competing social interests for its success. The lens of social performance, I believe, is practical for scholars of medieval theatre since it breaks ritual action free of a Darwinian model of early theatre, one that poses “traditional” or “primitive” acts in binary opposition to “representational” acts or theatrical “self-fashioning.”

In defining social performance I have brought the term “ritual” into the conversation, a concept that could be problematic when used as an epistemological tool. Rituals describe a perplexingly wide range of activities, some of which do not appear to share common features. For the present moment, however, I propose that ritual is most useful as a heuristic term rather

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<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey C. Alexander, “Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy,” in *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 29-90.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

than a comprehensive area of study. For those ceremonial human activities that share a common trait—calling forth a divine presence, for instance—ritual might be helpful as a comparative appellation. Claire Sponsler has offered this definition, which I think comes closest to the meaning I intend: “Rituals confer physical presence that give notice to a belief or idea that might otherwise go unnoticed.”<sup>17</sup> Ritual gathers together an array of potential meanings: “the exact repetition of a centuries-old tradition or deliberately radical innovation and improvisation, as in certain forms of liturgical experimentation or performance art.”<sup>18</sup> Bell’s observation gets to the heart of what is special about the social performances examined in this dissertation. Without exception, the subjects vacillate between moments of performative excitement, stagnation, and periods of radical experimentation.

Rituals often manifest paradoxically, illogically, or “weirdly,” in that the effort spent in performing them seems pointless. In a recent *New York Times* article, Ted Gup questioned the sense of participating in a walk-a-thon, arguing that if the walkers had focused their energies on an activity with use value, the goals of their cause would have been more easily obtained.<sup>19</sup> Surplus behavior committed by individuals in a walk-a-thon, however, is precisely what gives ritual its “magic” competency. On one level the physical effort involved in a walk-a-thon is wasteful; but on another level a contract is made between the processional fundraisers and the wider community, and this contract is executed through ritual walking. Humans do peculiar things to get *other* humans to do *other* things. And coordinated movement towards a destination (oftentimes a return to the beginning), in particular, has great performative potential since processions are spatially arranged to maximize contact with the wider community. The “actors”

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<sup>17</sup> Claire Sponsler, “A Provisional Definition of Ritual” (presented at the Ritual and Ceremony from Late-Medieval Europe to Early America Seminar, The Folger Shakespeare Library, June 20, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Ted Gup, “The Weirdness of Walking to Raise Money,” *The New York Times*, 18 June, 2011, sec. Opinion, accessed June 18, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/19/opinion/19gup.html>.

of the procession watch observers, crowds watch actors, and crowds watch themselves, the mass of people on the other side of the street. In addition to executing undisclosed (magic) social action and affective enjoyment, this multi-direction gaze is a powerful method of subject and identity formation.

In providing a rough definition of ritual, I appear to have created a new exegetical problem with the use of the term “performativity.” Performativity is not equivalent to ritual, although both suffer from nearly insurmountable ambiguity in meaning. We might think of performativity as a potential dynamic *within* ritual, in that rituals often attempt illocutionary acts but do not always end “happily” (felicitously).<sup>20</sup> From speech act and deconstructionist theory, performative utterances (via Judith Butler, I include body acts in this category) commit the acts they describe.<sup>21</sup> The term performativity is now applied so commonly, and across such a wide range of disciplines, that an attempt to confine its meaning here might prove futile. Despite this warning, I employ the term reservedly in this thesis to mean a speech or body act that successfully ushers a change in a social situation or use object; it may even percolate additional performative/ritual/theatrical offspring. With this, I segue out of an all too brief discussion of loaded terms, without attempting to elucidate a meaning for “performance.” I leave such a monumental task to more qualified critics.<sup>22</sup>

One pursuit of theatre historians is to reanimate the past with language in order to give readers the sense of performance present-ness. The phenomena of past performances lurk in

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<sup>20</sup> John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 12-14.

<sup>21</sup> Judith P. Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York; London: Routledge, 1993), 12-16.

<sup>22</sup> Marvin Carlson has written an informative primer considering the disciplinary boundaries of performance, offering this concept: “...all performance involves a consciousness of doubleness, through which the actual execution of an action is placed in mental comparison with a potential, an ideal, or a remembered original model of that action.” *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 5.

archival traces—play texts, objects, eyewitness accounts, chronicles, marginalia, and fragments from literature, music, and poetry. Judith Milhous and Robert Hume define historiographical re-staging of textual evidence as “production analysis”: “a series of architect’s sketches that help us understand the potentialities of the script and performance.”<sup>23</sup> In the preface to her 2000 book, Jean Graham-Jones states that her scholarly methodologies have been “conditioned by [her] work as a performer and director,” suggesting that enlisting theatrical theory may require internalization of ideas through embodied practices.<sup>24</sup> Diana Taylor’s work on embodied repertoires of knowledge offers challenges to traditional historiography, partly by exposing as fallacious the faith in a stable, transparent textual archive.<sup>25</sup> Medieval theatre scholars like Pamela Sheingorn have considered embodiment and affective life in manuscript reading/seeing.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, Sylvia Huot examines the codicological and decorative conventions of the medieval book, concluding that these aesthetic components constitute a performance among readers and audiences. The illuminated manuscript “has a certain theatrical—at the risk of anachronism, one might say cinematic—quality; it does not merely describe events but rather stages them.”<sup>27</sup> These theorists and historians interrogate the vestigial past with a commitment to understanding relationships of corporal and material life.

Performance scholars engage in an interdisciplinary manner with contextual and primary evidence to bring into view human acts that, in themselves, are ultimately irretrievable.

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<sup>23</sup> Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *Producible Interpretation: Eight English Plays, 1675-1707* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985), 10.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Graham-Jones, *Exorcising History: Argentine Theater under Dictatorship* (Cranbury, N.J.; London: Associated University Press, 2000), 10.

<sup>25</sup> Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertory: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 14-15.

<sup>26</sup> Pamela Sheingorn, “Performing the Illustrated Manuscript: Great Reckonings in Little Books,” in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 57-82.

<sup>27</sup> Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1987), 3.

Performance casts in miniature the dilemma of ultimate irrecuperability endemic to historical inquiry, a relation that also foregrounds the strange (indeed etymological) relations between the problematics of theatricality and the theoretical enterprise itself.... Perhaps, then, the modern discipline of history and the contemporary *antidiscipline* of performance theory have much more in common than we might expect.... The study of history and the study of performance approach their respective archives with a healthy respect for spectrality for which the historian will try to compensate but which the performance theorists will proffer as her *raison d'être*.<sup>28</sup>

The evidence gathered by theatre historians is never the material that is most desired: the phenomena of human witness, kinesthetic communication, and the affective life of actors and audiences. The product of research is documented absence. If we assume that liveness is endemic to performance studies, the discipline must straddle the activities of citing the archive and staging it. Contrary to Bruce Holsinger's (tongue-in-cheek?) definition of performance studies as an "antidiscipline," the field lives ambivalently between writing and practice, a "multidiscipline" of unbounded curiosity about the unknowable.

"Unbounded curiosity about the unknowable" could also describe a quality of spiritual devotion, and in this respect performance studies shares a family resemblance, or metonymic affiliation, with religious practices (separate from the well-known, influential disciplinary intersection between ritual and theatre developed by Victor Turner, Clifford Geertz, and Richard Schechner, et al.). The joy of doing theatre historiography comes from the effort of reconciling incommensurable opposites—theory and practice, experience and faith, skepticism and affect—sometimes at the cost of forestalling the thought of one in order to ponder the other. It is no wonder that theories of ritual excess, waste, and performative subterfuge are so common to the field. Writing about theatre moves from recollection to rehabilitation and back again, illustrating the interconnectedness between memory and the present moment. The sense of eternity and out-

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<sup>28</sup> Bruce W. Holsinger, "Analytical Survey 6: Medieval Literature and Cultures of Performance," *New Medieval Literatures* 6 (2003): 274; 273.

of-timeness emerges from these paradoxical moments.<sup>29</sup> Performance reminds us that history is remarkable, unhinged, worthy of exploration, and yet incapable of explaining a past moment without coming up short.

I admit this is a large and somewhat dewy-eyed leap—abstract and possibly fickle. But I am jumping in order to make a point: meanings that arise from social performance practices are not always constructed semiotically. Affective relationships between actors, viewers, and environments exceed language, or function independently and in tandem with language, to structure social life. An affective life belonging to one set of practices has the capability to resonate with meanings belonging to a generically different set of practices (like historiography and devotion), metonymically linking two activities that are strange to one another on institutional and semiotic levels. I propose the following neologism for operations of performance affect that link unlike social precincts: “phenomenology of coexistence.” This concept is crucial for understanding the ways in which the subjects of this dissertation negotiate difference in theatrical ways.

The cognitive turn in theatre studies has had a profound effect on the field over the past few years, many scholars recognizing the analytical potential of a coordinated study of mind/body physiology and disciplines of kinesthetic communication and presence.<sup>30</sup> Simon Shepherd describes phenomenological communication as a spatiotemporal mode where the “limits of body and the possibilities of its enlargement—hallowed, united with the ground, decentered—are explored by placing the body within an external mechanical, and discursive,

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<sup>29</sup> Marvin Carlson, “The Eternal Instant: Some Thoughts on Theatre and Religion,” *Assaph: Studies in Theatre* 12 (1996), 33-43.

<sup>30</sup> *Theatre Journal* devoted an issue to cognitive theory in 2007, *Theatre Journal* 59, no. 4 (Dec. 2007).

framework that takes it over.”<sup>31</sup> For Simon and other performance theorists, theatre metonymically reorients the body, opens it up to multiple stimuli, and tests its limits. Metonym, as I am using it here, implies an association through mysterious, sensorial means by linking memory fragments with present experience. Performance metonyms cannot be explained with language; they must be felt. Phenomenologically speaking, embodied communication between actors and audiences relies on repertoires of motor schema that are shared, recognizable, and compelling to the senses.

In their seminal study of embodied mind, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson pointedly reject Jacques Derrida’s claims of the “utter arbitrariness of the pairing between signifiers (signs) and signifieds (concepts) [and] the purely historical contingency of meaning,”<sup>32</sup> convincingly demonstrating how corporal mapping and sensory experience of the world determines the ways in which we, as biological beings, enter into the ongoing circuitry of production and reception of signification.

From a biological perspective, it is eminently plausible that reason has grown out of the sensory and motor systems and that it still uses those systems or structures developed from them. This explains why we have the kinds of concepts we have and why our concepts have the properties they have. It explains why our spatial-relations concepts should be topological and orientational. And it explains why our system for structuring and reasoning about events of all kinds should have the structure of a motor-control system.<sup>33</sup>

The theory of embodied mind claims that certain affective, sensory clusters experienced in the body-wide neurological system are basic to human meaning construction and communication.

These “experiential gestalts” are powerful schemata, the wholes of which are psychologically

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<sup>31</sup> Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 2006), 145.

<sup>32</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 463-64

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

simpler than their parts.<sup>34</sup> If primal schemata and patterns of affect are experienced kinesthetically, then we might conclude that shared cultural symbols are developed in and between bodies.

To be fair to Derrida, he amended his earlier deconstructions of the metaphysics of presence, and in a 1986 essay he contemplated bodily assimilation and the process of interiorizing the other. Going beyond the mimetic, orientational learning that occurs between bodies, minds, and spaces, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, Derrida proposes a model of phenomenological attraction and rejection that illuminates the dual and infinitely complex cultural process that I have terms phenomenology of coexistence. Imagining the body as a crypt or safe that “protects from the outside the very secret of its clandestine inclusion or its internal exclusion,” Derrida posits that the process of mourning occurs within a “territory” (a body) that seals itself from the outside other, while simultaneously “pretending to keep the dead alive” by internalizing the other and holding the foreign body secretly within.<sup>35</sup> The incorporation of the other occurs in two ways: first, as a love for the other within oneself, and second by compartmentalizing the foreign entity within the body. In the context of the performances considered here, many of which memorialize or mourn the disappearance or death of an other, ritual actors either preserve what has been lost by fetishizing alterity, or present to their audience a “pathology” of incorporation, one that secrets the dead away by internalizing the traces, disguising and excluding the foreign element within the performing body. Theatres of absence playfully negotiated dynamics of presence and disappearance to the point where the material

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<sup>34</sup> George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 489.

<sup>35</sup> Jacques Derrida, “Fors: The English Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok,” in *The Wolf Man’s Magic Word: A Cryptonymy*, ed. Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, trans. Barbara Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xvi-xvii.

present and the missing articles of the past became performatively enmeshed; they were about what was not there.<sup>36</sup>

### ***The medieval embodied mind***

Processional movement, a human activity that occurs in distinct cultures across time, is an especially potent kinesthetic (mind/body) patterning mechanism. Processions across familiar topographies, often repeated annually or patterned in other temporal ways, have the effect of carving urban and cross-country space, and these streams and spatial narratives become forms of *memoria technica*. Mary Carruthers has proposed a medieval entryway into conversations on the embodied mind:

Spatial and directional metaphors are essential to the conception of the ‘way’ of monastic meditation, as is well known. The rhetorical concept of *ductus* emphasized way-finding by organizing the structure of any composition as a journeying through a linked series of stages, each of which has its own characteristic flow (its “mode” or “color”), but which also moves the whole composition along.... Every composition, visual or aural, needs to be experienced as a journey, in and through whose paths one must constantly *move*.... Memory is always *performed* in rhetoric.<sup>37</sup>

The provocative idea that compositional and visual experiences in the medieval period were shaped by dramatic journeying fits broadly and comfortably into the contemporary scope of cognitive theory. Anne Clark engages with cognitive theory and medieval historiography, arguing that neurological sciences are useful for looking at medieval subjects not because all human templates or patterns of thought are exactly alike across history; cultural specificity still matters. But we can draw general conclusions about cognitive communities that share certain practices that shape social thought. Once a “base template” of belief is established, and that

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<sup>36</sup> “If we focus on the present and the absent as such, a new dimension becomes thematic for us. It is not the case that this side is present and the other sides are absent, but rather [the present of this side and the absence of those sides] are what becomes ‘present.’” Robert Sokolowski, “The Theory of Phenomenological Description,” *Descriptions*, ed. Don Ihde and Hugh H. Silverman (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 17.

<sup>37</sup> Mary Carruthers, “Rhetorical Ductus, or, Moving through a Composition,” in *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance across the Disciplines*, ed. Mark Franko and Annette Richards (Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 2000), 107, 113 (emphasis Carruthers).

substructure is understood, it is possible to organize evidence within this template in order to interpret individual expressions of faiths that testify to the “vast mental activity—not passivity—of individuals within what may appear to be a ‘shared’ religious culture.”<sup>38</sup> Phenomenological information deeply embedded in medieval ritual practices may be revealed by comparing a template with specific evidence gathered on representations, fragments of practice and text, and other remains of social circumstances.

In the medieval period, spiritual and corporal phenomena were often expounded in knowledge bases of physical sciences, medical treatises, and theology of spiritual health and ontology of matter. One need not look farther than the Eucharistic debates on the transformation of bread into the body of Christ to uncover a rich trove of phenomenological discourse.<sup>39</sup> Galenic humoral theory filtered down into the everyday knowledge base in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, in turn, informed an etiology of physical and spiritual infirmity.<sup>40</sup> Fluidity of affect, memory, and social experience produced movement across corporal boundaries in the medieval period, and ritual action in the proximity of sacred objects helped shape the Christian devotee’s sense of a physical connection with divine presence. As Sarah Beckwith puts it:

In crucifixion piety...the human body (Christ’s body and the body of the addressee) is both an image and a physical, experiential, felt presence. This is perhaps one reason why we return obsessively to the metaphor of theatre to describe this form of spirituality, for it is the nature of the theatrical medium to foreground the human body through the

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<sup>38</sup> “Cognitive models can be helpful by accounting for the simultaneous stability of religious belief and the profusion of individual representations of belief.” Anne L. Clark, “What’s all the fuss about the mind? A Medievalist’s Perspective on Cognitive Theory,” in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 173.

<sup>39</sup> There is a vast amount of primary and secondary material on these debates. Miri Rubin’s second chapter of *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) provides a good introduction.

<sup>40</sup> Susan R. Kramer, “Understanding Contagion: The Contaminating Effect of Another’s Sin,” in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 150-57.

mechanism of the actor as at once image and physical presence, at once representation and experience.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the efforts of ecclesiastics to subdue devotion to physical manifestations of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints, a fantastic culture of material affect persisted in the late Middle Ages: elaborate and monumental Gothic architectures; sumptuous, complex rituals involving reliquaries, statues, shrines, religious art, crucifixes, and mechanized dolls; illuminated books of hours and other private devotional literature; and the physical presence of God in Eucharistic bread. Many medieval philosophical tracts were preoccupied with navigating a difficult course between Augustinian denial of the senses for establishing proof of faith and the practical requirements of the Christian liturgy. When Thomas Aquinas, working from Aristotle and Augustine, wrote that all cognition takes place “through some species of the cognized thing in the cognizer and that a causal chain of species linked object and percipient,” there is a sense that he is thinking in terms that would not be unfamiliar to Lakoff and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The perception of “reality” relies on a process whereby the likenesses of external objects—sensible and intelligible species—are cognized through the pores, felt in the muscles, and transmitted along the neural pathways of the body.<sup>42</sup>

Concepts of body and space from medieval philosophy ground this study of kinesthetic and territorial structuring of ritual squarely within the historical boundaries of the dissertation. I rely on ancient and medieval Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin treatises on memory, physiognomy, and medicine that were part of an active culture of translation and dissemination in the Iberian Middle Ages. These include Aristotle’s *De memoria et reminiscencia*, Thomas Aquinas’s

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<sup>41</sup> Sarah Beckwith, *Christ’s Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 61.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Pasnau’s summary of Aquinas; *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15. Merleau-Ponty develops a theory of a “system of levels,” language, powers of the body, cognition, and proximity that achieves a “transcendent,” incontrovertible connection or presence of an individual to an object in an environment; *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 1962), 297.

parsing of the senses and the intellect, Galenic and Islamic philosophy passed on by the writings of Abu ‘Ali al-Husayn ibn Sina (better known as Avicenna, the Latinized version of his name), and what Carruthers terms the “Herennian mnemonic system,” sourced in the writings of Cicero and Quintilian.<sup>43</sup> The mnemonic and rhetorical arts—central to medieval philosophy and scholastic practices—were exercised through corporal and spatial metaphors and these conceptual frameworks, it has been argued, offer ways of understanding medieval performance as well.<sup>44</sup> As Cicero advised regarding retention of thought, visual images “require an abode” since “the embodied cannot be known without a place” (*corpus intelligi sine loco non potest*).<sup>45</sup>

Symbolic meanings carried in the bodies of performers are bound to the social environments that possess them. Church architecture, walled patios, and city streets are not static signifiers; in approximation to social bodies, these environments have performative powers by shaping, stratifying, and representing social order. Sevillian urban design provided an outline for processional *mise-en-scène* of lived memory. The Cathedral of Seville, converted parish “mosque-churches,” and medieval thoroughfares that wound through other preserved architectures from the Islamic past provided liturgical festival and early theatrical forms a culturally heterogeneous staging area. These surviving parishes of pre-conquest Seville haunted the colonial city and were enacted into the colonial culture through performance. Acts of walking and performing in urban space have a triple enunciative function: “a process of *appropriation* of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian. . . . [A] spatial acting-out

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<sup>43</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 188.

<sup>44</sup> Carruthers’s seminal work on medieval memory has influenced Jody Enders’s work on connections between rhetorical and performance traditions in medieval culture: *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty: Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Quoted from Carruthers (2008), 91; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cicero, On the Ideal Orator*, trans. J. M. May and J. Wisse, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 87; 358.

of the place...and [implied] *relations* among different positions.”<sup>46</sup> Pre-colonial memories were contained in the hybrid stages of Sevillian churches, mosques, synagogues, street designs, façades, and plazas, as performative encounters with re-presented history became enmeshed with the present in order to fulfill the needs of Christian colonizers.

### ***Medieval Seville: pre-postcolonial?***

Within medieval Iberian scenes of colonial ritual, the sense and acknowledgement of loss was an imperative for performative returns. Both performance and colonialism exhibit insistent commitments to reiterative modes and to (re)possession of spatial and corporal territory. Suggested in Edward Said’s statement that culture is both “a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that,” and “a sort of *theater* where various political and ideological causes engage one another,”<sup>47</sup> is the idea that performance is a particularly fertile site for the engagement of identities, ideologies, and political causes. But the connection between colonialism and performance is more than metaphoric. In addition to being an effective tool for enacting conversions and the persuasive discourses of the dominant culture, performance also “constitutes a repertoire of embodied knowledge”<sup>48</sup> and provides an alternative site for the subaltern to enact corporal memory when forms of writing and places of worship have been destroyed. Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins write that postcolonial performances are “acts that respond to experiences of imperialism, acts performed for the continuation or regeneration of the colonized communities, acts performed with the awareness of post-contact forms, and acts that interrogate the hegemony that underlies ‘imperial representation.’”<sup>49</sup> The ephemerality of

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<sup>46</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 97-98.

<sup>47</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), xiii (emphasis mine).

<sup>48</sup> Diana Taylor, “Scenes of Cognition: Performance and Conquest,” *Theatre Journal* 56, no. 3 (2004), 365.

<sup>49</sup> Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins, *Post-Colonial Drama: Theory, Practice, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1996), 11.

performance often enables resistant practices to sidestep official interdiction and function across social strata, ambivalently playing between orthopraxy and intransigence, the sacred and profane, ritual and festival, past and present. Colonial social performances are layered with double meanings and maintain a keen awareness of absence and history that provides them with agency and the means for recovery. Postcolonial theory is useful in my exegesis because it interrogates spatial practices of empire, welcomes interdisciplinarity, and forges an entrance into the politics of performance where communities carry out hegemonic and resistant practices.

While a successful ritual or social performance effectively fuses communal values, colonialism is an experience of *de*-fusion to the extreme. Postcolonial critics have written about the imaginative leaps and corporal commitments required for (re)living a resistant or hybrid cultural identity after widespread or partial cultural destruction, and this elegant passage by Terry Eagleton speaks to the central concern of colonial attachments:

Where human subjects politically begin, in all their sensuous specificity, is with certain needs and desires. Yet need and desire are also what render us nonidentical with ourselves, opening us up to some broader social dimension; and what is posed within this dimension is the question of what *general* conditions would be necessary for our particular needs and desires to be fulfilled. Mediated through the general in this way, particular demands cease to be self-identical and return to themselves transformed by a discourse of the other....<sup>50</sup>

Imaginative doing in an environment of *de*-fusion is an act of self-assertion, a process of exercising individual desires that, when mediated through the social dimension, may risk paralysis or deferment.

Cognitive theory helps us navigate the micrologies and interpersonal networks of colonial performative interactions; local confrontations are informed by, but also assist in, the interpretation of historical memory and the social realities of colonial life. Contradictions arise

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<sup>50</sup> Terry Eagleton, "Nationalism: Irony and Commitment," in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, ed. Eagleton, Jameson, and Said (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 37-38.

when the enunciations made by colonized actors are relived in the affective systems of the bodies of audiences from the metropole. If we attend to the specific ways in which colonial meanings were transmitted and transformed between social groups empathetically, we may better understand the dynamics of movement to and from catastrophe of conquest and vital coexistence in Seville society.

As a growing bibliography of postcolonial approaches to medieval studies attests,<sup>51</sup> postcolonial analysis has been, of late, pruned from an epistemological link to modernity for application in medieval studies.<sup>52</sup> Iberian medievalists (perhaps identifying with subalternity through their own experience of academic marginalization)<sup>53</sup> have taken the opportunity to explore Iberia's long history of unique heterogeneity, intercultural flow, and intimate cohabitation of difference through a postcolonial lens. Artifacts, texts, translations, and arrangements of space that try to live the colonial dialectic "passionately, ironically, in all of its elusive impossibility"<sup>54</sup> proliferated in medieval Iberia. Some examples include Muslim participation in Mozarabic religious festivals, the celebration of Christian Mass in the spaces of

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<sup>51</sup> Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, ed., *The Postcolonial Middle Ages* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Margaret R. Greer and John Dagenais, eds., *Decolonizing the Middle Ages*, a complete volume of the *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000); Bruce Holsinger, "Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies and Genealogies of Critique," *Speculum* 77 (2002): 1195-1227; Patricia Clare Ingham and Michelle R. Warren, eds., *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval and Modern* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); and Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Deanne Williams, *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Middle Ages: Translating Cultures* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>52</sup> Bruce Holsinger points out that despite the "seemingly intractable modernity of the postcolonial arena," an avenue of conversation between postcolonial and medieval studies has been opened, based on "the premise that imperialism and colonialism themselves have long historical roots and that postcolonial theory is ideally suited to a European civilization ever aware of the ambivalent imperial legacy of Rome." "Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies," 1197; 1203.

<sup>53</sup> "The 'belatedness' of Spain is an artifact, as well, of its failure to put forward an uncolonized story of its own past, to find its way beyond the open secrets of its own genealogies. Spain's exoticizing of its miscegenetic past (or its absolute denial of that past—the other side of the coin) creates a Spanish Middle Ages which is always already colonized." John Dagenais and Margaret R. Greer, "Decolonizing the Middle Ages: Introduction," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30, no. 3 (Fall 2000), 440.

<sup>54</sup> Eagleton, "Nationalism: Irony and Commitment," 39.

ritually cleansed mosques and synagogues, Peter Abelard's translation of the Koran, and valorizations of vanquished Muslim enemies in *moros y cristianos* festivals.<sup>55</sup>

Hybridity has been understood by many scholars of the Iberian Middle Ages as a cultural outcome of a continuously shifting dynamic of contradiction (attraction and disdain) within the contact zone. But hybridity alone is incapable of elaborating all colonial situations, and, in many cases, critics have been seduced by a deceptively simple concept in order to elucidate more complex processes. Additionally, hybridity is very often employed to describe texts and other cultural artifacts, and may prove unsuitable for explaining spatially and temporally confined rituals where admixture and interchange occurred in complex stages. Before we can analyze the ways in which colonized culture was resurrected through discrete and motley processes of combination, it is important to track a chronology of engagement in the contact zone, beginning with stages of conquest, obliteration, and forced conversion. Medieval colonial performance arts took shape from the first moments of contact, in royal entries, capitulation ceremonies, and ritual conversion of religious space, projecting trauma into future social performances and particularizing the manner in which integration was negotiated.

A single overarching theory of colonial culture would not function well in a dissertation covering three hundred years of performance history. It is impossible to track trajectories of mimicry, subaltern sovereignty, or acts of "writing back" to the empire (to name a few more familiar postcolonial topoi) across such a landscape, although reiteration of Christian crusade informed colonial activities over the entire period. The Iberian Reconquista movements in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries provided models of conquest that were imitated by conquistadores, jurists, ecclesiastics, and monarchs during imperial efforts in Africa, the Canary

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<sup>55</sup> *Moros y cristianos* tournaments were performed by the Christian aristocracy throughout the later Middle Ages on the Peninsula. The mock tournaments recreated famous battles between Moors and Christians.

Islands, and the New World. The broad historical movements of conquest creatively incorporated crusade ideology into the justification of colonial expansion and were mobilized by a strain of evangelization that looked to “conversion rather than extermination as the way to achieve the final aim, which in both cases is the extension of the Christian commonwealth to include as many peoples as possible.”<sup>56</sup> As Anthony Pagden has demonstrated, the logic of Spanish imperial expansion, infused with a belief in worldly rights and heredity, was, in many respects, sourced in the ancient Roman concept of *imperium*.<sup>57</sup> Roman imperial ideology would find its way into processional and sacramental stagecraft, employed on the Peninsula and in the New World in order to establish and maintain spiritual orthodoxy in the form of catechisms, preaching, religious spectacle, and sacramental drama.

Late medieval, early modern Christian evangelization was also continuous from early history, as far back as fourth-century monasticism. Figures such as Martin of Tours exemplified the doctrine of Christian expansion that “produced evangelistic monks who undertook missions both independent of, and in cooperation with, ecclesiastical organization.”<sup>58</sup> The interest in converting Jews to Christianity was based on an ideology of difference and pursued so that Christians could “bear witness to [their] own ongoing conversion” by demonstrating the effectiveness and teleological veracity of Christian belief.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, “The Many Faces of Medieval Colonization,” in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 16. For an excellent analysis of crusade discourse in the Reconquista on the Peninsula, see Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>57</sup> Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

<sup>58</sup> Daniel T. Reff, “Making the Land Holy: The Mission Frontier in Early Medieval Europe and Colonial Mexico,” in *The Spiritual Conversion of the Americas*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004), 19.

<sup>59</sup> Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 131; 133.

The start of the Seville colony in 1248 came at a time when evangelizing was on the rise. The rapid growth and spread of the mendicant orders—bound by oath to introduce Christianity to heretical communities—certainly contributed to the growth of the evangelization movement. Especially energetic missionizing in Europe began in the thirteenth century, due to a number of circumstances regarding relationships between Christian, Jewish, and Islamic communities. As the borders of Christendom were extended and defended against Islamic empires to the east, self-confidence also increased, contributing to a sense of Christian universality. Eschatological anxiety during the period also produced the idea that, if the end of the world was near, wholesale conversion of Jews was a realistic possibility. During Pope Gregory IX's papacy in Rome in the early thirteenth century, Jews and infidels came to play a bigger part in the papal view of the world. Recognizing that the crusades had greatly changed relations between Christians and their neighbors, Gregory enacted a volume of canon law in 1234 that reframed the social statuses of Jews and other infidels in Christian Europe. The decretals essentially restated prohibitions that had been in place for some time (restrictions on slave ownership and the building of new synagogues, for instance), but did so in more forceful ways.<sup>60</sup> Roman law influenced ecclesiastical policy in the Iberian kingdoms, where Alfonso X aggressively carried out his crusade against the Moors beyond the seas (but not within his own kingdom or al-Andalus) “for the exaltation of Christianity.”<sup>61</sup> The production of converso and morisco identities through conversion rituals and performances of everyday life throughout the later Middle Ages satisfied social requirements to make present a workable substitute for the loss of non-Christian identities

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<sup>60</sup> James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), 4-5.

<sup>61</sup> Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 179.

while maintaining differences within ethnically circumscribed bodies.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, the production of “New Christian” identities relied on the very Jewish and Islamic corporality that necessitated conversion performances in the first place, and these embodied memories haunted the vacancies carved from the social fabric of the city.

The overarching goal of the analysis that follows is to contextualize available evidence with a set of integrated associations: macro histories (ideologies of empire and medieval theological discourses, social and religious spaces) and performance at the micro level of the embodied mind. The postcolonial and phenomenological theories I have described above were chosen because of the strengths of each to explicate broad social movements and affective histories of ritual actors and spectators. Performance in medieval Seville arose out of an excess of norms—without generic boundaries and from the necessity to make crucial acts of communal interaction intelligible. As Leo Cabranes-Grant has written about colonial performance, “the dead like to tell stories [and] intercultural scenarios rearticulate the rift between representation and disappearance in order to increase their traceability.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> The term *converso* came into wide use in the fifteenth century and was used to define Christian converts from the Jewish faith. Converted Jews were also called *marranos*, the Castilian word for “pig.” The term *morisco*, denoting the status of converted Muslims, came into use in the sixteenth century. Converted Muslims were also called *tornadizos* (turncoats, deserters) and *renegades* (apostates). E. Michael Gerli, ed. *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 253; 584-85.

<sup>63</sup> Leo Cabranes-Grant, “From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico,” *Theatre Journal* 63 (2011): 508.

**Chapter Two**  
**The Cantigas de Santa Maria and Performative**  
**Reorientation of the Sevillian Colony**

...esto razon é provada  
 que na omagen vertud, acha o que ben cree.  
 Ca ben com' a cousa viva recebe por asperança  
 vertude, sol que a creen, ben assi por semellança  
 a recebe a omagen manteneute sen tardança  
 daquel de que é fegura...<sup>1</sup>

Cantiga 297, Alfonso X, el Sabio

What else is sacred? Oh, Romeo and Juliet, for instance.  
 And all music is.

Kurt Vonnegut

The Cantigas de Santa Maria, the much studied collection of miracle songs and songs of praise by Alfonso X, “El Sabio” (King of Castile, Galicia, y León, 1252-1284), is an important instance of Iberian performance. Most compositions in the collection, many of which are believed to have been composed by Alfonso himself, are *cantigas de miragre* (miracle songs), narratives recounting miracles worked by the Virgin Mary, who intervenes in the lives of people across the Christian kingdoms. Every tenth song is a *cantiga de loor* (song of praise), the text and miniatures of which often directly involve Alfonso actively adoring, and commanding attention to, Mary. The Cantigas were written in Galician-Portuguese, the preferred vernacular of Peninsular itinerant and court entertainers at that time, and employed Andalusí forms of

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<sup>1</sup> “This is the true reason why the one who sincerely believes finds power in a statue. For just as living creatures receive power through hope, if only they believe, likewise the image receives it instantly from the saint it represents...” Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, vol. 3, ed. Walter Mettmann, (Madrid: Castilia, 1989), 115. Translation by Kathleen Kulp-Hill: Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 360. All English translations of the songs of the Cantigas de Santa Maria are by Kathleen Kulp-Hill. In order to distinguish between textual and performative manifestations of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, I use the abbreviation “CSM” to signify the Cantigas de Santa Maria in their codicological form (the four extant manuscripts), and the single word “Cantigas” to describe the songs more generally to include performative modes.

music, verse, and instrumentation known to Alfonso and trovador culture.<sup>2</sup> The collection of 427 songs was compiled and performed in Seville, the seat of the Christian colonial power in the late thirteenth century. Evidence for performance of the songs is imbedded in the manuscript verse and illumination, in the marginalia of the Toledo manuscript, as well as in the last will of Alfonso, which states that the Cantigas should be sung in the presence of his remains in the mosque-cathedral after his death.<sup>3</sup> According to José M. Llorens Cisteró, his last wishes were honored on Marian feast days, during procession, and “in some religious celebrations of the court and popular manifestations” through the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

As can be said about most medieval theatre, there are no extant eyewitness accounts of performances of the Cantigas from the Middle Ages. However, this should not preclude an analysis of the songs in a performance context, and indeed, a wealth of archeological, architectural, textual, and artistic evidence helps establish a comprehensive picture of performance spaces, processional routes, properties, music, instrumentation, and dance.

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<sup>2</sup> A number of scholars agree on the inevitable imbrications of Christian and Muslim music between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. H. H. Touma, “Indications of the Arabian Musical Influence on the Iberian Peninsula from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Symposium Alfonso X el Sabio y la música* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987), 137-50; J. T. Monroe and B. M. Liu, *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition: Music and Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 1-34; and Pedro Ferreira, “Rondeau and Virelai,” 138-39.

<sup>3</sup> The illumination to cantiga 5 from códice rico shows two people dancing in a temple. Cantiga 172 states that “from this story we composed a song for the minstrels to sing.” Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 207. Martha E. Schaffer examines marginalia in the T manuscript in “Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript of Alfonso El Sabio’s *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Observations on Composition, Correction, Compilation, and Performance,” *Cantigueiros* 7 (1995): 65-84. An excerpt from *Second Testament of Alfonso X (Seville, 10 January 1284)* reads: “Similiter mandamus quod omnes libri cantilenarum, miraculorum et laudum etiam Beate Marie, quod dentur illi ecclesie in qua nostrum corpus oportuherit (sic) sepeliri, et quod eos canere faciant in festis Beate Marie et Nostri Domini Gesu Christi. Et si ille qui noster de jure fuerit successor habere voluerit istos libros cantilenarum Beate Marie, mandamus quod pro eo bonum faciat illi Ecclesie unde eos abstulerit, ad hoc ut eos valeat sine crimine possidere.” (We also command that all the books of songs, miracles, and praises of Holy Mary should be kept in that church where our body will be interred, and that they should cause them to be sung on the feasts of Holy Mary and our Lord Jesus Christ. And if the one who is our rightful heir wishes to have these books of songs of Holy Mary, we command him to make some benefaction to the church whence he takes them, so he may have them freely and without sin.) Georges Daumet, “Les testaments d’Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille,” in *Bibliothèque de l’école des chartes* 67 (1906), 91.

<sup>4</sup> “[E]n algunas celebraciones religiosas de la corte y manifestaciones populares.” José M. Llorens Cisteró, “El ‘Códice Rico’ de las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio,” in *Cantigas de Santa María. Edición facsímil del códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, siglo XIII*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Edilán, 1979), 331.

Drawing upon a heterogeneous archive and contextual information from the histories of courtly, religious, and performance culture of thirteenth-century Castile and al-Andalus, I argue that the Cantigas were performed in the *capilla real* (royal chapel) of the central mosque-cathedral of Seville—*La Mezquita*—in the presence of their progenitor, Alfonso X.

The first three sections of the chapter constitute a defense of Cantigas in performance, from the perspectives of manuscript and *trovador* and *juglar* cultures.<sup>5</sup> To this end, I begin with a performance reconstruction out of which a sustained analysis of the performative effects of the songs may proceed. Although some of the smaller details such as gesture, movement, and timing of actions and music are based on suggestive information from the illuminations to the manuscripts and other contextual information, and are more speculative, I believe it is important to provide a sense of what a fully embodied performance may have been like so that the performative power of the songs can be appreciated. In sections two and three, I aim to reconstitute grounds for an analysis of the Cantigas in theatrical and performative terms by examining manuscript production, legal histories, practices of Marian worship, narrative oral traditions, and the poetic and musical production of trovadores and juglares. Sections four and five connect the histories of Reconquista, thirteenth-century Castilian court culture, and the

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<sup>5</sup> Throughout the chapter I use the Spanish terms trovadores and juglares when referring to artists composing and/or performing in Iberia, and the French terms troubadour and jongleur when referring to pan-European court and itinerant performers. It should be noted, however, that geographic distinctions made on the bases of language of compositions are artificial. Troubadours (trovadores) frequently travelled among French, Italian, German, English, and Spanish courts for employment, composing in a number of dialects and within multiple musical traditions. And although the French words “troubadour” and “jongleur” are most often associated with the Provençal tradition, it has been argued that the Castilian word “trovador” may, in fact, have derived from the Arabic word *tariba*, rather than the Provençal “trovaire,” which could indicate a tradition on the Peninsula that predates the French. J. A. Carpentier de Gourdon and Cosme Carpentier de Gourdon, “El amor cortés de los juglares, sus fuentes y sus paralelos árabes, persas e indios,” in *La juglaresca. Actas del primer congreso internacional sobre la juglaresca*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI, 1986), 76. Scholars have also argued that since the Arabic *zajal* and *muwashshah* lyric forms predate the appearance of the virelai form in France by four hundred years, and are remarkably similar in meter and rhythm, troubadour composition in the Occitan may be indebted to Peninsular song and poetry. Manuel Pedro Ferreira, “Rondeau and Virelai: The Music of Andalus and the Cantigas de Santa Maria,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13, no. 2 (2004): 138. The term “minstrel” refers to the European medieval song composition and performance culture generally—both courtly and popular.

socio-religious life of Muslims, Jews, and Christians with contemporaneous performance culture, offering a reading of the Cantigas at the convergence of political, religious, and theatrical custom. Finally, I examine phenomenological aspects of Iberian colonial performance: hybrid musical forms, performance spaces, and statues of the Virgin Mary—the decisive figure of colonial transformative power. I posit that the staging of the Cantigas was imbued with a strong dialectic of presence and absence, which contributed to the construction of colonial identities and spaces in Seville.

***Setting the scene: a performance reconstruction of the Cantigas***

On the morning of August 15, 1281, a celebration of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was underway in the converted central mosque of Seville.<sup>6</sup> Thirty-three years earlier Almohad Seville had fallen to Fernando III (King of Castile, Galicia, y León, 1230-1252), after which the city became home to the Castilian court. On this day, Fernando's son, Alfonso X, attended a performance of the Cantigas, composed by the “wise” king himself in collaboration with court trovadores and musicians. On the holiest of medieval Marian holidays, Alfonso

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<sup>6</sup> Although no record of the celebration of the Assumption at La Mezquita on this particular year exists, as one of the most important Christian festivals of the period it would have doubtlessly been celebrated, and the Castilian king's presence in the city's cathedral was *de rigueur*. The physical descriptions of ritual, theatrical, and processional spaces of the great mosque of Seville are based on a number of sources: Antonio Muñoz y Torrado, *La Iglesia de Sevilla en el siglo XIII. Estudio histórico leído en la apertura del curso académico de 1914 a 1915 en el Seminario General y Pontificio de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Librería e Imprenta de Izquierdo, 1914), 74-76; *Papeles del Conde de Aguila, tomo 51, Memoria Sacada de un libro de Hernán Pérez de Guzmán que fue escrito en la era de 1303 (recte 1345)*, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, published by Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez; *Memorias para la vida del santo rey don Fernando III* (Madrid: Joaquín Ibarra, 1800; reprint Barcelona: El Albir, 1974), 133-35; 213-16; J. Martínez de Aguirre Aldaz, “La primera escultura funeraria gótica en Sevilla. La Capilla Real y el sepulcro de Guzmán el Bueno (1248-1320),” *Archivo Español de Arte* 68 (Apr./June 1995): 111-29; María Jesús Sanz Serrano, “Imagen del antiguo tabernáculo de plata, de la Capilla Real de Sevilla, a través de dos sellos medievales,” *Laboratorio de Arte. Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte* 11 (1998): 51-68; Alfonso Jiménez Marín and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, “Las Mezquitas,” in *Sevilla almohade*, ed. M. Valor and A. Tahiri (Sevilla: Rabat, 1999), 89-105; and María T. Laguna Paúl, “La Capilla de los Reyes de la Primitiva Catedral de Santa María de Sevilla y las Relaciones de la Corona Castellana en el Cabildo Hispalense en su Etapa Fundacional (1248-1285)” in *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, vol. 1, ed. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), 235-51.

commanded a concert of *cantigas de loor* from the collection in La Mezquita of Seville.<sup>7</sup> The massive Almohad structure, believed to have been built on the foundation of an ancient Visigoth church, was completed in 1176, and the minaret was completed in 1198 (Figure X.3). The *masjid jami'* (Friday mosque) footprint was nearly as large as the mosque of Córdoba, and the *mihrab*, *qibla*, and *maqṣūra* were richly decorated.<sup>8</sup> The realization of the *Cantigas* in music, voice, and dance took place in the *capilla real*, among Muslim tombs, the sepulchers of Alfonso's parents, and a thirteenth-century wooden statue known as the *Virgen de los Reyes*.

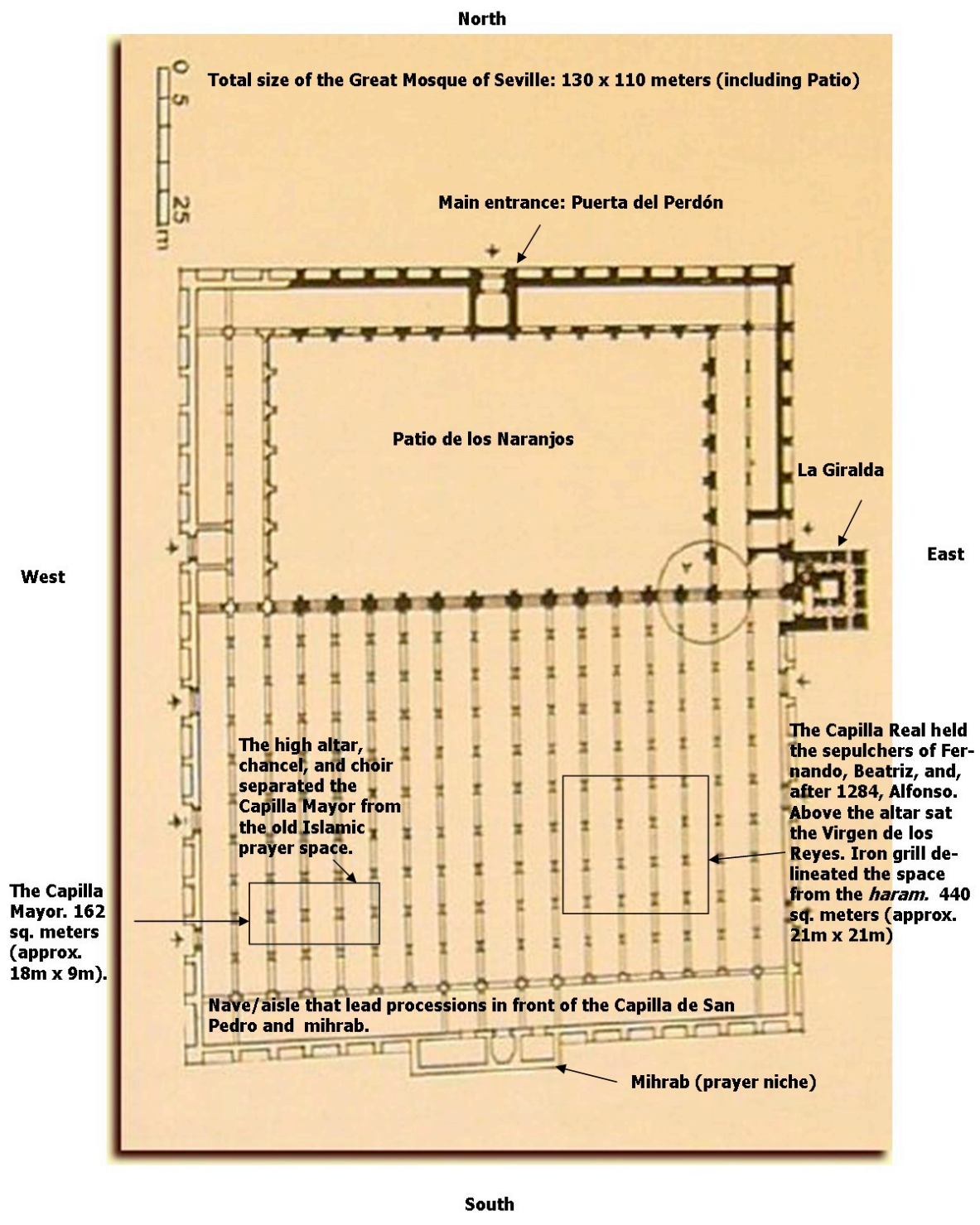
The *capilla real*, completed around 1261, occupied 440 square meters in the middle, eastern half of the original *haram* (prayer space) of the mosque (Figure 2.1). The space had the capacity for sixty parishioners, three royal sepulchers, an altar (which included space for ritual action, three life-sized funereal monuments, and seating for ecclesiastics and Alfonso X), and at least four tabernacles. Political and religious hierarchies were conjoined in the chapel's *mise-en-scène*. Below the floor of the chapel lay pre-conquest remains of Muslims from the Almohad period. The audience, made up of courtiers, nobility, and foreign dignitaries (the royal family was conspicuous in its absence),<sup>9</sup> sat in the nave directly above the Muslim tombs. Rising upward before the audience, in ascending order, were the sepulchers of Fernando III (inscribed with dedications in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Arabic) and Beatriz of Swabia (Queen of Castile, 1219-1235, and León, 1230-1235), the main altar with life-like cenotaphs of the monarchs, and

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<sup>7</sup> *Cantigas de loor* appear at intervals of ten in each of the four extant manuscripts. The rest of the poems (other than the prologues) are *cantigas de miragre* (miracle poems) and *cantigas de festa* (festival songs). Although Christian holy days and festivals—Easter, Assumption, Ascension, and Annunciation—are mentioned many times in *cantigas de miragre*, they are never mentioned in the songs of praise. This fact convinces me that the *cantigas de loor* were performed during festivals of the Christian calendar, especially Marian holidays. Had a specific festival been mentioned in a song of praise, it may have restricted the use of that song from all other occasions.

<sup>8</sup> The *qibla* wall orients praying Muslims towards Mecca. The *mihrab*, set within the *qibla*, is a prayer niche where the imam is positioned. The *maqṣūra* is a separate enclosure within the mosque and near the prayer niche, usually reserved for a ruler. José Ramírez del Río, "La mezquita mayor de los almohades" in *Sevilla almohade*, ed. M. Valor and A. Tahiri (Universidad de Sevilla. Sevilla, Rabat 1999), 259.

<sup>9</sup> Alfonso's immediate family, including Queen Violante, abandoned Alfonso near the end of his life in order to support Sancho IV's claim to the throne.



**Figure 2.1**

Ground plan of the Great Mosque of Seville, including locations of the Christian chapels and processional nave from the 1261 through destruction of the mosque in 1401

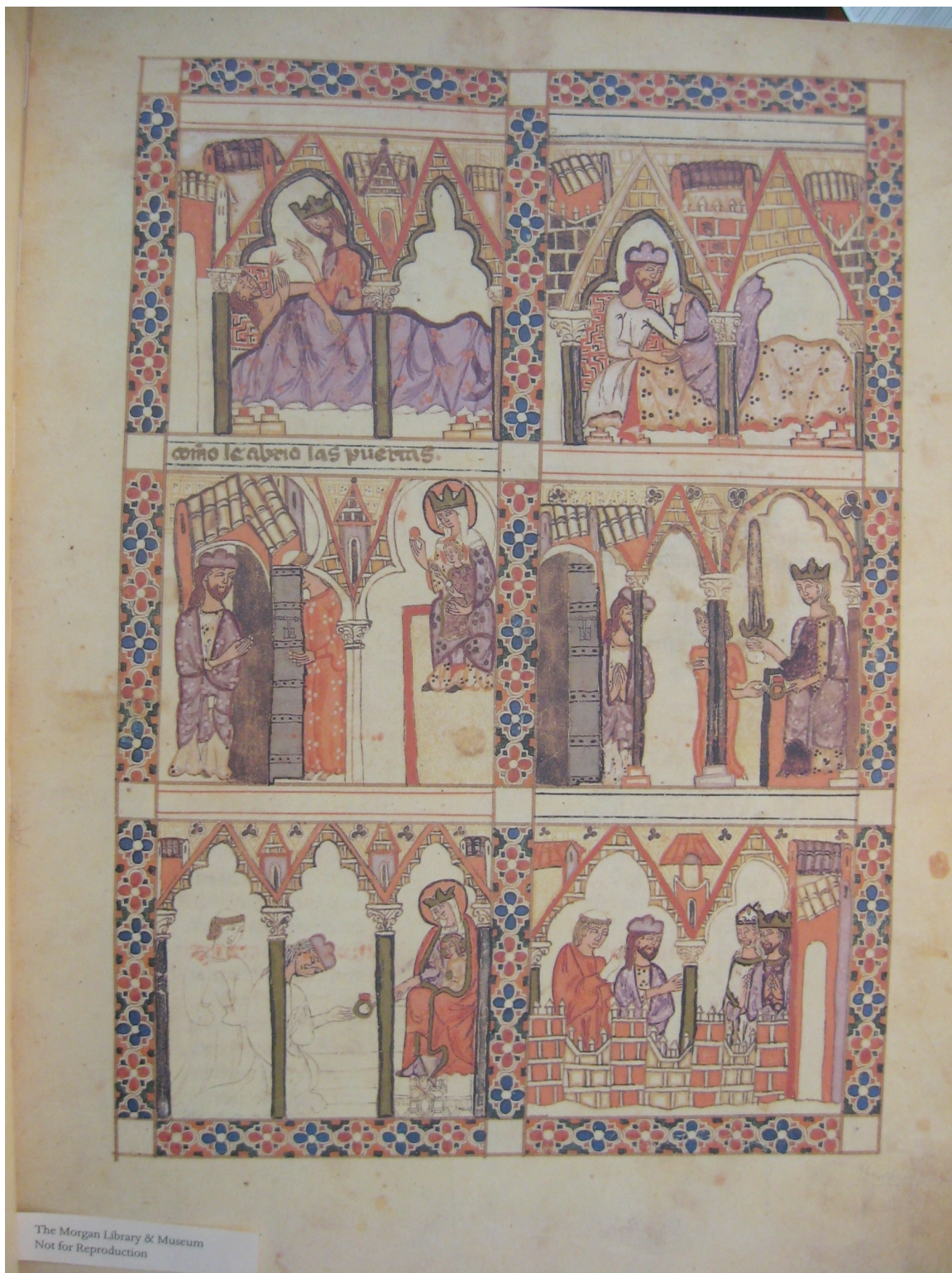
at the apex of the tableaux, the Virgen de los Reyes.<sup>10</sup> The western-oriented gaze of the audience was confronted with a spectacle of riches, royalty, and religious symbols and figures, into which the principal actor of the drama, the nearly two-meter-high wooden, costumed statue of Mary and Child, would make its entrance.<sup>11</sup> From the perspective of parishioners in the nave, the spatial organization symbolically and ritually linked monarchs living and dead the mother of Jesus and queen of heaven. Moreover, when the doors of the tabernacle concealed the Virgen de los Reyes, the statues of the monarchs became the main focal points, and protagonists, of a sacral-political visual narrative.

Framed by stone baldachins, the cenotaphs of Fernando and Beatriz were situated above their own remains and to the left of the center altarpiece. Verisimilitude and theatricality appear to have been on the minds of the designers and craftsmen of the royal simulacra: illuminated by candles and four silver lamps, the figures were dressed with clothing from their actual lives, wore crowns of gold and precious stones, and rather than being fixed on a pedestal, sat on majestic, silver-coated chairs. Sometime shortly before or after Alfonso's death, the sword carried by Fernando during the conquest of Seville was placed in the statue's right hand; this moment is recalled in *cantiga* 292 (Figure 2.2). As María Laguna Paúl describes it, "These

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<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Ahmar, King of Granada, made annual pilgrimages to Seville to renew his homage to the Castilian Crown, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), 364-65. A number of additional references to visits by Muhammad II, Andalusí potentates, and the King of Egypt are made in the *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, Shelby Thacker, José Escobar, and Joseph F. O'Callaghan (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002), 35; 47; 72; 199; 230. By 1281, Alfonso was abandoned by his immediate family, all of whom supported the ascension of Alfonso's eldest son, Sancho, to the throne. After Alfonso's death, Sancho IV had a statue of Alfonso added to the ensemble and, against his father's wishes, placed Alfonso's sepulcher in a position of secondary focus to Fernando's tomb. Sancho IV also contributed a silver tabernacle mounted on four pillars, ornamented with heraldic emblems, and furnished with precious stones.

<sup>11</sup> The unadorned statue measures 1 meter, 76 centimeters lengthwise; a crown would make the statue taller. Juan Carrero Rodríguez, *Nuestra Señora de los Reyes y su Historia* (Sevilla: J. Rodríguez Castillejo, S.A., 1989), 31.



**Figure 2.2**  
Illumination to cantiga 292, F manuscript

statues were not mere post-mortem presences, but rather formed part of the ceremonial [performances] of the royal family and received the same protocols as the [living] sovereigns.”<sup>12</sup>

The spectacle did not merely suggest paratheatrical movement; the performers of the Cantigas set the tableaux into action with music, verse, dance, and physical animation. The most likely positions for the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim musicians and performers were the altar platform and the aisles of the nave.<sup>13</sup> The musicians played a number of instruments common to medieval European jongleur tradition—zithers, shawms, harps, fiddles, portative organs, pipes and tabors, and bagpipes—as well as the *al-’ūd*, *rabāb*, *qītār*, *al-daff*, and *al-bandader*, which were introduced to the continent by way of Seville, the center of Arabic musical culture in the High Middle Ages (Figures 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.6).<sup>14</sup> Among the various potential physical responses to the music, including mime and gesture, male and female dancers would have moved in a circle, hands clasped, as was traditional in thirteenth-century court culture (Figure 2.7).<sup>15</sup> The atmosphere in inner sanctum was close, filled with the odor of burning wax and oil. As music, smoke, and light escaped from the royal chapel through the iron railings that delineated

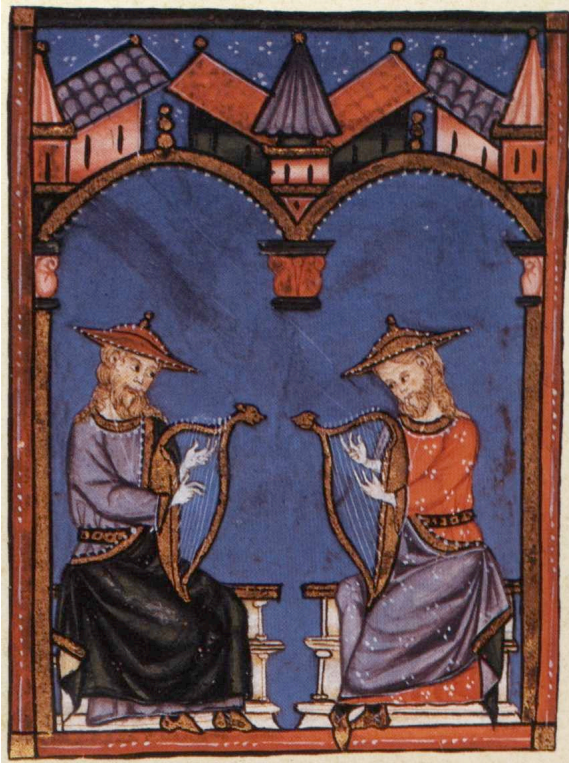
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<sup>12</sup> “Estos simulacros reales no eran únicamente una mera presencia post mortem sino que formaban parte del ceremonial de la realeza y recibieron el mismo protocolo que los soberanos,” Laguna Paúl, “La Capilla de los Reyes,” 244. The royal simulacra corresponded to the realist style that was in vogue during the reign of Federico II Hofenstaufen (Alfonso’s grandfather). This realism was achieved scenographically by positioning the figures under stone arches and dressing them in mudéjar clothing.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps to accommodate musicians, dancers, and the life-sized statues of Fernando and Beatriz, the original altar platform was larger than the contemporary altar space of the royal chapel of Seville.

<sup>14</sup> Rosario Álvarez, “Los instrumentos musicales en los códices alfonsinos. Su tipología, su uso y su origen. Algunos problemas iconográficos,” *Revista de Musicología* 10, no. 1 (1987): 67-104. In Muslim medieval Iberia it is estimated that in addition to indigenous types, over forty musical instruments were imported from the Middle East and crafted in al-Andalus. Mahmoud Guettat, “The Andalusian Musical Heritage,” *Garland Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 6, ed. Virginia Danielson (New York: Routledge, 2001), 446. Regarding Arabic instrumentation in the CSM, see Henry George Farmer, “Clues to the Arabian Influence on Musical Theory,” *JRAS* (1925): 61-88, and Dwight F. Reynolds, “New Directions in the study of medieval Andalusian Music,” *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1, no. 1 (Jan. 2009): 37-51.

<sup>15</sup> Seated trovadores were capable of producing a range of movements. Denise Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages: Sex, Gender and the Medieval Iberian Lyric* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 12. See also Antonio Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Madrid, 1913), 191-92.



**Figure 2.3**  
Romanesque harps played by Jews,  
illumination to cantiga 80, E manuscript



**Figure 2.4**  
Early portative organ, played by Alfonso X,  
illumination to cantiga 380, E manuscript



**Figure 2.5**  
*Qitars* played by Muslim and Christian  
men, illumination to cantiga 200, E  
manuscript



**Figure 2.6**  
Pipes and tabors played by shepherds,  
illumination to cantiga 120, E manuscript



**Figure 2.7**  
Illumination to cantiga 120 (panel 1), T manuscript

the space, the chapel proclaimed itself from within the vast, dark emptiness of the surrounding mosque space.<sup>16</sup>

Like a majority of songs from the collection of 427 songs,<sup>17</sup> Cantiga 170 (“*We should praise her who always does good and in whom all moderation lies,*”) follows an Andalusí poetic structure (*zajal*), very rare in the wider Galician-Portuguese song tradition (Figure 2.8).<sup>18</sup> For the celebration of the Assumption, it is possible that a trovador or minstrel from Alfonso’s court—Pero de Ponte, Bernaldo de Bonaval, María Pérez Balteira, or Aires Nunes—sang its verses:<sup>19</sup> “This is the Mother of Our Lord, Holy Mary, who always is the most excellent. Therefore we should praise Her, and we can never praise Her enough.”<sup>20</sup> It may have been at this point that the doors of the central altarpiece opened, dramatically revealing the life-sized statue of Mary carrying her son on her left arm (Figure 2.9). Believed to have been the end result of Fernando’s desire to possess a sculptural representation of the Mother of God that reminded him of the “sweet beauty and warm expressions of the one that appeared to him in transcendental moments for the future of the Reconquista,”<sup>21</sup> the wooden statue was covered in white kidskin, simulating human flesh. Although the costumes for the mannequin have changed over the centuries, the slippers on the feet of the Virgen de los Reyes today are from the thirteenth century. On the

<sup>16</sup> As part of the process of converting the mosque, Christians had walled off the nineteen open arches between the Patio de los Naranjos and the haram, eliminating natural light and ventilation from the interior.

<sup>17</sup> Throughout this chapter I follow Walter Mettmann’s numeration of songs from his definitive edition *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Castilia, 1986-1989), unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>18</sup> Zajal is a poetic form that originated in al-Andalus around the ninth century. The musical form for zajal is unknown. “The musical form of the Andalusian *zajal* with asymmetrical strophes must certainly have been similar to that of the *muwashshah*, given that the *zajal* and *muwashshah* are the popular and erudite realizations of the same poetic-musical phenomenon.” Pedro Ferreira, “Rondeau and Virelai,” 138.

<sup>19</sup> These are the names of some of the performers at Alfonso’s court. Amparo García Cuadrado, *Las Cantigas. El Códice de Florencia* (Murcia: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Murcia, 1993), 16.

<sup>20</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 205.

<sup>21</sup> “[L]a dulce belleza y candorosa expresión de la que se le apareciera en transcendentales momentos para el porvenir de la Reconquista.” José Hernández Díaz, *La Virgen de los Reyes, Patrona de Sevilla y de la Archidiócesis. Estudio Iconográfico* (Sevilla: Imprenta Suárez, 1947), 24. Physical descriptions of the Virgen de los Reyes are based primarily on this anatomical study performed for the Archdiocese of Seville by José Hernández Díaz. From this point forward, I supply citations for descriptions of the Virgen de los Reyes only when other sources are used.



**Figure 2.8**  
Illumination to cantiga 170, T manuscript



**Figure 2.9**

*Virgen de los Reyes*

(The Jesus doll was moved to her lap sometime after the medieval period)

insteps of each of her slippers is a *fleur-de-lis* flanked by three eight-pointed stars, and on the side, the word “*Amor*” (Figure 2.10). For the festival of the Assumption, the Virgin Mary often wore a silk veil about her head.<sup>22</sup> The statue was (and is) decorated with silver, rubies and emeralds and an enormous skein of gold thread was bound to her oblong scalp with minuscule pins. With her son in her arms, she seemed “alive and in the flesh.”<sup>23</sup> The limbs of Mary and baby Jesus articulate at the waist, knees, wrists, elbows, and shoulders, and were controlled by a puppeteer manipulating rods from behind the tabernacle.<sup>24</sup> A different mechanism controlled the movements of their heads: set between the shoulder blades of both Mary and Jesus, an internal apparatus consisting of cogs, straps, and ropes moved the heads of Mary and Jesus horizontally (Figure 2.11). When turning to face the left and right sides of the chapel, Mary and Jesus encountered the other characters of the drama: the representational Fernando, Beatriz, and Alfonso, and the live performers. When facing forward, their eyes would have implicated the audience, involving them in the sacred world of the performance.

The apparent miraculous animation of raw materials might have suggested to the audience a living metaphor of sacred embodiment from the next verse of *cantiga* 170: “in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us in flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels.” By raising her right arm, Mary could indicate the “ranks of angels” carved on the insides of the tabernacle doors; the open gesture also welcomed the parishioners into the realm of her graces. When the court minstrel sang “I swear I will praise Her as long as I live and will always speak well of Her blessings, for I know for certain that

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<sup>22</sup> In *Cantiga* 18, the story of a miracle occurring on the day of the Assumption is told: “. . .the silkworms made another veil, so that there might be a pair, and if someone wished to take one of them, there would be another left. Therefore, King don Alfonso, as I learned, took the most beautiful of them to his chapel. On holy days he has it brought out to eradicate heresy in those who foolishly doubt the Virgin.” Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 27.

<sup>23</sup> “[V]iva en carne.” Laguna Paúl, “La Capilla de los Reyes,” 244.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 246.



**Figure 2.10**  
*Virgen de los Reyes, feet and slippers*

Lámina II



4



5



6



7

Figuras 4 y 5. Virgen de los Reyes. Figuras 6 y 7. Niño Jesús de la Virgen de los Reyes. Catedral. Sevilla.

**Figure 2.11**  
*Virgen de los Reyes and child, anatomies*

when I die I shall see Her face,”<sup>25</sup> the audience—acknowledging Alfonso as the subject of the refrain—shifted their attention to the trovador king. As pictured in so many of the *cantigas de loor* miniatures in the CSM collection, Alfonso knelt to face the statue in a sign of humble servitude, beckoning the audience to follow his example (Figures 2.7, 2.8, and 2.12).

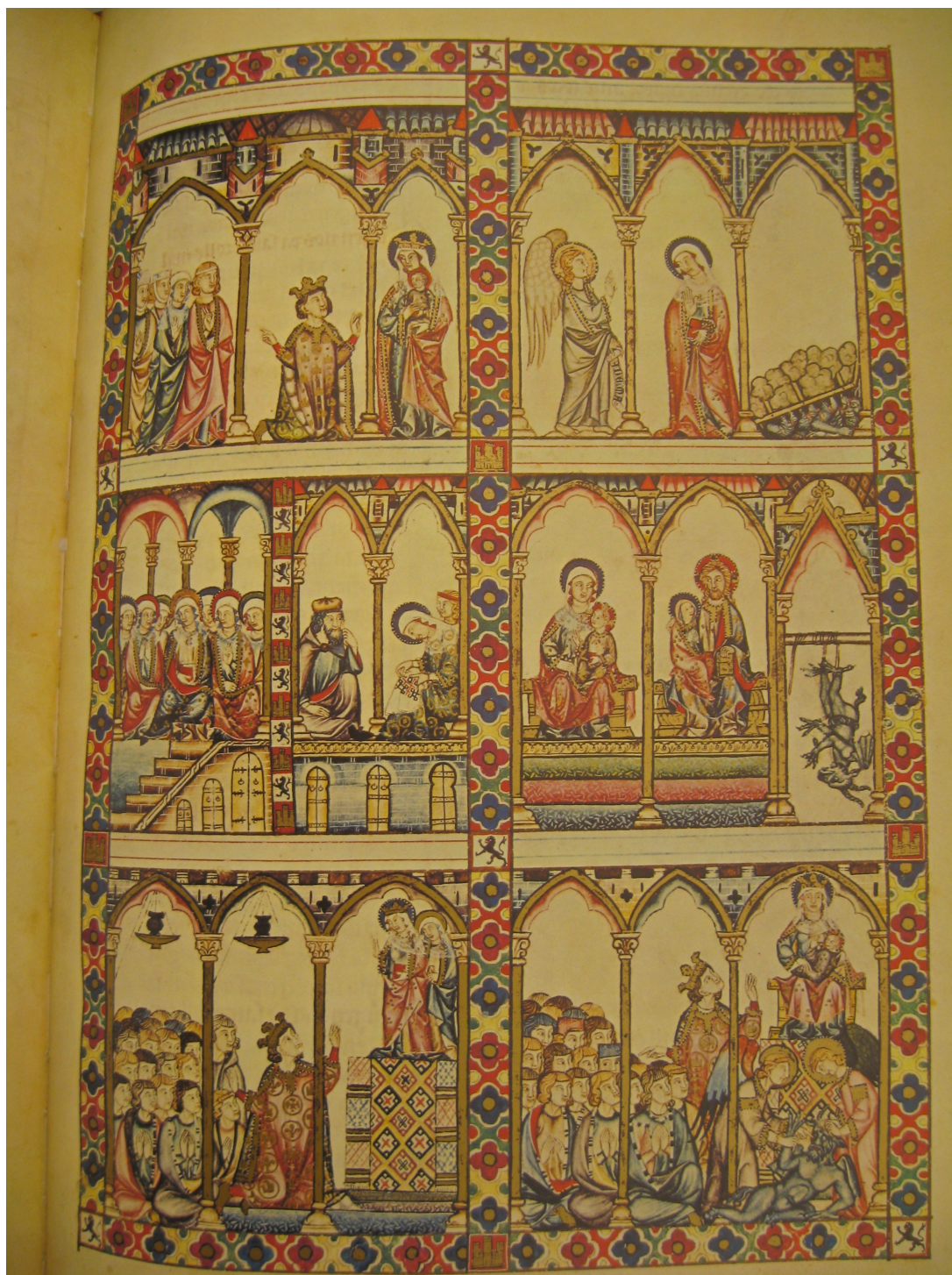
At the end of the concert, the statue of the *Virgen de los Reyes* was removed from the royal chapel and processed along the southern qibla wall of the *masjid jami'*. Statues of Mary were used commonly in liturgical processions, for which there is a great deal of evidence in the late middle ages, but in the *Cantigas* as well, where it was written in song 345 that “the statue [was] returned to the chapel with a very large procession, as is fitting.”<sup>26</sup> In the darkened space of the haram, the procession passes the mihrab and a painting of the *Virgen de la Antigua* (Ancient Virgin). It is legend that this particular painting was a remnant of the old Visigothic church and was discovered in the mihrab by Fernando during the conquest of the city (in fact, the painting is Byzantine in origin). The procession of the *Virgen de los Reyes* along the qibla wall was partly framed by images of San Cristobal, Santa Elena, and Fernando (as the “New Constantine”) painted on the pillars of the distinctive Islamic, horseshoe arches of the haram (Figure 2.13). The nave then lead the procession past the *capilla mayor* (main chapel), which contained the *Virgen de la Sede* (Virgin of the See) (Figure 2.14), another statue associated with Castilian royalty and Reconquista, then northward through the Patio de los Naranjos, and finally into the Sevillian streets.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 205.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 421.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph O’Callaghan writes that the *Virgen de la Sede*, which resides to this day behind the altar of the Gothic cathedral, was likely the subject of a few of the songs. *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill, 1998), 54. From at least 1255, the *Virgen de los Reyes*—the official patron of the city—was carried in procession during Marian feast days, the festival of San Clemente celebrating the conquest of Seville, and rogation ceremonies “como en estaciones de penitencia o rogativas para pedir las necesarias aguas, terminación de la sequía o hambre, pestilencia, así como dar gracias cuando estas calamidades han cesado. En



**Figure 2.12**  
Illumination to cantiga 90, T manuscript

estas procesiones extraordinarias la comitiva ha recorrido no solo la estación tradicional de las Gradass, sino que ha cruzado Sevilla de punta a punta y hasta ha salido fuera de su recinto amurallado, y ha pasado el Guadalquivir para acudir al templo de Señora Santa Ana.” Carrero Rodríguez, *Nuestra Señora de los Reyes*, 81-82. The CSM also provide textual and visual evidence of Marian statues carried in procession: cantigas 2, 24, 128, 208, 324 and 345.



**Figure 2.13**

View of nave of *La Mezquita* along the *qibla* wall, facing east (reconstruction)



**Figure 2.14**

*Virgen de la Sede*, thirteenth century,  
*Capilla Mayor, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede*, Seville

Alfonso, armed with the jewel-encrusted sword carried by his father during the conquest of Seville, was transported in a privileged position of the procession—near the Virgen de los Reyes.<sup>28</sup> The musicians and dancers accompanied the train out of the mosque-cathedral, and at different stations along the route performed cantigas de miragre from the Alfonsine song collection.<sup>29</sup> The procession of songs and images continued winding its way along narrow streets lined by Islamic buildings and homes, finally returning to La Mezquita late in the afternoon.

### *Manuscripts/performances*

Four contemporary manuscripts of the CSM survive: **To** (the Toledo MS, now in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid), **T** (the *códice rico*, in the Escorial Library), **F** (the Florence MS, in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence), and **E** (the *códice de los músicos*, also in the Escorial). They represent at least three stages in the evolution of the CSM project: an early collection of over 100 miracle and festal poems with musical notation (To); followed by an expanded luxury collection of 400 songs with musical notation and fine illustrations (T/F), of which the second volume (F) was left incomplete;<sup>30</sup> and a hastily completed reference collection of 400 songs with musical notation and miniatures of musicians with their instruments (E). Precise creation dates for these manuscripts are not known; the general consensus, however, is that the manuscript project was inaugurated around 1264 and ended in 1284 upon Alfonso's

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>29</sup> Of particular interest to the king and Castilian settlers of al-Andalus are a group of later compositions concerning the colonization of nearby El Puerto de Santa María. Twenty-three songs about El Puerto de Santa María appear exclusively in the Escorial MS, *códice de los músicos*, the last Cantigas manuscript to be assembled. Joseph O'Callaghan argues that the Puerto de Santa María songs were composed and performed, in part, in order to publicize the advantages of the new Andalusí colony to prospective settlers. "Given the king's evident desire to publicize the advantage of El Puerto de Santa María to prospective settlers, I believe he must have arranged to have these *cantigas* sung or recited before the general public...." O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María*, 174.

<sup>30</sup> Since I am working under the common assumption that T and F are parts one and two of the same collection, I often refer to them as T/F. García Cuadrado, *Las Cantigas. El Códice de Florencia*, 26.

death, or shortly thereafter.<sup>31</sup> The elaborations and particularities of each stage of production of the four manuscripts inform us not only about Alfonso's court and Castilian culture, but also about the performative uses of the manuscripts as objects of readership and evidence for, and about, embodied performance. Crucially, we cannot limit the study of the *Cantigas* to the time frame of manuscript production, since they were performed in La Mezquita after Alfonso's death. In the following pages I discuss the four extant manuscripts within the context of their cultural milieu—how they were composed, compiled, read, performed, and received—and how these processes fashioned colonial spaces and social identities in thirteenth-century al-Andalus shortly after conquest by the kingdom of Castile-León.

The history of Alfonso X as a collaborator, composer, and director of the team of scribes, illuminators, and performance artists has produced a large bibliography.<sup>32</sup> In part, Alfonso's biography informs about the politics, society, and culture of Alfonso's court. But it also shows how performance intersected with many dimensions of the Castilian court, since trovador and manuscript cultures functioned as vehicles of influence, instruction, and power relations throughout the stages of creation, workshop, transcription, and execution of the spectacle of the *Cantigas*. The *Cantigas* project employed a variety of "actors," since the creation of the manuscripts and spectacles required a significant amount of organized collaboration between various groups. Alfonso collaborated with professional poets and musicians throughout the process of composition and live presentation of the "the most personal of the Alfonsine works

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<sup>31</sup> For a thorough discussion about dating and compilation of the *Cantigas*, see Stephen Parkinson, ed., *Cobras e son: Papers on the Texts, Music, and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'* (Oxford: European Humanities Research Center of the University of Oxford, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> The Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database contains a large, searchable bibliography on each of the 429 songs, as well as a vast range of information relevant to collection, composition and compilation. The database lists nineteen secondary works that discuss the prologue. Centre for the Study of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Oxford University, dir. Stephen Parkinson, accessed March 28, 2012, [http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/index.php?p=poem\\_list](http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/index.php?p=poem_list).

we know.”<sup>33</sup> In addition to the scores of Castilian and Andalusí musicians and dancers that populated his court, Alfonso employed approximately twenty Galician-Portuguese and Provençal trovadores during his reign, all of whom participated in composition, rehearsal, and revision of the content of the Cantigas prior to, and during, manuscript production and public concerts.<sup>34</sup>

Mapping the material developments of the Cantigas project—from the production of *rotuli* (rolls) through the various stages of manuscript production—will clarify the historical picture of performance at Alfonso’s court.<sup>35</sup> Performances arose out of a number of complementary needs of the Castilian monarchy: to praise Mary, entertain the court, and develop material that would eventually be recorded in manuscripts. Perhaps the strongest indication of public presentation of the songs can be linked to the performative needs of the Castilian administration of the Sevillian colony. There were great demands on Alfonso’s court to stabilize the economic and cultural spheres of the post-conquest city; the Cantigas project required tremendous resources and can be linked to colonial operations of cultural incursions and conversions. Anything less than performance of the songs would have not accomplished the performative goals of Alfonso’s court, since access to the luxury manuscripts was likely limited to select members of the court.

To reiterate what I stated in the preface, academic debates about whether or not a theatrical tradition in thirteenth-century Castile existed are frivolous on a number of fronts: first,

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<sup>33</sup> Joseph T. Snow, “The Central Role of the Troubadour *persona* of Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 56, no. 4 (Oct. 1979): 306.

<sup>34</sup> Milá y Fontanals lists ten Provençal troubadours: Aimeric de Belenio, Arnault Plagues, Bertran Carbonel, Bertran de Lamanon, Bonifaci Calvo, Folquet de Lunel, Guilherme de S. Didier, Guilherme de Montagnagout, Guiraut Riquier and Nat de Mons. Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España* (1861) (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Obras de Manuel Milá y Fontanals, 1966), 117. H. R. Lang has assembled the names of eleven Gallego-Portuguese poets: Affons’ Eanes de Cotom, Gil Perez, Conde, Gonçal’ Eanes do Vinhal, Joam Vaasquez, Pero Gomes Barroso, Pay Gomes Charinho, Pero da Ponte, Pedramigo de Sevilba, Joham Baveca, and Pero Mafaldo. H. R. Lang, “The Relations of the Earliest Portuguese Lyric School with the Troubadours and Trouveres,” *Modern Language Notes* 10, no. 5 (April 1895): 104-16.

<sup>35</sup> Rotuli were long strips of parchment or papyrus used for writing and were much less expensive to produce than manuscripts.

claims of a lack of a theatrical tradition nearly always rely on a narrow definition of theatre as evolving exclusively out of the Christian rite; second, this definition rests on the untenable supposition that the religious ritual and theatre are mutually exclusive cultural forms; and third, such a position ignores the rich and multi-vocal secular performance tradition of the Iberian High Middle Ages. The fact that just such a tradition is richly documented in the CSM and yet remains outside the purview of performance analysis is perplexing. The dearth of critical writing on the connections between performance and the CSM suggests that scholars assume that, without direct testimonial evidence of performance in the thirteenth century, it is best to leave well enough alone. Although this view has not been explicitly stated, it gets expressed in the negligence of performance's vital role in the process of song development. For instance, when Stephen Parkinson and Deirdre Jackson reconstruct the complex processes that lead to the final CSM manuscripts, they do so without discussing the fact that performance was likely integral to processes of "collection, composition, and compilation." Although they imply that a wide range of types of musical, lyrical, and narrative materials extending beyond Marian anthologies were accessed throughout the process, Parkinson and Jackson are cautious when suggesting oral contexts and frames of embodiment for the creation of the Cantigas. In their analysis of cantiga 7, for instance, only textual sources are included in its "complex networks of paratextual elements."<sup>36</sup> Perhaps it is this hesitancy within the discipline of medieval studies that has created the situation where the CSM has not been subject to an in-depth examination for its place in performance history.

Criticism of the textual, notational, and visual elements of the CSM has occupied a central position in Cantigas studies, but serious work has yet to been done on the songs

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<sup>36</sup> Stephen Parkinson and Deirdre Jackson, "Putting the Cantigas in Context: Tracing the Sources of Alfonso X's Cantigas de Santa Maria," paper presented at the *International Congress on Medieval Studies*, Kalamazoo, May 7, 2005, accessed December 20, 2009, <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~srp/zoo5.pdf>.

themselves as an embodied practice. In fact, performance and theatre rarely get mentioned as one of the “dimensions” of the CSM at all,<sup>37</sup> even though a public display and performative dissemination of the songs during popular and religious festivals in the thirteenth century would likely have had a broader impact on Iberian society than manuscripts confined to royal and church treasuries. Medieval luxury manuscripts, like the four extant CSM manuscripts, were extremely expensive to produce and were treated as objects of adoration themselves. In general, luxury manuscripts were unlikely to be used directly as part of prayer, ritual, and other kinds of performance. Individuals who had access to the CSM volumes were a very small minority: members of the royal family, the upper tiers of the clerical population, scribes, and illuminators.<sup>38</sup> Three of the four luxury manuscripts show no signs of repeated use; only the To manuscript, the first of the four extant CSM manuscripts, contains marginalia that indicate the direct use of a manuscript in conjunction with performance.<sup>39</sup>

And yet nearly every *cantiga de miragre* in the T codex is accompanied by a pictorial representation of a statue of Mary and the baby Jesus seated on a shrine in a church, audience to a variety of forms of praise, dedications, ritual engagements, and courtly entertainments (Figures

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<sup>37</sup> Stephen Parkinson writes that the goal of the colloquium and book was to investigate the interrelations between the “different dimensions of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*—musical, artistic, literary, linguistic, paleographical, historical...” Stephen Parkinson, “Introduction,” in *Cobras e son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the ‘Cantigas de Santa Maria,’* ed. Stephen R. Parkinson (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 5. Israel Katz and John Keller write in their prologue to another broad collection of *Cantigas* essays, that of the many ways to think about the *Cantigas*, “dramatic presentation” is one. However, none of the essays in the collection analyzes the *Cantigas* in their dramatic context. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, eds. *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry* (Madison: Seminary of Medieval Hispanic Studies, 1987), 11-12.

<sup>38</sup> There are two main views about the physical items of the manuscript tradition: the first is that the songs were stored in an archive of individual sheets or rolls (*rotuli*) and manuscripts compiled by copying these rolls, with or without access to other manuscript compilations. The second view suggests intermediate copies of groups of *cantigas*, or a greater degree of copying from one “complete” manuscript compilation to others. Walter Mettmann, “Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las *Cantigas de Santa María* y sobre el problema del autor,” in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: HSMS, 1987), 355-66, and Stephen Parkinson, “False Refrains in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Portuguese Studies* 3 (1987): 21-55.

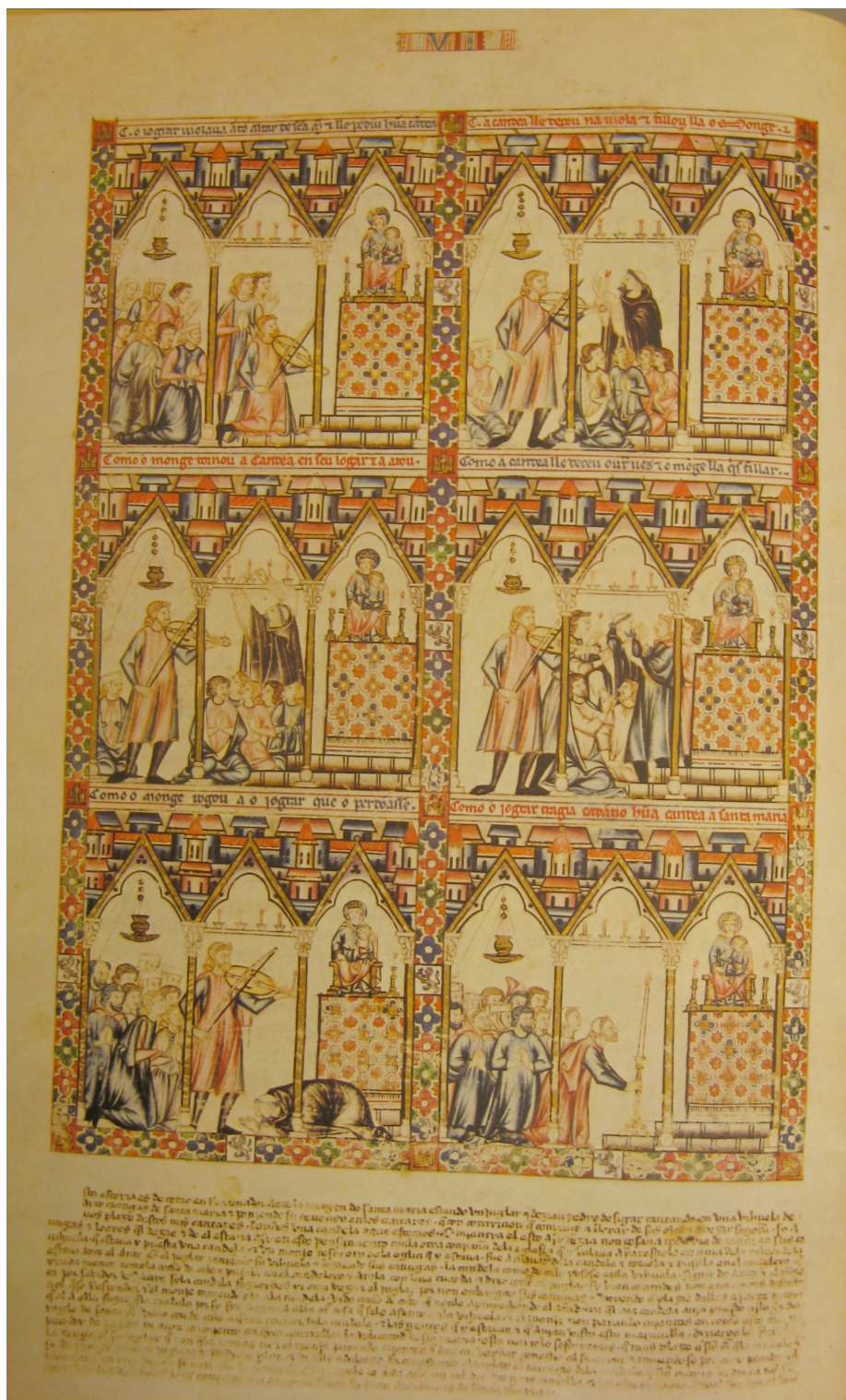
<sup>39</sup> The To manuscript contains instructions for performance of *cantigas de festa* in the marginalia. Schaffer, “Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript,” 65-84.

2.2, 2.8, 2.12, and 2.15). Do these illuminations represent only a private, unfulfilled wish to praise the Virgin? It is nearly impossible to conceive of any situation where this would be the case. Medieval prayer books, books of hours, and manuscripts containing song across medieval Europe were suggestions to the reader for an outward, embodied manifestation of prayer and ritual action.<sup>40</sup> Although we may never know precisely which of the songs were selected to be performed for Alfonso and his court, or the precise material circumstances of these performances, the assumption that many of them must have been performed in the mosque-cathedral, the royal palace, and in squares and other public spaces, is hardly controversial and is certainly strong enough that it should not forestall a detailed performance analysis.

Perhaps another issue that has discouraged the pursuit of a performance history of the Cantigas is the lack of practical knowledge of performance and medieval theatre in medieval Iberian studies generally. This deficiency is evident in a publication that goes the furthest in suggesting a theatrical life for the Cantigas in the thirteenth century. John Keller's 1991 essay is an unfortunate example of an attempt to apply modern theatrical criteria and definitions to an analysis of the Cantigas, while ignoring performance practices of thirteenth-century trovadores and juglares. Keller uses concepts like "drama" and "opera" as lenses for understanding the Cantigas, and so identifying incipient strains of post-medieval forms in thirteenth-century Iberia becomes an exercise in tracing a previously lost theatrical genealogy. Based on visual evidence from the *códice rico*, Keller attempts to locate clearly demarcated audience and performance spaces, separated by a sort of proscenium arrangement, drawn as arches set inside a panel to the illumination to Cantiga 90 (Figure 2.12, panel 3). However, the suggestion that "[t]he device of

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<sup>40</sup> Jill Stevenson argues that late medieval practices of visual piety were structured by vision. Within the culture of manuscript devotion, individual pursuits were filled with opportunities for idiosyncratic interpretations and embodied practices, *Sensual Bodies and Devotional Encounters: The Influence of Performance on Lay Visual Piety in Late Medieval York* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), and cf. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, Marilyn Lawrence, eds., *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005).



**Figure 2.15**  
 Illumination to cantiga 8, T manuscript  
 (The *juglar* Pedro de Sigrar playing a fidel)

the arches, often used outside Spain in manuscripts, in triptychs, and on stage, could make a scene enclosed by arches in a book acquire the characteristics of a *tableau vivant*” is deceptive on a number of fronts.<sup>41</sup> First, the idea that pre-sixteenth-century theatrical “scenery” or design elements were based on medieval paintings or sculpture, or vice-versa, is highly speculative.<sup>42</sup> Second, the theatrical proscenium was a development of seventeenth-century Italy. Finally, the non-representational uses of arches (and other natural and manmade elements) that delineate frames around miniatures were so pervasive in medieval manuscripts, and medieval painting and sculpture in general, that the appearance of these arches in the CSM cannot be considered unique to theatre. Other parts of his analysis, like describing the platform depicted in panel three of the illumination to Cantiga 90 as “trapdoors” of a stage, are equally problematic (Figure 2.12, panel 3).<sup>43</sup> If Keller needed an example of a material stage element for the Cantigas—one that we can justifiably assume was present during a performance honoring the Virgin Mary in a church—he could simply have discussed the rectangular shrine upon which the Virgin Mary sits in the final panel of nearly every song illumination of the *códice rico*.

Another piece of scholarship that has likely contributed to the sense of doubt surrounding theatrical performances of the Cantigas is Francisco Nodar Manso’s speculative performance reconstructions of thirteenth-century *cancioneros* (*arremedillos*, *juegos de escarnio*, and *juegos*

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<sup>41</sup> John E. Keller, “Drama, Ritual, and Incipient Opera in Alfonso’s Cantigas,” in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 77.

<sup>42</sup> George Kernodle has argued that elements of Renaissance theatre architecture are suggested in contemporaneous paintings and sculptures. *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944). However, the idea of a direct, material link between the visual and theatrical arts in the medieval period has been put into doubt. Pamela Sheingorn, “Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 22 (1979): 101-09, and Martin Stevens, “The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama,” *New Literary History* 22, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 317-37.

<sup>43</sup> Such an explanation rests on the assumption that the images contained in the CSM manuscript are strictly representational. It is doubtful that a trapdoor would have been so constructed into a permanent shrine structure. The evidence we have for trapdoors in medieval stage construction is for moveable wagons.

*de erteiro*, all of which roughly translate into “satirical play”).<sup>44</sup> Nodar Manso’s reconstructions are based upon unity of theme, characters, and genre, an approach that employs classical notions of “drama” to interpret medieval texts, denying the fluid and spontaneous quality of medieval itinerant performance. Despite faults in both Keller’s and Nodar Manso’s work, they at least recognize theatricality as an integral component of trovador culture.

Part of the difficulty in basing a performance history on evidence from codices is that very little direct, correlative evidence exists documenting the precise relationships between medieval trovador performance and scribal practices. What research has been done in this area demonstrates that performance and manuscript cultures were co-creative. For instance, in the early and High Middle Ages, a concrete relationship between the work of scribes and musicians in monastic culture was fostered for centuries; the cantor himself was very often in charge of ordering manuscripts and designing them for liturgies. Evidence for these practices is especially strong at Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>45</sup> Cluny, of course, exported liturgical practices to Toledo when the Roman rite was introduced in the Peninsula in the late eleventh century, so it is more than likely that techniques for preserving the language and music of canonical hours and Mass were brought to Castile as well.<sup>46</sup> However, generalizations about the musical and lyrical cross-pollination between the scriptorium and the world of itinerant and court

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<sup>44</sup> Juegos de escarnio, arremedillos, and juegos de erteiro are forms of satirical songs or poems written for and by courtiers. Although all three are types of burlesque and playful derision, it is not exactly clear if strict formal differences between them existed. Some scholars believe that the arremedillo was closer in form to the *momo* (mime) and used more outrageous and ridiculous costuming, while the juego de erteiro may have been a textual form only. The uncertainty about the precise meaning of the terms is complicated by the fact that they were used interchangeably in some sources. See Francisco Nodar Manso’s discussion and citations in *Teatro menor galaico-portugués (siglo XIII). Reconstrucción contextual y teoría del discurso* (Kassel: Universidad de La Coruña, Edition Reichenberger, 1990), 13-19.

<sup>45</sup> Margot E. Fassler, “The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation,” in *Early Music History: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Music*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 51.

<sup>46</sup> Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), 22-25.

performers that might suggest specific relationships between CSM collaborators cannot be made since practices throughout the medieval period were diverse.

As is often the case, the manuscripts themselves are the most vocal witnesses of thirteenth-century performance and a depiction of the very relationship between scriptorium and consort is contained in the T manuscript. The illumination of Prologue B to the collection depicts Alfonso directing the scribes, musicians, and singers through the process of textual and performative reproduction of the *Cantigas* (Figure 2.16). It is interesting to note that in the image Alfonso references a manuscript while directing his scribes to copy down music and lyrics onto rotuli. It has been hypothesized that the songs of the *Cantigas* were likely copied and stored onto these separate sheets as part of the process of distribution and development of the lyric and music of the songs. Since production of rotuli was less expensive and more expedient than creating a luxury manuscript, it would have constituted an important intermediary technique for compiling materials between manuscript editions.<sup>47</sup> The illumination from Prologue B suggests an additional purpose for the rotuli: if we follow the visual narrative outward from Alfonso in the central panel, the image divulges a link between live performance (represented by musicians in the far left panel and singers in the far right panel) and textual culture (represented by rotuli). As Martha Schaffer demonstrates in her careful analysis of the To manuscript, its cluster of *cantigas de festa* (songs for Christian festivals) “logically descend[s] from a performance exemplar.”<sup>48</sup> This fact raises the possibility that other songs in the collection were also based on, or created original material for, rotuli composition.

Although we do not have a single rotulus containing songs from Alfonso’s court in our possession, we can be fairly certain they were used for some kinds of performance, since court

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<sup>47</sup> Mettmann, “Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección,” 355-66. Parkinson, “False Refrains in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” 21-55.

<sup>48</sup> Schaffer, “Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript,” 79.

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**O**n Alfonso de Castela  
 ve Toledo de Leoz  
 Rey. e ten des Otopstela  
 ta o Rey no Daragon  
 e Otonna. de Taben  
 ve Sevilla Ourosly  
 e de M yrca u gran le  
 lle fez deus com apodi  
 e Algarne que gaou  
 de os duros e nossa fe  
 metru y. e az poblou  
**B**atallous q Rey no e  
 vir antigie que toueu  
 a mouros Neuc Xeres  
 eger Medina pieudeu  
 e Alcala douna ues.  
 que tos Romãos Rey  
 e per terir e Sennoz  
 este Livro com ahei  
 fes. a onre a Loor  
**D**airgen santa maria  
 que este madie de deus  
 en que ele auyro fya  
 poren tos amagres sea  
**R**es cantares e soes  
 salerosos de cantar  
 todos de sennas msões  
 com y potes achar.

**E**sta e a primeira cannga de loor de r  
 santa maria ementando os .vii. gojos  
 que ouie de seu fillo. — . . . . .

**E**stoge man q r eu  
 tro tur. pla se noz  
 onata. en q tos q r carne fular. te nta  
 e sagrada. por nos dar gran soldada.  
 no seu reyno e nos herdar. por seu  
 ze sa masnada. de uma plogada. sen

Figure 2.16

Illumination, music, and lyric to Prologue B, T manuscript

entertainers would have required separate sheets of music in order to execute a performance, prior to committing a song to memory. As Nodar Manso writes, “given that in the Middle Ages...the edition of the literary text was done on loose sheets, on which each actor’s role was copied separately, such a practice facilitated the loss of many dramatic works. The fact that the satires were copied implies that they were used in multiple performances.”<sup>49</sup> An additional form of theatrical embodiment took place in the scriptorium itself. Once songs were written down on sheets and made their way to the scriptorium for transcription, scribes sang the verses as part of the process of copying; what they wrote was based on what they *heard*, not always what they saw.<sup>50</sup> Once again, we have an example where performance intervenes in processes of cultural reproduction. These points strongly suggest that rotuli were intimately connected to live performances in a variety of milieux, and to a greater degree than were the luxury manuscripts we have in our possession.

In the illumination to Cantiga 1, on the very next folio of T, Alfonso instructs his scribes to copy the songs from his exemplar onto blank rotuli (Figure 2.17). It is crucial to note that both this image and the previous image from Prologue B indicate a process of copying from an exemplar (in manuscript and rotuli forms) onto additional sheets of rotuli, and not into bound manuscript, as one might expect. Operating under the assumption that rotuli were technical apparatuses employed solely for purposes of executing a luxury manuscript, as do Walter

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<sup>49</sup> “...ya que en la Edad Medio...le [sic] redacción del texto literario se hacía en folios sueltos, en los que se copiaba por separado el papel de cada actor, tal hábito facilitó la pérdida de muchas obras dramáticas. El hecho de que los escarnios se copiasen, implica que se utilizaban en varias representaciones.” Nodar Manso, *Teatro menor galaico-portugués*, 29.

<sup>50</sup> Alphonse Dain identifies recitation as a crucial step during transcription from exemplar into a manuscript. *Les manuscrits*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975), 40-46. See also J. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1945), 13.

**O** macar eu estas duas non ei  
 com eu queria pero prouam  
 a mostrar ende un pouco que sei  
 con fiado en deus o sabrue  
 ca per ele tenno que potera  
 mostrar to que quero algiar

**O** que quero e dizer looz.  
 da uirgen madre de nro sennoz  
 santa maria que esta mellor  
 coula q el fez. e por aquest en  
 quero seer oi mais seu trobar  
 e rogo ue que me queira p seu

**T** robar e que qira meu trobar.  
 roeter. ca per el quer eu mostrar  
 tos e magres que ela fez. e ar  
 querrei me leuar te trobar teli  
 por outra dona e tuda cobrar  
 per esta quant enas outras poi.

**O** a o amor desta sennoz e tal.  
 que queno a semp p y manual  
 e poilo gaannar a non lle fal  
 se non se e per sta grano ocaio  
 querendo leuar ten e faz mal  
 ca per esto o perde per al non.

**P** or en dela non me qe eu parir  
 ca sei de pran que se a te fmir  
 que non potera en seu te salir  
 tes auer. Ca nunca y falhu  
 quen llo soute con mltas poi  
 ca tal rogo semp ela ten oyu

**O** nte lle rogo se ela quise.  
 que lle praza to que ela disse  
 en mes cantans e sell apugr.  
 que me te galardon com ela ta

**O** que quero e  
 coula en queias  
 entendimento. por en queno fas  
 ao dauer. e de rason assas  
 per que entenda e sabia dzer

Figure 2.17

Illumination, music, and lyric to cantiga 1, T manuscript

Mettmann and Stephen Parkinson,<sup>51</sup> this piece of visual evidence from the *códice rico* might seem anomalous. But, as David Wulstan asserts, the To manuscript may have incorporated sheets of existing rotuli, which implies that rotuli containing music and verse may well have been produced without a concept of future binding.<sup>52</sup> If this is the case, then a different purpose for the To rotuli needs to be identified, and it is reasonable to assume the purpose was to produce scripts that would be used in performances of the songs.

Additional information about the relationship between performance and manuscript cultures is available when we consider the evolution of the CSM project within the context of Alfonso's artistic and political goals during his reign. As stated above, there were three principal stages in the elaboration of CSM manuscripts.<sup>53</sup> Each stage had a different relationship to musical performance culture of Church and court, and in general, the existence of such an active manuscript culture surrounding the songs indicates to us the successfulness of the *Cantigas* in performance. It seems self-evident that subsidy of scribal and artistic work would have withered at some point during the twenty-year period of manuscript production had the songs been rejected in performance, whether due to aesthetic, political, or ecclesiastic causes. But common sense alone is not sufficient proof, and I develop this argument in more detail below.

The first bound book of the CSM, the To (compilation starting around 1264 and completed prior to Alfonso's illness in 1277) appears to have had the closest physical proximity and utilitarian link to performance. Although it contains fine decoration, it is the least luxurious

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<sup>51</sup> Mettmann, "Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección," 355-66, and Parkinson, "False Refrains in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," 21-55.

<sup>52</sup> David Wulstan, "The Compilation of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio," in Cobras e son: *Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, ed. Stephen R. Parkinson (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 168.

<sup>53</sup> A good summary of the traditional dating and evolution of manuscripts is available in O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 8-11. David Wulstan provides a detailed analysis of the manuscripts by contextualizing production with the political realities of Alfonso's reign, and I follow Wulstan's chronology here. Wulstan, "Compilation of the *Cantigas*," 154-85.

of the four manuscripts and it is possible that sheets within the binding were cut from pre-existing rotuli. Regarding the group of cantigas de festa contained in the manuscript's appendices, Martha Schaffer concludes that "certain of its corrections and marginal notes demonstrate that it was converted to use as either a working exemplar or a personal copy for an individual involved in composition, compilation, and/or performance."<sup>54</sup> The marginal comments from the bottom of folio 144r of the manuscript (Figure 2.18) appear to be instructions to a church cantor to present this particular song in commemorating the vigil on the eve of Mary's death, and to organize a procession the next day: "at the August liturgy of Holy Mary [Assumption]. There will be given the day when the Mother of God ascended to heaven / and on this day will be created a procession for the Beatific Mother and Child Mary. This will be the day when the mother of God went to heaven / and on this day will be a procession for the Beatific mother and child Mary created."<sup>55</sup> Why notations appear only in the margins of the cantigas de festa of the Toledo manuscript and not on folios containing cantigas de miragre and loor is a question that remains unanswered. It is possible that since suggestions for specific times and places for presentation (Marian festivals in and around La Mezquita) are embedded in the cantigas de festa, they were more suggestive of public presentation; whereas cantigas de miragre and loor, which do not contain internal citations to specific holidays or settings for performance, and are generically unique to Iberian song culture, presented less obvious opportunities for recital. This explanation can only remain in the realm of conjecture since many details about the history of the manuscript are unknown.

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<sup>54</sup> Schaffer, "Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript," 66-67.

<sup>55</sup> "a uigia d sancta maria dagosto. Seia dita Des quando deus sa madr aos ceos leouo / e no dia seia dita a procissoe Beêta es maria filla madr e criada." Transcription from the manuscript by Schaffer, "Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript," 69.

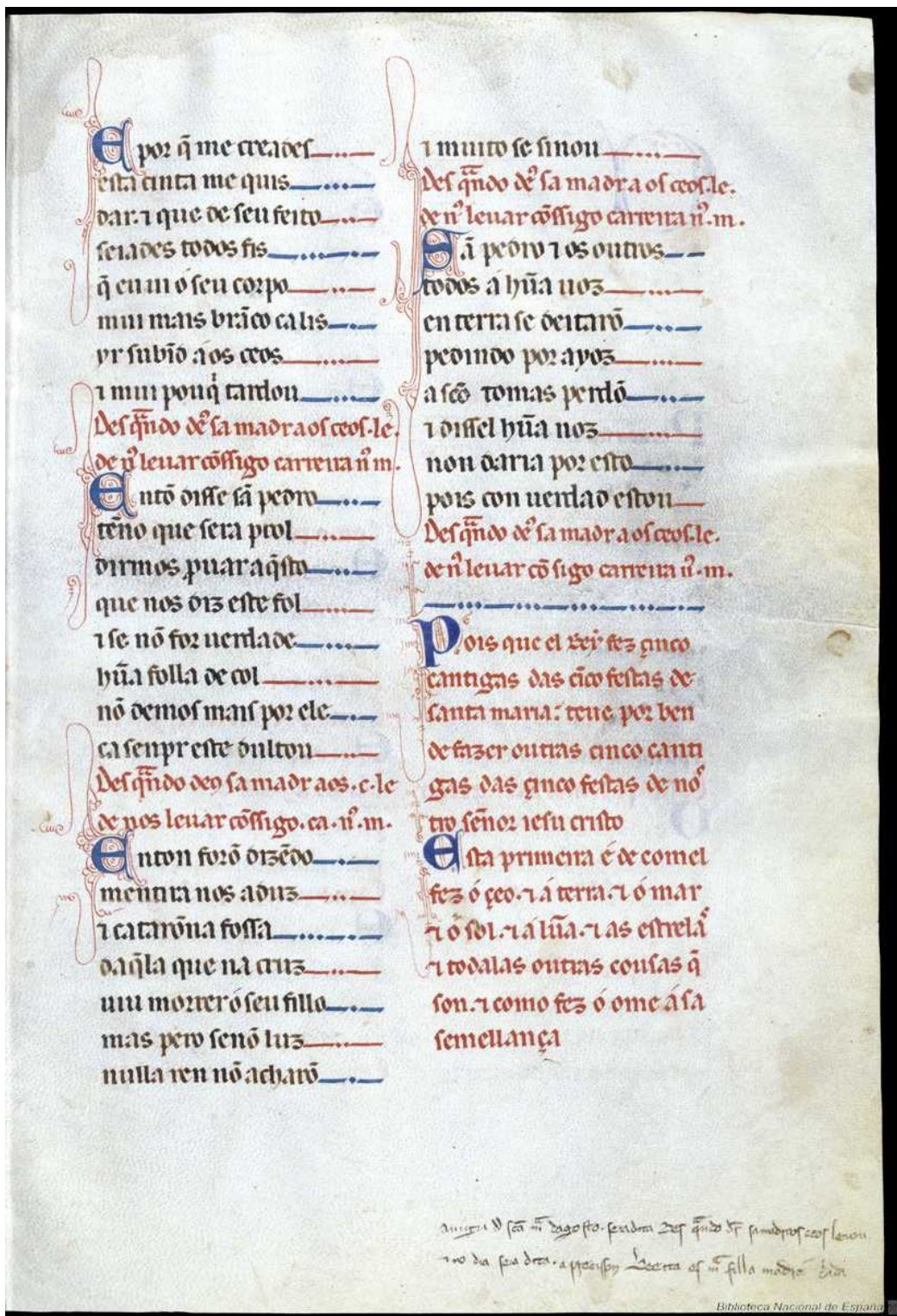


Figure 2.18  
 Cantiga de Festa, folio 144r, To manuscript

The second stage in the evolution of manuscripts begins with the copying of T around 1276. Since it is generally agreed that work on the *códice rico* was initiated in the eighth decade of the thirteenth century, manuscript production of the codex began after at least ten years of Cantigas performances.<sup>56</sup> This provided the conceivers, poets, musicians, and illuminators of the manuscript ample performance material from which to make amendments and additions, and to illustrate in some detail suggestions of corporal practices. Within the series and stages of manuscript production, T was in the best historical position to *describe* performance practices, specifically the artistic and political roles of the trovador king as the progenitor and director of the Cantigas. Most of the 100 songs of the To collection were replicated in the T manuscript in one form or another, and as Joseph Snow observes, the new songs in both T and the F manuscript expand the collection with materials that are more musically original, narratively more Iberian, and interpolated with a personal voice and presence of the king.<sup>57</sup> The near abandonment of the European repertory of miracle accounts signifies a greater investment of Alfonso in the Cantigas project, and particular concerns of the Castilian court are revealed throughout the songs.

Alfonso X is omnipresent in the Cantigas, as the Virgin Mary's devotee and personal "trovador," as a figure among the performers depicted in illuminations, and as king of the realm. The personal tone in the songs is especially apparent in Prologue B, where Alfonso writes: "I wish from this day forth to be Her troubadour, and I pray that She will have me...from now on I choose to sing for no other lady, and I think thereby to recover all that I have wasted on the others."<sup>58</sup> Alfonso's self-granted title, trovador of the Virgin, was not novel. A cleric named Berceo (1198-1268) was called the "juglar de Santo Domingo de Silos" and "trovador de la

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<sup>56</sup> The *códice rico* was bound in 1284 and, according to Alfonso's wishes, deposited in La Mezquita of Seville, where it remained until the sixteenth century when it was moved to El Escorial.

<sup>57</sup> Snow, "Central Role of the Troubadour *persona*," 305-16.

<sup>58</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 2.

Virgen.”<sup>59</sup> The Marian movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a marked influence on the content of verse in Occitania and the Iberian Peninsula; many poets dedicated their energies to creating love poems for the Virgin.<sup>60</sup> There are a number of characters that make Alfonso’s treatment of the theme unique, however. Alfonso’s personal involvement in the narratives is a distinguishing feature, as discussed below. Also, the progenitors of the song collection have conceived a vast network of miracles that are specifically Iberian, linking them directly to Peninsular Marian shrines. Finally, the collection engages with the colonial subjects of the Castilian empire, no doubt a result of the marked increase in Islamic populations living in Castilian-held territories during the thirteenth century.

Panel 1 of the illumination of Cantiga 120 from the *códice rico* documents King Alfonso directing performers to entertain the Virgin Mary (Figure 2.7). Alfonso has placed himself in the powerful position of intermediary between the holy presence of Mary and a group of dancers, musicians, and singers. This central position of the king in illustrations is quite common throughout the *códice rico*, especially in the songs of praise, and most prominently in the prologue to the same manuscript where Alfonso is pictured as the grand coordinator of the massive Cantigas project (Figures 2.7, 2.8, 2.12, 2.16, and 2.17). Both Snow and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez have concluded that, throughout T/F, Alfonso’s trovador persona in the cantigas de loor (sustained by his proximity to the Virgin) helped establish an identity that was equal parts king and performance artist.<sup>61</sup> Every tenth song is a song of praise, a pattern that

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<sup>59</sup> María Paz Horteaga, “Presencia del juglar en España,” in *La juglaresca. Actas del primer congreso internacional sobre la juglaresca*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI – 6, S.A., 1986), 124-25.

<sup>60</sup> Rachel Golden Carlson, “Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian *Versus*” (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000), 2-4.

<sup>61</sup> Snow, “Central Role of the Troubadour *persona*,” 305-16, and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, “Iconografía evangélica en las Cantigas de Santa María,” in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: Seminary of Hispanic Medieval Studies, 1987), 53-80.

provides structural signposts to the song cycle and constantly reminds readers and audiences of the role of Alfonso as the *Cantigas*'s progenitor and grand organizer.

Although Snow only intimates a theatrical element to Alfonso's protagonist role in the songs, to my mind this is a clear indication of the king's role in performance. "Love" and "praise," in the contexts of both trovador and ritual Christian cultures, are calls to action: Alfonso's performance of his trovador identity, his demonstration of sacred love, and the orchestrated spectacle provided by a supporting cast of dancers, musicians, and singers, all contribute to ritualistic, embodied exultation. It is difficult to conceive of a situation where this extraordinary amount of potential performative energy would have stayed confined in a manuscript. Were the *Cantigas* a matter of secretive adoration, a textual and graphic fetishization? Visual and textual references to ritual action and trovador performance throughout the collection challenge such a point of view.<sup>62</sup>

The performative action of the illustrations of the songs of praise provided Alfonso with the sacred and legal authority to enter into a privileged relationship between Mary and the people of his realm. This vision of a king residing at a central node of religious and courtly power—protagonist, religious instructor, and intermediary facilitating communication between Mary and the temporal world—contrasted markedly with the political condition of Alfonso's reign at the time. The middle and late 1270s was a period of political turmoil for the crown. With challenges to his rulership mounting on a number of fronts—from Castilian nobility, invading Benemerines, and his own family—and his efforts to obtain the title of Holy Roman Emperor

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<sup>62</sup> Direct visual and textual citations of song performance can be found in Prologue A and B, 2, 8, 100, 120, 122, 128, 194, 202, 259, 307, 324, 345, 363, 380, and 400.

coming to a head in 1275,<sup>63</sup> the T/F manuscripts promote a narrative of Alfonsine authority and command. The reader of the manuscript and the audience for its songs are confronted with a metonymic correlation between an image of the king as the decisive creator and manager of the massive Cantigas project and the concept of a powerful royal figure characterized by acts of good will, Christian conversion, and military success in alliance with Mary.

Codex T is the most richly illustrated of all the manuscripts and the fine detail and narrative layout of the miniatures lend themselves to a performative reading. Codex T and the F manuscripts required a substantial increase in scribal and artistic energies, ones that would match the persuasive powers of live presentation. While some of the illuminations from T/F can be characterized as descriptive, they are not necessarily representational. What they exemplify are the goals and ideological practices at large in the Castilian court; they are symbolic images that initiate rituals or performances of reading. This is not performance in the sense of *mise en scène* or embodied production of music and dance. A performative interpretation of the manuscripts involves examining the *mise en page*, the relationship between the multimedia aspects of the folio pages and readers.

As a number of medieval scholars have argued, manuscript reading in the Middle Ages was much more than an exercise in literary appreciation. An interactive and co-creative encounter took place between the reader-viewer and the composite of mixed media elements contained on the manuscript leaves. Since the majority of medieval people experienced manuscript culture through oral presentation, it is more than likely that paratextual elements in the CSM collections would have suggested to oral interpreters particular intonation and

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<sup>63</sup> Jesús Montoya Martínez suggests that Alfonso may have offered the T and F manuscripts to Pope Gregory X in order to convince the pope to grant him the title in 1275. “El Códice de Florencia: una nueva hipótesis de trabajo,” *Romance Quarterly* 33 (1986): 326-27.

gesture.<sup>64</sup> John Dagenais has pointed out that manuscript reading was “co-extensive” with the world of medieval men and women, where “acts of demonstrative rhetoric that reached out and grabbed [and] engaged the reader” required them to “take a stand about what he or she read.”<sup>65</sup> The devotional utterances in textual form are enhanced by the visual and musical information on the page. Text, illuminations, marginalia, glosses, and, in the case of the *Cantigas*, musical notation must be considered holistically and in conversation with one another in order to approach a sense of medieval manuscript reading, an engagement that Robert Clark and Pamela Sheingorn have termed “performative reading.”<sup>66</sup> In a recent article, Sheingorn defines performative reading as that which “constitutes the reader-viewer as a practitioner of affective devotion,”<sup>67</sup> constructing the identities of those engaged with the manuscript by casting them in the role of creative participant in the production of spiritual and social values.

A performative reading suggests not only the personal nature of Alfonso’s prayer song, but also the social power he wields, how he used the collection as a means of disseminating ritual behaviors to a broader audience through the multiplication of texts, in multiple forms. Manuscripts and performances reinforced the discursive powers of the *Cantigas*, and may have even informed certain practices and interpretations. For instance, Alfonso is almost always

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<sup>64</sup> Recent works that analyze manuscripts in their performance and performative contexts include Vitz, *Orality and Performance in Early French Romance* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999); Mary A. Suydam and Joanna E. Ziegler, eds., *Performance and Transformation: New Approaches to Late Medieval Spirituality* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999); Marilyn Desmond and Pamela Sheingorn, *Myth, Montage, and Visuality in Late Medieval Manuscript Culture: Christine de Pizan’s Epistre Othea* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Vitz, Regalado, and Lawrence, 2005; Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Elina Gertsman, ed., *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

<sup>65</sup> John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de Buen Amor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xvii.

<sup>66</sup> Robert L. A. Clark and Pamela Sheingorn, “Performative Reading: Experiencing through the Poet’s Body in Guillaume de Digulleville’s *Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist*,” in *Cultural Performances in Medieval France*, ed. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Roberta L. Krueger and E. Jane Burns (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), 135-36.

<sup>67</sup> Pamela Sheingorn, “Performing the Illustrated Manuscript: Great Reckonings in Little Books,” in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 5.

situated in the center of miniature panels in the T/F collection, a visual intercessor between groups of scribes, performers, courtiers, statues, and the spiritual presence of the Virgin Mary and her son. In illuminations, Alfonso becomes a character defined by a number of roles: teacher, intermediary, guide, and director. The illuminations situate the nexus of political and sacred power in the king's performative voice and gesture (Figures 2.7, 2.8, 2.12, and 2.17 visually demonstrate the variety of ways Alfonso generates action with gesture). Although performances of the *Cantigas* were likely not imitative of the *mise en page* of the manuscripts, performances were thematically linked to the manuscripts. For instance, as in the illuminations, Alfonso would have occupied a central space between spectators and performers, holy relics and courtiers during performances. The hypertextual, interconnected layers of cultural production existed in dialogic relationships, "how writing gets turned into action and how action gets recorded in writing, in how people conceive of the relation between them, in how they perform themselves to one another in the mutual mirrors of the spectacle and the page."<sup>68</sup>

Codex T was near completion when companion volume F was begun in 1279-1280. Based on visual evidence of Arabic motifs in clothing and architecture from F, scholars believe that the royal workshop was located in Seville at this point in Alfonso's reign.<sup>69</sup> Although the F manuscript is considered by many to be a companion volume to T, it is different in content and quality. Unlike the *cantigas de miragre* from T and F, which are sourced in pan-European Marian cults, many of the songs from F derive from oral tradition, are more distinctly Iberian, and may even bear some connection with Alfonso's own itinerary.<sup>70</sup> The F project was

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<sup>68</sup> Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text and Performance in Europe* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.

<sup>69</sup> Wulstan, "Compilation of the *Cantigas*," 176.

<sup>70</sup> O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 10-11.

abandoned around 1281, leaving the illuminations F half-finished and the poems lacking musical notation.

Near the end of his life Alfonso apparently forsook the T/F project in favor of codex E, the *códice de los músicos*. The illuminations of E are not visual narratives, as they are in T/F. Rather, they contain much simpler miniatures of musicians playing a remarkable variety of instruments and provide a detailed picture of thirteenth-century musicianship (Figures 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5). This compendium was not as linguistically or calligraphically fine as its predecessors; its execution was clearly more hurried. Significantly, all of the songs of E have musical notation, whereas the prior manuscript project, F, has none. David Wulstan believes that when Alfonso was deposed and fled to Seville, he also moved the contents of the Toledo scriptorium and work continued on E in Seville up until, and perhaps after, his death in 1284.<sup>71</sup>

A performance context may help us understand why the E project was taken up so late in Alfonso's life and departed in many ways from the very fine T codex. E's relationship to performance, I believe, was essentially prescriptive. Alfonso, who suffered periods of serious illness throughout the second half of his reign, was likely motivated to concretize his post-mortem status as *régisseeur* and stage manager of future concerts. The work on E was done during the same period that Alfonso wrote his second will, which contains orders for *Cantigas* performances, specifically the songs of praise in the collection, in the mosque-cathedral after his death. In the 1280s when Alfonso's workshop was situated in Seville, the songs produced in the later manuscripts (F and E) reference a great many more Iberian locales than do the early codices (To and T). Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal argues that the increase of citations to Iberian Marian shrines in the second half of the collection served to encourage resettlement along the Castilian

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<sup>71</sup> Wulstan, "Compilation of the *Cantigas*," 172-74.

frontier in al-Andalus.<sup>72</sup> It should not come as a surprise that a greater number of songs with Moorish characters were written during this later period when Alfonso was more actively pursuing the colonization of Andalusi territories and defending these against internal revolts and invasions from the Benemerines. Cantigas de miragre also served to familiarize Castilians with newly conquered townships, and to advertise the spaces to Castilians seeking opportunity. It is interesting to note that Seville is mentioned in twenty-two of the songs in the second half of the collection, and only three times in the first half; the rise of the city's strategic prominence corresponded to the increase of pan-Iberian citations of Marian shrines. Changes to already existing poems and music are also evident in E, and as Snow observes, Alfonso continued to exert “editorial control, in the standard manner described in the *General Estoria*.”<sup>73</sup> Musical and poetic emendations made to the songs may reflect refinements made during performances.

The códice de los músicos is the most complete of all the surviving Cantigas manuscripts, in the sense that it includes nearly all of the cantigas de loor, cantigas de miragre, and cantigas de festa of the earlier collections, as well as some new songs, and in this way serves as an authoritative reference manual to the musical omnibus. With the father of the Cantigas project near the end of his life, E presents a vision of what the Cantigas should look and sound like in the future.<sup>74</sup> Like modern stage directions, in which a playwright extends authorial control over the work in performance, the E manuscript prompts the manuscript user—presumably the cantor of La Mezquita—to employ a diverse and wide selection of musical instruments. The detail of instrumentation in codex E is not present in earlier CSM volumes. Miniatures of musicians playing dozens of different kinds of instruments accompany each of the forty cantigas de loor

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<sup>72</sup> There are eighty citations to Iberian shrines in all. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *La España del siglo XIII leída en imágenes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1986), 21-22.

<sup>73</sup> Snow, “Central Role of the Troubadour *persona*,” 307.

<sup>74</sup> O’Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 188-90.

from the *códice de los músicos*, the same songs that Alfonso ordered for performance in his will. When considered as a whole, the miniatures are visual exhortations that suggest an orchestra of sounds, visually constructing a complex aural landscape. The creation of the *códice de los músicos* coincided with the rise of the importance of manuscript dissemination of polyphonic and vernacular monophonic song in thirteenth-century Europe generally; “music was increasingly being viewed as a written product of the well-established scriptorium industry.”<sup>75</sup> The E manuscript, more than earlier CSM volumes, appears to have been motivated by this eye towards dissemination. I am not arguing that the purpose of the E manuscript project was purely prescriptive; certainly miniatures containing instruments were not dictating the pairing of specific instruments and songs.<sup>76</sup> But based on the direction this volume took away from its forebears, we can posit that the awareness of the impending absence of Alfonso X motivated many of the poetic, musical, and illustrative choices.

As I have demonstrated above, without an active performance tradition of the *Cantigas* during Alfonso’s reign the production of the manuscripts would not have occurred. As was the standard practice of troubadour song in European courts at the time, the development and distillation of musical and narrative ideas and motifs would have occurred prior to manuscript documentation. This is not to imply that manuscript production had no other purpose than to document an existing performance; however, as the manuscripts themselves testify, the metrical, tonal, and theatrical complexity of the immense song anthology relied on a lengthy process of

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<sup>75</sup> “By the time they were codified in the late thirteenth-century luxury anthologies, many pieces, from motets to troubadour songs, had already been subjected to a certain amount of written transmission.” John Haines, “Erasure in Thirteenth-Century Music,” in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 72.

<sup>76</sup> José María Lamaña cautions that the representations of musical instruments are imperfect, or imprecise. María Lamaña’s article also catalogues the instruments that appear in the miniatures of the E codex. “Los instrumentos musicales en los códices escurialenses,” in *Cantigas de Santa Maria de Alfonso X el Sabio* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1989), 21-42.

experimentation and development that included performance. As Susan Boynton remarks about medieval performance culture, “musical performance was inherently an act of composition or recomposition.”<sup>77</sup> Considering the cultural complexity and musical and poetic originality of the *Cantigas*, we can state with confidence that on some level the development of verse and musical forms in the *Cantigas* took place within a fluid network of performance events by performers from France, Italy, Castile, and al-Andalus. The details of these oral traditions are the subject of the next section.

### ***Law, history, and theatre***

By looking at legal codes, canon law, and standards of courtly practice through the lens of thirteenth-century performance we can appreciate the way performances of the *Cantigas*—and the performative creation of Alfonso as a unifying figure of religious and cultural empire—operated within micrologies of spiritual and political practices. The particular performance methods used to sanctify Sevillian sacred spaces with the living presences of the Virgin Mary and with Alfonso himself often conflicted with textual manifestations of legal and ethical standards. Alfonso’s *Siete Partidas* and other writings set down specific boundaries around juglaresque theatre, and I believe Alfonso’s breach of his own expressed limitations on performance helps explain the performative importance of the songs in the Andalusí colony.

With his nineteenth-century description of the profane, multilayered culture of juglares, Antonio Ballesteros contrasts outdoor jests, dance, and games (described under the section entitled “occupations and the underworld”) with religious and courtly performance:

People flocked to these rather free performances, where the juglar mimicked the villainy and rough attitudes of street vendors and unruly criminals, producing the loud guffaw of the villains and the loud and plebeian joy of the tradesmen. In contrast to these games

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<sup>77</sup> Susan Boynton, “Women’s Performance of the Lyric before 1500,” in *Woman’s Song: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Ann Marie Rasmussen and Anne Klinck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 47.

were sacred representations of the church, where the Birth of Christ, the Visit of the Magi, and His glorious Resurrection were remembered: clerics were banned from attending profane shows, and had to content themselves to listening in the royal chambers, or the harp or lute (played by the delicate hands of their female owners) in a magnate's palace, or the instruments with which students awakened the city on days of joy.<sup>78</sup>

Ballesteros's description intimates a separation between classes of performers according to spatial distinctions implied by public squares, churches, and royal quarters. Clerics are responsible for biblical plays while trovadores take on the duties of entertaining courtiers and the king. A stark distinction is made between courtly and itinerant performance culture, between the "rough attitudes of street vendors" and the "delicate hands" of female musicians. Despite these distinctions, the transference of artistic material (music, poetry, and ballads) between performers of high and low stature was, in fact, a matter of continuous practice, whether sanctioned or not. There are accounts of minstrels performing for statues of the Virgin during this period of medieval history, even though the juglar's "despised presence at a medieval liturgical ceremony was anathema."<sup>79</sup>

The category of trovador (often defined as a poet responsible for textual and musical composition, not necessarily singing and playing), as distinct from juglar (often defined as the man or woman responsible for the vocal, instrumental, and physical execution of the songs, ballads, jests, dances, etc.), began to emerge in the eleventh century within the elite culture of the

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<sup>78</sup> "Las gentes acudían a estas representaciones bastante libres, donde el juglar remedaba las villanías y desaposturas de los baratadores y turba maleante, produciendo las ruidosas risotadas del bellaco, y el júbilo bullicioso y plebeyo de los menestrales. Contraste hacían con estos juegos las representaciones sagradas de la iglesia, donde se recordaba el nacimiento de Cristo, la vista de los Reyes Magos o su gloriosa Resurrección: prohibición tuvieron los clérigos de asistir a los espectáculos profanos, y debían contentarse con escuchar en las regias cámaras, o en el palacio de un magnate, el arpa o el salterio, tocados por las delicadas manos de las dueñas, o los instrumentos con que los escolares alborotaban la ciudad en días de alegría." Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, 191-93. Ballesteros's account relies on the chronicles, laws, and statutes produced by the thirteenth-century Castilian court.

<sup>79</sup> W. L. Smoldon, "Medieval Church Drama and the Use of Musical Instruments," *The Musical Times* 103 no. 1438 (Dec. 1962): 837.

feudal courts.<sup>80</sup> Complications arise in historicizing medieval Iberian itinerant and oral culture when nomenclature is considered. Castilian and Galician-Portuguese terms like *trovador*, *juglar segrel* (*juglar*, approximately), *jogral* (*juglar*), *cortesana* (courtesan), *menestral* (minstrel), *bufón* (clown), *contrafazedor* (mime), *remendador* (imitator), *soldadeira* (female dancers), and *jograis* (male dancers), and antique classifications like *mimi* (mime), *histrione* (actor), and *thymelici* (musical performer in Greek drama), were variously employed in general ways to indicate entertainers of all kinds, and specifically employed to designate performer typologies.<sup>81</sup> Meanings of terms also changed over time and were often determined by local tradition.

Medieval Iberians themselves made efforts to define specific professions and genres within the motley field of denominations, as we see Alfonso doing in the *Siete Partidas*. During Alfonso's thirteenth-century reign, the need to parse categories and genre of entertainments was especially apparent.<sup>82</sup> Much of this parsing takes place in legalese: the first, second, and seventh parts of Alfonso's *Siete Partidas*. One could interpret the language on performance classification

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<sup>80</sup> "... el literato que escribe una obra para alegrar o divertir a los hombres no es un juglar si él no la recita ante un grupo de oyentes. Así arreglaremos la definición diciendo que juglares eran todos los que se ganaban la vida actuando ante un público, para recrearle con la música, o con la literatura, o con charlatanería, o con juegos de mano, de acrobatismo, de mímica, etc." Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1983), 12.

<sup>81</sup> "In the thirteenth-century Iberia, court entertainers were generally divided into four classes. *Trovadores*, usually noblemen who composed poetry as well as exercising other functions at court, sometimes would perform their own compositions and sometimes would have another performer, a *jogral* or *segrel*, perform their compositions. *Segreis* usually belonged to the lower nobility, or *escudeiro* rank; a status in-between *trovadores* and *jograis*, they composed and performed their own verse as well as that of other poets. Like *jograis*, *segreis* accepted *soldada* (payment) for their performances, yet they may have performed other functions in addition to entertaining. *Jograis* and their female counterparts, *soldadeiras*, were professionals who sang, danced, or played instruments for a living. While these individuals may have been of noble birth, their status as professional entertainers degraded them. The degraded status of female performers may have, ironically, increased their desirability, since it made them (at least in theory) sexually accessible to the men around them; not only did men greatly outnumber women at court, but honorable women were sexually off-limits. The accessibility of female entertainers contributed to their construction as a licensed sexual play space within the normative confines of court." Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages*, 42.

<sup>82</sup> The *Siete Partidas* is a comprehensive code of law first drafted during Alfonso's reign that had far-reaching influence on Castilian legal policies throughout the later Middle Ages and modern history as well. Although it probably reflected some of the social attitudes and norms of Christian society during Alfonso's reign, the promulgation of the laws did not take effect until 1348 when it became part of general Castilian law.

in the laws as being prescriptive, proscriptive, or descriptive (or some combination of the three), and a fairly active debate among historians has yet to provide a satisfactory resolution to these questions. Some scholars argue that since many of the laws were a gloss on Roman rules and certain language regarding priestly behavior was copied, the evidence might apply more to Italian culture than Castilian.<sup>83</sup> In response to this argument, Charlotte Stern makes the excellent point that when one compares Roman and Castilian law on theatre and performance, there are additions to the *Primera Partida* that suggest original thinking. For instance, there is no precedent for allowing devotional plays “in large cities where there are archbishops or bishops.”<sup>84</sup> Stern also argues that the sheer length of the Spanish text devoted to religious plays “bespeaks not a mechanical translation but a paraphrase and amplification.”<sup>85</sup>

The *Siete Partidas* does not provide a complete picture of the contemporaneous Iberian performance scene, and critics must incorporate a variety of archival sources when weighing matters regarding relationships between law and actual performance practices. My criticism of Humberto López Morales’s conclusion that the *Partidas* “...should not be taken as evidence of the existence of profane and liturgical theatre tradition in thirteenth-century Castile” is that he arrives at this restrictive reading after a philological engagement with source material for *Siete Partidas*—the *Fuero Real* and *Espéculo* (Iberian legal codes) and Papal Decretals—to the exclusion of all other contextual and performance evidence available to him.<sup>86</sup> If we contextualize and compare the text of the *Siete Partidas* with other forms of textual, visual, and

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<sup>83</sup> See, for instance, Humberto López Morales, “Alfonso X y el teatro medieval castellano,” *Revista de Filología Española* 71 (1991): 227-52.

<sup>84</sup> “en las cibdades [sic] grandes do hobiere arzobispos ó obispos....” Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 1, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), *Primera Partida*, Título VI, Ley XXXIV, 276.

<sup>85</sup> Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), 77.

<sup>86</sup> “...no debe ser esgrimida como testigo de la existencia de una tradición teatral profana y litúrgica en la Castilla del siglo XIII.” López Morales, “Alfonso X y el teatro medieval castellano,” 252.

material evidence, we can be fairly certain that the *Partidas* narrate a particular version of events that best suited the political, practical, and juridical needs of Alfonso's court, and therefore should be consulted as a source for theatrical evidence with caution. However, given the enormous performance collaboration and production by Alfonso and his courtiers, there can be no doubt that the *Siete Partidas* have some sort of relationship to actual Iberian practices at the time. When critics, like López Morales, use terms like “una tradición teatral” (a theatrical tradition), they are imposing modern generic designations onto a large field of practices whose fluidity and heterogeneity exceeds easy classification. Alfonso and his courtiers would not be concerned with establishing juridical boundaries around “theatre” practices precisely because a well-defined practice of “theatre” did not exist in thirteenth-century Iberia.

The second and seventh parts of the *Siete Partidas* contain passages that distinguish between proper and improper types of itinerant performance. When read in the context of the production and performances of Alfonso's canon of *cantigas de escarño e maldizer* (satirical songs), *cantigas de festa*, *cantigas d'amigo* (female-voiced love songs), *cantigas d'amor* (male-voiced love songs), *cantigas de loor*, and *cantigas de miragre*, these passages sound like a vigorous defense of trovador performance within the bounds of the court. *Segunda Partida, Título 5, Ley 21* allows performers to entertain knights at banquets with *cantares de gesta* (songs of heroic deeds), specifically recognizing the king's need to be entertained by songs and music and to hear “of histories and of *romances*, and other books that speak of things from which men receive joy and pleasure.”<sup>87</sup>

What Law 21 does not accurately reflect is the compositional and performance proximity of not only *cantares de gesta*, but also *cantigas de escarño e maldizer*, to the king. Scholars have

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<sup>87</sup> “...de las hestorias et de los romances, et de los otros libros que fablan de aquellas cosas de que los homes reciben alegría et placer.” Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 2, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), *Segunda Partida, Título V, Ley XXI*, 40.

situated the performance of these satirical poems squarely within the culture of the nobility, where “members of the highest ranks could perform comic songs without putting their respectability in jeopardy.”<sup>88</sup> Their content can be overtly sexual, offensive, and in the case of Alfonso’s corpus, were employed as performative weapons against his political enemies.<sup>89</sup> Law 21 disassociates the king from rough comic songs (songs that belonged to the repertory of the discredited juglaresque class of entertainers) by circumscribing the king’s entertainment needs solely to subjects of history, romance, and fable. But, in truth, Alfonso authored forty-six profane songs, in the Gallego-Portuguese style, the majority of which were *cantigas de escarño e maldizer*. This suggests that Iberian kings welcomed into their courts classes of entertainers who traded in sexually explicit songs and other “rough” games and entertainments: “female and male minstrels were considered to be among the vile classes, but this did not stop the kings from paying these crooks and mimics, like the mime Paja from King Ferdinand’s court, a great man of sharp and quick wit who would delight the courtiers.”<sup>90</sup>

The seventh Partida, Title 6, Law 4, distinguishes between high-class entertainers and base juglares, *remedadores* (mimes) and *facedores de zaharrones* (masked performers), minstrels, actors, and masked entertainers who sing, dance, and masquerade for whatever remuneration they can earn:

Also [discredited] are those juglares, and mimes, and masked performers that publicly wander through town, or sing, or perform in plays for money; that is, because they abase themselves before everyone, because in that they are given money. But those who play instruments, or sing, in order to amuse only themselves, or in order to entertain their

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<sup>88</sup> Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages*, 15.

<sup>89</sup> Simon R. Doubleday, “*o que foi passar a serra*: Frontier-Crossing and the Thirteenth-Century Castilian Nobility in the *cantigas de escarño e maldizer*,” in *Le Médiéviste et la Monographie Familiale: Sources, Méthodes et Problématiques*, ed. Martin Aurell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 189-200.

<sup>90</sup> “Entre las clases viles fueron considerados la juglaresa y el juglar, lo cual no impidió que los reyes tuviesen a sueldo a estos truhanes o remedadores, como el llamado truhán Paja de la corte del Rey Fernando, hombre de ingenio agudo y despierto que haría las delicias de los palancianos.” Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, 191.

friends, or to give pleasure to the Kings, or to other Lords, they would not be discredited on that account.<sup>91</sup>

Denise Filios states that “enfamado” (discredit) conferred a social status that carried with it legal repercussions. She comments that the spatial distinction made in the *Siete Partidas* “favors courtly *trovador* spectacles while denigrating public *juglaresque* performances and reserved for the elite the privilege of music and song.”<sup>92</sup> In terms of participation of ecclesiastics and Church enactments, the *Siete Partidas* is not silent, and the following may help us understand the precarious line the CSM traverses between profane and sacred spaces and texts, and how the law codes and particular discursive allowances made by the narratives of the CSM themselves provided a sanctioned space for the performance of these unique songs. Title 6, Law 34 of *Primera Partida* forbids priests from staging plays of mockery in order to attract people to church; the same law permits the staging of nativity, crucifixion, and resurrection plays “elegantly and with great devotion” in the presence of a bishop or archbishop, and not for profit.<sup>93</sup> In reading the *Siete Partidas* and comparing it to other forms of evidence, one can

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<sup>91</sup> “Otro si son enfamados los que son juglares, e los remedadores, e los fazedores de los çaharrones que públicamente andan por el pueblo: o cantan, o fazen juego por precio, esto es porque se enuilecen ante todos por aquel precio, esto es porque se enuilecen ante todos por aquel precio que les dan. Mas los que tañeren estrumentos, o cantassen por fazer solza assi mesmos: o por fazer plazer a sus amigos: o dar solaz a los Reyes, o a los otros señores, non serian por ende enfamados.” Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 3, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), Setena Partida, Título VI, Ley IV, 333-34.

<sup>92</sup> Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages*, 14 (emphasis hers).

<sup>93</sup> “...apuestamente et con grant devoción.” The pertinent sections of the law read: “los clérigos... ni deben ser facedores de juegos por escarnio porque los vengán á ver las gentes como los facen, et si otros homes los fecieren non deben los clérigos hi venir porque se facen hi muchas villanías et desaposturas, nin deben otro si estas cosas facer en las iglesias, ante decimos que los deben ende echar deshonradamente sin pena ninguna á los que los fecieren; ca la iglesia de Dios fue fecha para orar et non para facer escarnios en ella: et asi lo dixo nuestro señor Iesu Cristo en el Evangelio, que la su casa era llamada de oración, et non debe ser fecha cueva de ladrones. Pero representaciones hi ha que pueden los clérigos facer, asi como de la nascencia de nuestro señor Iesu Cristo que demuestra como el ángel vino á los pastores et díxoles como era nacido, et otro si de su aparecimiento como la veneiron los tres reyes adorar, et de la resurrección que demuestra como fue crucificado et resurgió al tercer dia. Tales cosas como estas que mueven á los homes á facer bien et haber devoción en la fe facerlas pueden: et demás porque los homes hayan remembranza que segunt aquello fueron fechas de verdat; mas esto deben facer apuestamente et con grant devoción et en las cibdades grandes do hobiere arzobispos ó obispos, et con su mandado dellos ó de los otros que tovieren sus veces, et non lo deben facer en las aldeas, nin en los lugares viles, nin por

clearly see Alfonso attempting to establish juridical and generic boundaries between the performative cultures of trovadores and juglares. This anxious concern of Alfonso's to delimit two sets of practices that in reality were vitally porous and procreative has implications for our understanding of the performance life of the CSM. That is to say that the paucity of performance evidence for the Cantigas may not be due to a lack of actual performance; rather, it may reflect a lack of official documentation of a mercurial social practice fraught with associations of unsanctionable performance activities.

The various laws of the *Siete Partidas* concerning performance, as they are written, demarcate valid performance spaces from "taverns and in obscene and dishonest places."<sup>94</sup> Given the vast number of songs written by Alfonso himself, the need for him to produce and legitimize a staging space for artistic output should not come as a surprise. The formally heterogeneous CSM does not fit into the generic categories of performance constructed in the *Siete Partidas*; the CSM are a unique case where profane forms are employed for sacred purposes. Only a handful of cantigas de loor from the CSM deal with biblical events. But the lack of a legal placeholder for the CSM may have, in fact, been the very condition that allowed for socially sanctioned performances at court and/or in the mosque-cathedral of Seville.

The scope of the laws also empowered latitude for performances of ribald, comic songs in the space of the court, as long as the performers of those songs belonged to the noble and scholarly classes, which had no need for reimbursement for their efforts. In actuality, many of

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ganar dineros con ello." Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 1, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1807), Primera Partida, Título VI, Ley XXXIV, 276-77.

<sup>94</sup> "...tavernas e en torpes e deshonestos lugares." The entire sentence reads: "E algunos destos traen instrumentos para cantar e algunos destos cantan en tavernas e en torpes e deshonestos lugares." This excerpt comes from Martín Pérez's fourteenth-century *Libro de las confesiones*, which sheds light on medieval Peninsular perceptions of the performances of juglares and cantadores who were known for performing "dirty" and "rude" songs. Martín Pérez, *Libro de las confesiones. Una radiografía de la sociedad medieval española, Edición crítica*, introducción y notas por Antonio García y García, Bernardo Alonso Rodríguez, Francisco Cantelar Rodríguez (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002), 445.

the court entertainers were compensated. One of those poets, Pedro de Sigrar, is illustrated in the T manuscript of the CSM, song 8, holding a fiddle in his hand (Figure 2.15). The lyrics and illumination of the manuscript describe Sigrar playing his fiddle in front of a statue of the Virgin. Sigrar prays to the Virgin for light, and miraculously she causes a candle to rest on his fiddle. A monk sees this and returns the candle to the shrine, accusing Sigrar of “sorcery.” The statue of the Virgin moves the candle a second time, the monk relents, asks the minstrel’s pardon, and thereafter, “each year the minstrel of whom we have spoken brought Her church a long wax candle.”<sup>95</sup>

What are we to make of this narrative—conspicuously located at the very beginning of the collection of songs—of the Virgin Mary defending the art of the juglar from a meddling cleric, and in the context of an all-encompassing legal code that appears to forbid profane or extra-liturgical activities in the church? In *cantiga* 8, Sigrar is not performing a nativity, crucifixion, or resurrection play; it is more likely that the reader/viewer was to believe he was performing a song from the *Cantigas* collection itself, since Sigrar was one of the principal contributors to the project and the production of biblical plays would have been under the domain of ecclesiastics. He is also not performing in the presence of a bishop, as ordered by the *Primera Partida*, but instead in the presence of a monk who by all accounts is not very pleased with the presence of a juglar in the church and in the presence of the Virgin Mary. Between stated values and actual practices, the status quo is represented in the actions of the monk (the antagonist in this particular song), while juglar performance practices contradicted the rules of the *Partidas*. In this way, performance operated as a method for linking different fields of belief, law, and practice. The pleasures and favors of the Virgin Mary would trump opposition to

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<sup>95</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 14.

profane performance in a church. Very near the start of the collection, in the eighth cantiga, Alfonso carved out an exceptional space for the performance of his songs, wielding the power of Marian authority to push back against social and legal codes that threatened to obstruct the presentation of apocryphal miracle tales in a sacred space.

Guiraut Riquier, another major contributor to the CSM project and a principal poet in the Alfonsine court from 1265 through the end of Alfonso's reign,<sup>96</sup> jealously guarded the title of "trovador" against the vile, low songs and jests of the "juglar" in his *La Supplicatio*: "Those who do their job and go through vile areas shamelessly playing their instruments, doing other things or singing through plazas and roads, day and night they live in dishonor, as they wish and with little monetary gain, without themselves knowing any sense or good taste, and they are not skilled in any knowledge."<sup>97</sup> In *La Declaratio*, Alfonso further codifies the category of trovador by favoring the traditional separation of *inventores* and *ioculatori*. His argument relies on etymological analysis, rather than observation of contemporary practices, and his distinctions between "poet" and "performer" are troubled by the verses of his own Cantigas where he is both trovador and active player in venerating Mary.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Carlos Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal* (Madrid: Cupsa, 1977), 220; 239.

<sup>97</sup> "Lo que hacen su trabajo y van por todos los sitios vil y desvorigonzadamente tocando sus instrumentos, haciendo otras cosas o cantando por plazas y caminos, de noche y de día viven en deshonor, pues desean y les gustan menudas ganancias, sin conocerse en ellos ni sentido ni buen grado, y no son diestros en ningún conocimiento...." *La Supplicatio*, vv. 326-40, in Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, 251.

<sup>98</sup> "Alfonso X va definiendo cada clase de juglar, pero para ello se basa—al principio—en un análisis etimológico, que abandona más tarde al establecer las distintas categorías y los distintos nombres de los juglares y señalar que en España es más frecuente marcar la diferencia entre ellos que en Provenza, donde se confunde normalmente las distintas clases...." (Alfonso X gradually defines each class of juglar, but this is based initially on etymological analysis, which he abandons later by establishing the various categories and the various names of the juglares, and by pointing out that in Spain distinctions between classes of juglars are more frequently made than in Provence, where normally the different classes are blurred....) Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, 250. See also Joseph T. Snow, "Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 129.

In practice, a clear boundary between composer and performer did not exist: singing was undoubtedly part of the process of verse and musical composition for trovadores, and itinerant performers who performed outside of court were responsible for the development and transformation of songs that were recorded *ex post facto*. Performance culture was also transferred between royal and plebian settings via the bodies, movements, and gestures of soldadeiras, female dancers who moved across social strata.<sup>99</sup> About the evidence of troubadour and jongleur performance, Amelia Van Vleck writes, “the inconsistency of extant written sources reflects health rather than sickness, insofar as it reflects an ongoing practice of singing troubadour lyric.”<sup>100</sup> In other words, since orality was the base structure for transmission of song culture in the medieval period, historians are asking questions irrelevant to the profession of the trovador if they require parchment with musical notation for evidence of a healthy performance tradition. Van Vleck’s analysis shows the act of committing a song to parchment most often *followed* composition since the arts of the juglar and trovador relied explicitly on memory techniques for faithfulness in transmission. As theatre artists have been throughout history and across many cultures, itinerant artists in the Middle Ages were capable composers and enactors. Minstrel songs and ballads were open texts that, in a sense, created themselves; authorship of intellectual property did not confer control over cultural production. Both embodied and textual discourses were responsible for the dissemination and transmission of performance culture, and the Cantigas participated in these discourses prior to, during, and after the music and lyrics were constrained in luxury manuscripts.

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<sup>99</sup> In her study of the soldadeiras and thirteenth-century courtly juegos and cantigas escarño e maldizer, Denise Filios borrows evidence from the lyric and illuminations of the CSM in order to contextualize her study of female performers of the court and public square. Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages*, 11-12.

<sup>100</sup> Amelia E. Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 28.

Multiplex processes of composition, rehearsal, transference, transmutation, and recomposition, famously termed *mouvance* by Paul Zumthor, were encompassed by the cultural practice of the juglar. Textual differences between editions of poems and songs represented more than a local phenomenon or incidental transcribal errors; *mouvance* expresses the idea of a radical instability of medieval poetic texts.<sup>101</sup> Variations were a result of performance practices; juglares were not only responsible for disseminating verse and musical culture, they intervened in the development and creation of these works and court poets appeared to have welcomed variation and improvisation (while others attempted to limit variation).<sup>102</sup> The speaking and singing voice was a necessary, integrative component of medieval poetic culture, and it helped shape both the content and presentation of poetic works. Although they are mostly undocumented and historically invisible components in the creation of poetic texts, rehearsal and performance contributed to the creation of manuscripts that on the surface, appear to be the exclusive product of court poets.

As a broad category of performance, Peninsular and Gallic jongleuresque traditions were almost certainly continuous since Roman times. Two foundational monographs on medieval trovador and juglaresque culture in Iberia are crucial to the field of study: Manuel Milá y Fontanals's *De los trovadores en España* and Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*. Menéndez Pidal is, in part, responding to Milá y Fontanals's study of *inventores* (los trovadores) by focusing on the culture of the *ioculatori* (los juglares). As Menéndez Pidal argued about the Peninsular juglar tradition (and other Iberian scholars have followed suit), a lacuna of medieval evidence by no means negates the existence of a vital oral tradition:

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<sup>101</sup> Paul Zumthor, *Oral Poetry: An Introduction*, trans. Kathryn Murphy-Judy (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 202.

<sup>102</sup> Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric*, 44-55.

“[h]istorically, the trovador was born out of imitation of the juglar.”<sup>103</sup> Although scholars have offered alternative theories about the development of Iberian verse forms, Menéndez Pidal has also argued that the Spanish epic performance, of which the canonical texts *El Libro de Buen Amor* and *El Cantar de Mio Cid* are part, derived from indigenous Visigothic verse, which would support the idea of a lively oral tradition existing prior to twelfth-century Gallic influence. Milá y Fontanals also points out that the *farsantes* and mimes of the late Roman Empire were undoubtedly absorbed into the semi-classical categories of “joculators” and poetic “artist-courtesans,” and these performers maintained an itinerant tradition into the tenth century where oral customs among the nobility are evidenced.<sup>104</sup> Andalusí, French, and Iberian monastic cultures influenced early medieval Iberian verse forms as well. Broadly speaking, scholars have been open to discussions of a range of theses on cultural influences in such a diverse geography as medieval Iberia.<sup>105</sup>

French artistic culture entered territories west of Cataluña on the coattails of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Clunaic reforms, as well as through contact between twelfth-century courts of Castile, Cataluña, and Aragón.<sup>106</sup> The oldest literary testimony we have of a Provençal troubadour on the western Peninsula comes from the court of Alfonso VII of Castile and León (reigned 1126-1157): a troubadour named Marcabré from southern France entertained and wrote

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<sup>103</sup> “Históricamente, el trovador nace por imitación del juglar...” Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, 17. See also Bruce R. Burningham, *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2007).

<sup>104</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, 36-37.

<sup>105</sup> Richard E. Chandler and Kessel Schwartz provide a succinct summary of these debates in *A New History of Spanish Literature* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961), 24-26. In considering a range of opinions, Roger Wright concludes that “[o]n balance, the evidence is favourable to the hypothesis that many brief ‘popular’ octosyllabic verses in vernacular have been sung in Spain since Roman times...” Roger Wright, “How old is the Ballad Genre?” *La Coronica* 14, no. 2 (1986): 256. A good review of Menéndez Pidal’s research is available in Luis Diaz G. de Viana, “Romances, Cantares y Fables en la Juglaría Medieval,” in *La juglaresca. Actas del primer congreso internacional sobre la juglaresca*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI-6, 1986), 41-58.

<sup>106</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, 58.

at the court at some period between 1130 and 1149.<sup>107</sup> Successive Castilian rulers and kings of Portugal, León, Navarra, Cataluña, and Aragón employed Provençal troubadours at court. Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), Ramón Berenguer IV of Aragón (1131-1162), and Alfonso X were the most active supporters of the French and Italian court poetry in Iberia during the medieval period.<sup>108</sup> For example, immediately following Alfonso X's coronation, "trovadores began arriving at the Castilian court, many of them originally from Italy, where Provençal poetry had taken deep root. Among them, and possibly the first to visit the new king, Bonifaci Calvo stands out, whose stay in the Castilian court had to be extended."<sup>109</sup> In the *Setenario* of Fernando III, an unfinished *speculum principum* ("mirror for a prince"), Alfonso also praised his father for his appreciation of "trovadores and singers, and juglares who played musical instruments well."<sup>110</sup>

Galician-Portuguese lyric, which can be traced back to 1180 and was represented in the popular cantigas d'amor, d'amigo, and d'escarño e maldizer, is the principal poetic form in the Cantigas. Alfonso's choice of the Peninsular form for his songs expressed his devotion to heteroglot learning and promotion of Iberian culture, in addition to practical concerns. Although the Galician-Portuguese oral tradition was formally distinct from imported Provençal song styles, the two traditions were contemporaneous in Iberian courts. Peninsular trovadores were multilingual: Provençal poets wrote in Galician-Portuguese and Portuguese and Castilian poets

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<sup>107</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, 106-08.

<sup>108</sup> Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, 182.

<sup>109</sup> "...empezaron a llegar trovadores a la corte castellana, muchos de ellos originarios de Italia, donde la poesía provençal había echado profundas raíces. Entre éstos, y posiblemente el primero que visita al Nuevo rey, destaca Bonifaci Calvo, cuya estancia en la corte de Castilla debió ser prolongada." Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, 464.

<sup>110</sup> "...trobar e cantar, e de joglares que ssopiesen bien tocar estrumentos" (ley 7). Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Setenario*, ed. Rafael Lapesa and Kenneth H. Vanderford (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1984), 13. *Specula principum* are a complex genre. In general, they reflect a society's expectations for a king, demonstrated in governmental competence and personal behavior.

composed in Occitanian dialects.<sup>111</sup> Both French and Iberian poets populated Alfonso's court. Although the language of the lyric in the *Cantigas* is Galician-Portuguese, a diversity of artistic influences is apparent in the songs and suggests an eclectic artistic practice.

Manuel Pedro Ferreira's convincing argument that Andalusí and eastern song structures were absorbed into the Christian tradition as early as the twelfth century points to *mouvance* occurring between Muslim and Christian communities, and may explain the unique poetic forms found in the *Cantigas*. Further, it suggests that Andalusí song, in its Romance, Ibero-Arab or Hebrew manifestations, gave rise to the *virelai*, and the *Cantigas* drew from this tradition, rather than the French.<sup>112</sup> All of this demonstrates that musical and poetic traditions of the thirteenth century were hybridized to the point where original cultural "sources" may well have been unrecognizable to a musician or listener at the time. The complex processes of live transmission would have obscured the history of cultural exchange, still actively underway in the time of Alfonso.

Based on the vast and often contradictory evidence and academic theories about medieval Iberian courtly and itinerant performance cultures, we can draw two conclusions: first, these were diverse, porous, and fluid cultures, evidenced by the wide-ranging use of terminology; and second, the transferability of oral culture across social and professional borders in thirteenth-century Castile created a state of anxiety among the courtly producers of the *Cantigas*, who attempted to rigidly categorize performers of multiple talents.

I have brought attention to the particular fluidity of oral and musical performance culture among professional, itinerant, and courtly classes of entertainers and poets in order to make a point that relates to the wider argument of this dissertation about Iberian intercultural transaction

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<sup>111</sup> Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal*, 23.

<sup>112</sup> Pedro Ferreira, "Rondeau and Virelai," 132; 138.

and the management of colonial space with performance techniques. Although the Cantigas resided at the fulcrum of social ritual and performance in post-conquest Seville during the second half of the thirteenth century, at the very center of Cantigas scholarship resides a deep absence of historical documentation of performances of the songs. An abiding dedication to the burden of proof appears to have precluded an investigation that might yield meaningful answers to the question of performance. But the juxtaposition of an essential performance practice and the gap in historical records of those performances may not be coincidental. The extra-textual, fluid, and non-binding quality of performances that have the capacity to skirt ecclesiastic and juridical norms may have provided Alfonso with a practical means of advancing his ideal vision of colony to the broadest cross-section of Seville's society possible. It was in the interest of imperial goals of the Castilian court to provide frontier society open access to the Cantigas by employing a plurality of forms. This is especially true since Galician-Portuguese, the language of the Cantigas, was understood by Spanish-speakers in all regions of the Peninsula, even those who did not read or write.<sup>113</sup> Effectuating such an all-encompassing vision would have been impractical in textual form, which, as discussed above, tended to enforce the *limits* of cultural will. The dissemination of the narratives and lessons of the Cantigas helped create a vision of a diverse society united under the omnipotent powers of a single crown and its spiritual guide, the mother of God. And the dispersal of these narratives among a range of social classes in

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<sup>113</sup> "Galician served as a lingua franca, since poets from any linguistic area, even from France or Italy, could write their poems in Galician and be certain that they would have an audience at court and among cultured people interested in lyric poetry. Indeed, their audience might be less erudite folk, since most Spaniards, whatever their region, could comprehend Galician." John E. Keller, *Pious Brief Narrative in Medieval Castilian and Galician Verse: From Berceo to Alfonso X* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978), 88.

Christian, *mudéjar*, and Jewish society was facilitated by an ambulatory and restless lyrical, musical culture.<sup>114</sup>

***Transformations: performance and colony***

The examination of the CSM as a colonial document is not original. Robert Burns, Amy Remensnyder, and Francisco Prado-Vilar have analyzed the songs and images as instruments or symbols of evangelization and conversion.<sup>115</sup> I am contributing to the conversation by interpreting the Cantigas through a performance lens. The songs were not merely literary, social, or cultural objects; they were lived practices that occupied colonized spaces and captured the attention of Seville's citizenry. Performing bodies, in kinesthetic communication with the audience, do more than re-represent an imaginary or missing article; they reinstate an absented object while commemorating its loss. In a colonial situation, the performative interplay of loss and restitution is amplified. Alfonso has often been memorialized as a champion of multiculturalism. But his engagement with Andalusí Islamic culture came at a cost. The rearticulating of Muslim cultural forms in dogmatic Christian stories and in performances at the converted mosque-cathedral and Castilian court were processes whereby Iberian poetic and musical forms entered a space of imperial containment. The Cantigas in performance produced an Andalusí synonym for Christian conquest and conversion.

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<sup>114</sup> Mudéjar was the term Christians used to describe uncovered Muslims who remained in al-Andalus after Christian conquest.

<sup>115</sup> Amy Remensnyder argues that Marian iconography and miracle accounts, including examples from CSM, contributed to a culture of colonial control: "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico" in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000), 189-219; Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review* 76, no. 5 (Dec. 1971): 1386-1434; Francisco Prado-Vilar, "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, eds. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 67-100; and Amy Remensnyder, "Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary," *Speculum* 82, no. 3 (2007): 642-77.

The music, lyrics, and instrumentation of the *Cantigas* represent a novel blend of artistic elements from a variety of Castilian, Galician, Andalusí, and European cultures, and were unique in their use of the *zajal* poetic form. Historians have offered a number of explanations for the heterogeneity and originality (musical, lyrical, and thematic) of Alfonso X's collection of songs, and I review some of these arguments in the following pages. However, my own conclusions about hybrid performance forms in the *Cantigas*, and their use of multiplex performance spaces, are less concerned with origin and causation, and engage more directly with their performative dynamics in colonial society. In addition to the experience of reading, hearing, and contemplating Islamic lyrical structures and instrumentation, multiculturalism was something that was felt on a phenomenological level of the body. Dance forms from Christian and Muslim societies were in ongoing conversation and hybridized throughout the medieval period, and this shared culture persisted into the early Renaissance when Muslims and Christian continued to perform together in non-religious contexts (Figure 2.19). However, in the context of the *capilla real* of the mosque-cathedral, thirteenth-century coexistence—as orchestrated by Alfonso X—was not a utopian goal of intercultural cooperation; rather it was a method and pragmatic solution for negotiation of social diversity within a broader historical movement of Reconquista.

The *Cantigas* collection effortlessly bridges heavenly and worldly tropes, sacred ritual and profane entertainment. Mary is not only a model of Christian piety and object of veneration; she also transforms into an earthly being who possesses particularly human emotions, such as jealousy, anger, sympathy, playfulness, and melancholy. The central themes of thaumaturgical power and transformation in the songs—Mary's protection of Christian interests, punishment of evildoers, and conversion of the unfaithful—were lyrically and visually incorporated into the everyday and political lives of thirteenth-century Iberians. The adventures of the Virgin Mary in



**Figure 2.19**

Christoph Weiditz, Christians and Muslim musicians and dancers (1529)

Seville, Iberia, and beyond were then conveyed in courtly and juglaresque performance forms traditionally reserved for songs of love and satire.<sup>116</sup> As the lyrics to cantiga 259 explain, “the minstrels of the land...have this power and heal the people so completely that they feel that pain no more.”<sup>117</sup>

The Cantigas were likely performed in diverse social spaces: the court’s chapels and chambers, La Mezquita, and open-air plazas. Similar to other medieval Iberian songbooks, popular musical and verse forms from the Cantigas were employed to communicate sacred matters. For instance, the books of the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus* were compiled for the edification and entertainment of pilgrims of Santiago de Compostela, and like many of the Cantigas, the miracles songs from the Calixtinus cite particular urban locales and suggest performance at particular shrines.<sup>118</sup> Unlike the CSM, however, the miracle and liturgical songs of the Calixtinus are contained in separate books, and they maintain a boundary between ecclesiastic and parochial realms (at least on parchment). The fourteenth-century *Llibre Vermell* of Montserrat offers an even closer comparison with the CSM; both are Marian anthologies distinguished by formal hybridity. Like the Cantigas, the songs from Montserrat are based on traditional Iberian melodies with verses that are more orthodox and doctrinaire than the poetry of popular and courtly songs. Additionally, the songs of the *Llibre Vermell* were performed in a liminal space that allowed for a degree of heterodox activity: a pilgrim’s hostel that had been converted from a liturgical space.

Since sometimes pilgrims, when they keep vigil in the church of Holy Mary in Montserrat, wish to sing and dance, and even in the street in daytime, but should sing

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<sup>116</sup> See Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, and John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998).

<sup>117</sup> Cantiga 259, Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 315.

<sup>118</sup> Klaus Herbers, “The Miracles of Saint James,” in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of Saint James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992), 25-29. The songs in the collection are set to some of the earliest known polyphonic music.

there nothing but decent and pious songs, for that reason the various [songs] above and below have been written. And these should be used properly and with moderation so as not to disturb sermons in course and devout contemplation in which all pilgrims alike should dwell, and spend their time in devotion.<sup>119</sup>

All three song cycles (Calixtinus, *Llibre Vermell*, and CSM) are site specific; they were written with particular performance spaces in mind. The *Cantigas* offered moments for bridging Christian secularism and liturgical motifs.

The *Cantigas*, more than any other cultural product from the prolific Alfonsine court, expresses a clear, idealized vision of Iberian life by prescribing the outlines of a new, Christianized, Andalusí society. As Joseph O’Callaghan writes, “many of the *cantigas* not only reflect the life and customs of thirteenth-century Spain but also disclose the beliefs and activities of King Alfonso himself during a long and troubled reign.”<sup>120</sup> The cultural and political dynamics of Reconquista and Christian settlement played a role in the production of the Marian anthology in manuscript and performance forms, especially in Seville, the administrative and military center of the Andalusí colony. The complex repertoire of songs served to ritually, metonymically, and physically reorient the sacred spaces and citizenry of Seville as a New Jerusalem. In this function they were crucially aided by the central figure in Alfonsine conversion practices—the Virgin Mary.

The *Cantigas* cannot be understood as a socially agentive performance form without considering the Virgin Mary’s role as an embodiment of universal presence, mobility, and transformation. In the verses of the *Cantigas*, Mary produces miracles in defense of the faithful, often bringing about acts of material and spiritual conversion. In performances of the *Cantigas*,

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<sup>119</sup> “Quia interdum peregrini quando vigilant in ecclesia Beate Marie de Monte Serrato volunt cantare et trepidare, et etiam in platea de die, et ibi non debeant nisi honestas ac devotas cantilenas cantare, idcirco superius et inferius alique sunt scripte. Et de hoc uti debent honeste et parce, ne perturbent perseverantes in orationibus et devotis contemplationibus.” *Liber Vermell*, c. 1399. Translation by Nigel Wilkins, *Music in the Age of Chaucer: Revised Edition, with Chaucer Songs* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 97.

<sup>120</sup> O’Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 5.

Mary becomes an agent for miraculous transformation between immaterial and embodied human form. As depicted in the manuscript illuminations and as embodied by the articulating doll of the *capilla real*—the *Virgen de los Reyes*—Mary is able to cross between two ontological statuses, aided by the *Cantigas*' ritual catalyzer and surrogate priest, Alfonso. In both manuscript and play space, Mary undergoes incarnational changes, the miracle of holy transformation expanding her power to produce the miracles described in the songs. For example, *cantiga* 349 attributes specific powers to a statue of Mary, despite Christian theological writings that prohibit idol worship (without entirely stripping images and statues of their power to conduct miracles). *Cantiga* 349 relates the story of Alfonso's "beautiful statue of this Blessed Virgin [that] performed many miracles and worked many miracles, healing men and women and their sons and daughters" in Alfonso's chapel. When a person orally reiterated Mary's words, "the power of her statue was doubled."<sup>121</sup> Also, in many of the illuminations to the songs Mary can be seen alternating between human and statue form. The boundaries between the static and embodied forms of Mary were blurred, and as I demonstrate below, the dynamic of corporal/spiritual transformation was intensified in live performance.

A metonymic correlation between a number of conversion tropes—miraculous conversion of mundane objects into sacred ones, colonial conversion of city spaces and mosques, and conversion of the bodies of Muslims and Jews into vessels of Christian belief—arose from the performances of the *Cantigas*. The stories of the songs vacillate between portraits of Muslims and Jews as infidels and as minorities worthy of integration. Auxiliary details of daily life in the songs—both connotative and ornamental—create an environmental matrix within which conversion narratives and other demonstrations of sacred transformation are embedded.

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<sup>121</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 424. Apparently, this song was particularly important to the compilers of the E manuscript; the song is a duplicate of *cantiga* 387.

The music of the songs, the voices of the singers, the bodies of dancers, and the spectacular set pieces invited sensual, material, and embodied participation in the miracle songs and songs of praise. Ritual performances attend instances of conversion and *successful* ritual conversion depended explicitly on witnessed ceremonial action to bridge two ontologically constructed poles of difference. It is no coincidence that in the majority of cantigas de miragre that contain Muslim and Jewish characters in the Cantigas some kind of conversion takes place. At the end of the thirteenth century, when Islam, Judaism, and Christianity were still practiced side-by-side, performances of conversion in the case studies of Alfonso's miracle songs spoke a desire for transformation in the future.

The special transformational capabilities of the spiritual protagonist of the songs provided a dynamic medium through which spatial reorganizations and bodily conversions were realized. The later compositions of the CSM collection especially make associations between Seville and its satellite colonies on the Atlantic coast, El Puerto de Santa María and Jerez de la Frontera (both near Cádiz), as well as other locales along the Andalusí frontier. The network of shrines and churches dedicated to Mary are mentioned in the songs, performatively linking reconquered space with the Castilian court in the southern Peninsula. By embodying metaphors and acts of conversion on multiple levels (textual, aural, figural, and spatial), performance functioned as a privileged social mechanism for executing processes of re-signification of socio-spiritual space. I argue that these processes occurred in two separate, dialogic theaters: the space of a readerly engagement with the Cantigas manuscripts and the embodied performances of the songs in the Sevillian mosque-cathedral. These two forms represent different performative, sensual engagements—encounters with the manuscript and encounters with the bodies of singers,

dancers, and musicians; however, they were co-creative in that each brand of performance crucially influenced the conception, execution, and reception of the other.

***Emptying space: Reconquista and the Alfonsine court***

There has been a historiographic tendency to describe medieval Iberia as devolving from a period of “tolerance” (an anachronistic term) to early modern persecution. However, little insight into social, political, and performative dynamics may be gained by judging Alfonso’s actions regarding religious minorities in moral terms, for decisions made regarding relations with non-Christians on the Peninsula during this period were born mostly out of political and economic necessity and reveal little about Alfonso’s personal attitudes towards non-Christians. Although the living situations for non-Christians during the height of Reconquista were undergoing a significant shift, total subjugation of the Muslim population within Christian territory was unrealistic, and the situation for Jewish communities was determined by local economic and social vicissitudes as much as it was by Castilian law and policy. For instance, although in the Fourth and Seventh parts of the *Siete Partidas* juridical boundaries between Moorish, Christian, and Jewish religious and social practices are clearly demarcated, the promulgation of these laws occurred almost a century after they were drafted in Alfonso’s chancellery. In Seville in particular, economic necessity dictated a moderate approach in administering colonial communities and subjects.

In regards to a negotiated relationship with non-Christians, Alfonso’s policies, artistic output, historical and scientific writing, and translation projects came out of the Toledo tradition of coexistence prescribed by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1170-1247). Like Jiménez de Rada, Alfonso was concerned with wresting land and power away from Muslim hegemony and inserting notions of crusade into the struggle of the Spanish kingdoms with the Muslims. At the same time, Alfonso demonstrated an interest in maintaining productive, non-violent relations

with Muslims and Jews. This suggests that a degree of “convivencia” may not have been the ideal situation from a religious standpoint, but it was a practical solution to the vagaries and necessities of colonial life. As Simon Doubleday has pointed out, Alfonso X was a ruler of contradiction, a king who was “a vigorous proponent of Reconquest,” who ruled during a period when “symbiosis and interaction between Christianity and Islam seem in certain respects to reach their apex.”<sup>122</sup>

Alfonso X inherited the Castilian crown after a period of massive Christian gains of Muslim territories during the first part of the thirteenth century, and he was responsible for continuing these efforts, albeit with far less success; in 1255 he besieged and captured Jérez, Arcos, and Lebrija. At the same time, the Castilian crown was busy protecting new colonies in al-Andalus, and in 1265 put down a Moorish rebellion in Murcia.<sup>123</sup> From a map of the Reconquista from 1037 through 1270 (Figure 2.20), one can see the political complexity and critical reconfiguration of the Peninsula during this two-hundred-year period.<sup>124</sup> The first three-quarters of the thirteenth century (spanning the reigns of Alfonso VIII, Fernando III, and Alfonso X) saw the most significant gains of Muslim territory for the crown of Castile-León during the medieval period. From the late thirteenth century forward, the Kingdom of Granada remained the last stronghold of the Nasrid dynasty, which would stay mostly intact until 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs conquered it.<sup>125</sup> Throughout the end of the Middle Ages Seville occupied an

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<sup>122</sup> Doubleday, “o que foi passar a serra,” 197.

<sup>123</sup> See chapters 4 and 10 of Sánchez de Valladolid, et al., *Chronicle of Alfonso X*.

<sup>124</sup> Unfortunately, the map is only able to capture a crude political picture and does not capture the ebbs and flows of territorial exchange.

<sup>125</sup> The political history of Muslim Iberia is long and complex. The following is a brief summary of the major transitions in dynastic power. In 711, the Umayyad caliph under Al-Walid I invaded the Iberian Peninsula and by 759 the entire Peninsula was under Umayyad control, except for the northern-most kingdom of Asturias. The Muslim held regions on the Peninsula were called al-Andalus, with Córdoba serving as the capital and cultural



important strategic position in relationship to the disputed territories between Christian and Muslim kingdoms. Of all the Andalusí cities captured by the Castilians during the thirteenth century, Seville was the largest and most economically viable. Alfonso's military goals were not limited to the Peninsula; in an apparent strategy to win the title of Holy Roman Emperor, he sought crusade indulgences from the pope in Northern Africa.<sup>126</sup> The broad historical movements of Reconquista creatively incorporated crusade ideology into the justification of colonial expansion and were mobilized by a strain of evangelization that looked to "conversion rather than extermination as the way to achieve the final aim, which in both cases is the extension of the Christian commonwealth to include as many people as possible."<sup>127</sup>

On the other hand, Alfonso X is also known for his nearly unmatched intellectual and artistic efforts that required intimate interaction with non-Christians. Although the project of translating the Arabic scientific and philosophical library into Latin had been ongoing from 1100 under the guidance of the Toledo archdiocese, Alfonso recognized the political advantages of establishing a Sevillian school of translation of Islamic and Greek materials independent of Toledo's archdiocese and under his own control.<sup>128</sup> Alfonso's promotion of Castilian over Latin as the target language for translation and his stewardship of the study of astronomy, Ptolemaic cosmology, mathematics, and other forms of knowledge in Arabic, greatly magnified the scope

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<sup>126</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 360-62. Early in his reign, while preparing for the African invasion proposed by his father, Alfonso X ordered the construction of docks and arsenals in Seville and sought crusading indulgences from the pope. It is interesting to note that in 1254 the Apostolic See mandated the protection of crusaders in North Africa under the command of Alfonso X by "the remission of interest by their creditors, also Jews." ASV, Reg. Vat. 23, fol. 164r, published in Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews: Documents 492-1404* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 209-10.

<sup>127</sup> Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Many Faces of Medieval Colonization," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 16.

<sup>128</sup> María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2002), 223-24.

of Castilian intellectual culture.<sup>129</sup> One of the most famous translations of a literary text to come out of the Alfonsine court was a Castilian version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna*, originally a Sanskrit collection of fables that arrived on the Peninsula in the Middle Ages in Arabic form. In this context, it is no surprise that Alfonso would understand the world of the scriptorium as a unique space for cultural interaction, and then enact this notion with the theatrical project of the CSM.

During Alfonso's reign, Seville and Toledo were competing homes to the Castilian court. Alfonso spent a significant amount of time in Seville, and in 1281 he went into exile and moved the court there permanently. When he died in 1284, Alfonso's body was interred in the capilla real of the Seville mosque-cathedral. In life and death Alfonso endeavored to extricate himself from the powerful influence of the Toledo archdiocese and rebellious nobles and family members by establishing Seville as a locus of power to rival Toledo's.<sup>130</sup> Seville, not Toledo, became the meeting place between Andalusí Muslim kings, potentates, and Alfonso's court, and these royal encounters had a range of political purposes and outcomes.<sup>131</sup> Not only did Alfonso establish a *studium generale* (university of Arabic and Latin studies) in Seville shortly after his coronation in 1254, he also relocated the CSM project from Toledo to Seville in the middle of

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<sup>129</sup> "Alfonso did not merely preside over his Castilian renaissance but was both instigator and personal participant in its multiple manifestations. Nor did he merely plunge into cultural activities as an aesthete, indulging a voracious appetite; he proposed by those activities to reshape society, to bring Castile itself into the mainstream of high civilization, and to set afoot a process that would produce a united, educated, artistic, and religious people." Robert I. Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 6-7.

<sup>130</sup> O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 381, and Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1901), 3.

<sup>131</sup> Ibn al-Ahmar, king of Granada, made annual pilgrimages to Seville to renew his homage to the Castilian Crown, *Ibid.*, 364-65. In 1273, Muhammad II of Granada made a journey to Alfonso's court in Seville in the company of the *Ricos Hombres* (Christian merchants doing business in Granada) who had found refuge in Granada. This and a number of additional references to visits by Muhammad II, Granada chiefs, and the King of Egypt are made in Sánchez de Valladolid, et al., *Chronicle of Alfonso X*, 35; 47; 72; 199; and 230. The *Chronicle of Peter I* documents a number of mid-fourteenth-century visits to Seville by Muhammad V, King of Granada: cf. Harvey, *Islamic Spain* 212-14.

compilation and scribal production of the F and E manuscripts.<sup>132</sup> The relocation of the project would impart important cultural value to Seville by transplanting crucial materials of the scriptorium and the combined talents of scribes, copyists, illustrators, musicians, dancers, and trovadores, depriving Toledo of these same resources. If we look at the CSM project in the context of the specific colonial dynamics of re-invention of sacred and civic space, what emerges in the composition and compilation of the collection is an ideological program afforded to the CSM by a city of absence, a city in need of spatial and architectural recharacterization to match the economic investment.

A tolerant attitude towards the Moorish inhabitants who remained in Seville after 1248 was assumed in order to keep intact as many parts of the fragile economic and social life as possible.<sup>133</sup> These included certain concessions to non-Christians. The spatial segregation of a Jewish or Muslim neighborhood (variously called the *aljāma*, *judería*, or *morería*)<sup>134</sup> within Christian cities continued from previous times, and legal postures of limited religious and social tolerance were maintained in the cultural life of the city.<sup>135</sup> For example, Muslims living in Castile and recently conquered territories in al-Andalus were still allowed to practice their faiths,

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<sup>132</sup> Wulstan, "Compilation of the *Cantigas*," 173-74.

<sup>133</sup> Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 no. 3 (Jul. 1993): 518.

<sup>134</sup> The *aljāma*, a Spanish word derived from the Arabic word for community, referred to either a Jewish or Muslim community. *Judería* and *morería* referred to the physical neighborhood.

<sup>135</sup> In practice, medieval Castilian laws of segregation were only sporadically enforced. For instance, in Valladolid during the fifteenth century, the members of the large Muslim community chose their residence freely and owned houses, lands and vineyards. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 4. Also, Alfonso X's requirement of payments of tithes to the crown by Jews and Muslims who own houses outside of their own "barrio" makes it clear that boundaries between *aljāmas* and Christian neighborhoods were porous. ACS, caja 5, no. 48, quoted from Jonathan Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006), 49.

and throughout the thirteenth century calls to prayer from mosques could be heard across Castilian cities.<sup>136</sup>

The massive political and religious realignment of the thirteenth century also had the effect of fortifying boundaries between religious groups. For instance, dress codes requiring Moors to keep their hair cut short and their beards long, and forbidding them to wear brightly colored clothing, were enacted in 1252—at the start of Alfonso’s reign—by the Castilian *cortes* (a representative parliamentary body).<sup>137</sup> Although Castilian laws governing interreligious contact and behaviors of non-Christians applied to northern Castile and frontier towns alike, the tenor and quality of life for a Muslim living in the Sevillian colony differed from communities in the north where social coexistence was stabilized through historical precedent. Of the four conceptions of Muslim life under Christian rule, Muslims living in newly conquered regions were pragmatic and thought about the possibility of mudéjar life as a form of compromise. The sense of irreconcilable loss is vividly expressed in the Arabic poem “Lament for the Fall of Seville” by Abu al-Baqa’ al-Rundi (d. 1285), lines 16-27, excerpted below:

The evil eye has struck [the Peninsula] in its Islam so that [the land] decreased until  
whole regions and districts were despoiled of [the faith]  
Therefore ask Valencia what is the state of Murcia; and where is Jativa, and where is  
Jaen?  
Where is Cordoba, the home of the sciences, and many a scholar whose rank was once  
lofty in it?  
Where is Seville and the pleasures it contains, as well as its sweet river overflowing and  
brimming full?  
[They are] capitals which were the pillars of the land, yet when the pillars are gone, it  
may no longer endure!  
The tap of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at  
the departure of the beloved,

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<sup>136</sup> In 1311, Clement V banned the call to prayer by Muslims living in Christian territories. Alan Forey, “The Crown of Aragón” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 616-17.

<sup>137</sup> The laws specifically forbid the colors red, vermilion, and green for clothing, and white or gilded shoes. O’Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 463.

Over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by  
 unbelief;  
 In which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be  
 found.  
 Even the mihrabs weep though they are solid; even the pulpits mourn though they are  
 wooden!  
 Oh you who remain heedless though you have a warning in Fate: if you are asleep, Fate is  
 always awake!  
 And you who walk forth cheerfully while your homeland diverts you [from cares], can a  
 homeland beguile any man after [the loss of] Seville?  
 This misfortune has caused those that preceded it to be forgotten, nor can it ever be  
 forgotten for the length of all time!<sup>138</sup>

Even though most of the Muslim educated elite migrated to Granada or North Africa after the fall of an Andalusí city to Christians, the mudéjar effort to retain the Arabic language was their strongest cultural tie to their religious tradition.<sup>139</sup> Out of necessity, mudéjar communities also learned Castilian and Catalán vernaculars. The identity transformation from “Andalusí Muslim” to “mudéjar” would not have been instant, in either the minds of the Christian colonizers or the Muslims living close to the frontier and under Christian rule for the first time. Strong evidence for this lies in the revolts of Muslims in newly conquered cities and towns in al-Andalus and Murcia during Alfonso’s reign. The ambiguity of Muslim identity in the Christian frontier produced an anxiety that was expressed in the 1252 laws attending to the regularization of outward, corporal signs of difference. The cultural and social life of Seville during the second half of the thirteenth century experienced a more fluid and changing relationship with local and Andalusí Muslim communities, whereas the social roles of Toledo Muslims were more clearly defined. Colonial life in Seville inaugurated a transformational period in Christian-Muslim relations in Spanish history.

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<sup>138</sup> English text from James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2004), 332-34.

<sup>139</sup> David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Māqamāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 213.

Alfonso stood at the historical juncture between the Reconquista ideology based in the sacred call to recuperate territory and an emergent period where management of colonized territories took on a greater importance than continued expansion.<sup>140</sup> This shift is made clear in the *Cantigas*, where narratives of conflicts with Muslims frequently deal with the suppression of revolts, rather than past military triumphs. Within the context of Reconquista ideology—where Christians understood Muslim culture as a distinct strand of Iberian culture—the *Cantigas* initiate an appropriation of Muslim musical, poetic, and performance forms, setting the stage for the fourteenth century, a “complex transformative moment in the cultural history of Iberia, a moment where Arabic is not easily separable from the other strands of medieval culture, where it is often a part of a tight weave—as opposed to a proposed foreign ‘influence.’”<sup>141</sup> The fourteenth century saw the development of the “mudéjar style” in architecture, textiles, clothing, and design. Mudéjar arts, a revamping of pre-conquest Andalusí creative power at its heights, symbolically incorporated a discourse of possession by Castilians and proclaimed the cultural authority of Christians. The *Cantigas* began this process by de-sanctifying and re-representing the Islamic performance arts in Christian contexts, while retaining much of the character and cultural richness of the original forms. By collecting, rearranging, and recontextualizing the abundant signs of cultural difference in the newly expanded empire, Alfonso’s *Cantigas* contributed to an ideological transformation of Castile from a kingdom of conquerors to a colonial administration. The songs inaugurated a departure from medieval *convivencia*.

In the collection, fifty-one songs involve Moorish characters, and they are depicted in a range of ways—as military allies (*cantiga* 181), in moments of peaceful coexistence (95, 344,

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<sup>140</sup> José Antonio Maravall, “La idea de la Reconquista en España durante la Edad Media,” *Arbor* 101, no. 27 (1954): 269-87 and O’Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 4-7, discuss the ideology of territorial recuperation in thirteenth-century Castilian society.

<sup>141</sup> María Rosa Menocal, “Visions of al-Andalus” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.

and 358), as fierce but respectable foe (46 and 215), and as a people vulnerable to demonic influence and capable of atrocities towards Christian bodies and icons (99, 169, 183, and 345). Of the fifty-one songs with Muslim characters, seven include a narrative of conversion of Muslim spaces or souls to Christianity (28, 46, 167, 192, 292, 328, and 345). In a number of songs, Moors are depicted praising Mary or recognizing her powers and they often receive protection from the Virgin Mary for their insight.

The most prominent Jewish communities in Muslim Iberia were in Córdoba, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Málaga, Lucena, and Granada, and most of these communities remained intact when the cities fell to Christian powers (except, of course, Granada, which was conquered in 1492, the same year Jews were expelled from the Peninsula).<sup>142</sup> Jewish existence in the Iberian High Middle Ages was vastly different than the situation for Muslims. First, Jews did not control territory; therefore they did not present a direct political challenge to either Muslim or Christian rulers. Their segregated presence in Muslim and Christian controlled cities was, for the most part, tolerated by the dominant religious communities. Unlike Muslims, however, Castilian Jews were legally designated servants to the crown, assigned to the royal treasury, and often had close financial, intellectual, and advisory ties to Castilian royalty. The strength of this relationship can be seen in the crown's ongoing protection of the right of Jews to own converted Muslim slaves, despite strident ecclesiastical objections.<sup>143</sup> Both Jewish and Christian traditions forbid intermarriage and these bans were incorporated into Roman and canon law.<sup>144</sup> Jews also

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<sup>142</sup> E. Michael Gerli, ed., *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (London: Routledge, 2003), 764-65. The size and strength of Jewish communities in Iberia varied greatly from city to city, and the attitudes and policies of Castilian and Muslim administrations were equally diverse.

<sup>143</sup> Ray, *Sephardic Frontier*, 71.

<sup>144</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 99-102.

played a different economic role than Muslims during this period. Jews contributed as artisans (textiles, leather, and jewelry), and were also important in tax administration and in medicine.

In the thirteenth century, tolerance of Jews in Christian Castile-León eroded. Not coincidentally, the change in the political will of the Christian kingdom was contemporaneous with the Reconquista and developing crusade ideology on the Peninsula.<sup>145</sup> Also, as Jeremy Cohen has noted, the increasing presence of mendicant orders during this period created an atmosphere that encouraged the reclassification of Jewish identity from a necessary, antithetical presence testifying to Christian truth, to a subset within a larger group of non-Christians, including Muslims and heretics, all of whom presented opportunities for conversion.<sup>146</sup> Both the *Fuero real* (royal codes) enacted in the cortes and Siete Partidas of Alfonso's administration devote significant attention to Jewish and Moorish communities living in the Christian kingdom, many of the laws of segregation and prohibition applying equally and simultaneously to both groups. In thirteenth-century Castile-León, Jews maintained certain economic ties to Christians, but the cultural borders separating Jews from Christians hardened through the institutionalization of laws created to curtail the potential for Christian conversion to Judaism and Islam.

Even if a top-down approach to religious separation and intensification of evangelical intervention into Muslim communities by the secular brotherhoods of the kingdoms of Castile-León and Aragón was not effective in converting large numbers of Muslims, the symbolic value of the ritual conversion cannot be underestimated. Robert I. Burns has compiled abundant evidence that demonstrates how the confluence of papal encouragement for persuasive conversion of Muslims and Jews, the political realignment of the Peninsula, crusader sentiment, and renewed proselytizing efforts by Franciscans (most prominently Raymond Llull) and

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<sup>145</sup> This is the central argument of O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*.

<sup>146</sup> Jeremy Cohen, "The Muslim Connection: On the Changing Role of the Jew in High Medieval Theology," in *From Witness to Witchcraft*, ed. Jeremy Cohen (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 141-62.

Dominicans (most prominently Raymond of Penyafort) along the Cataluña frontier and in North Africa, contributed to a broad cultural phenomenon that he calls “the thirteenth-century dream of conversion.”<sup>147</sup> The conversion of Muslim rulers represented the conquest of corporal territory just as valuable to the conquering Christians as the acquisition of lands. Iberian kings understood the importance of putting on display baptisms of Islamic potentates, and often conversion of a Muslim ruler was incorporated into rites of surrender after the fall of a city.<sup>148</sup>

Prominent Muslims were not the only antagonists in the dramatization of this Iberian dream of conversion: in the Barcelona Disputation of 1263, Dominican interlocutors engaged with the great scholar and philosopher Rabbi Nahmanides in order to demonstrate the authority of Christian readings of the Old Testament and the Talmud. The phenomenon of the conversion of many learned Jews during this period was followed by evangelizing effort by these converts in the communities of their former coreligionists.<sup>149</sup> Conversion of Jews in medieval Spain and across Europe was part and parcel to Christian discourse and anticipation of the end of days. As Steven Kruger writes, “Imagined millennial conversion identifies Jewishness with convertibility only at the moment when Judaism must disappear.”<sup>150</sup> The Barcelona Disputation foreshadowed the increasing intolerance towards Jews on the Peninsula in the following centuries. In preaching activities, disputations, and public baptisms, Christian superiority over minority religions was articulated through the powerful medium of public ritual and ceremony.

In the CSM there are forty explicit mentions of Jews, other than those made in reference to the Old Testament. Like the *cantigas de miragre* that feature Muslim characters, a significant

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<sup>147</sup> Burns, “Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West,” 1386-1434.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 1392-94. For reasons of state, Abû Zayd, defeated *wālī* of Valencia and descendant of the great Almohad founder, kept private his 1236 conversion to Christianity until much later in life, at which time his religious transformation was heralded in a bull by pope Urban IV. Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, 10.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 627.

<sup>150</sup> Steven F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: (Dis)embodiment and the Dynamics of Medieval Jewish/Christian Interaction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 167.

portion of the songs about Jews lead in some way either to an act of Christian conversion or to corporal punishment. For example, while some songs contain the idea of inconvertibility as a cause for violence (4 and 6), others highlight the miraculous powers and graces of Mary to convert and save Jews (39, 85, 89, and 107). Demonstrating the gap between artistic narrative and historical reality, two songs relate stories of the conversion of synagogues to Christian spaces for worship (27 and 187). The CSM suggests an inevitable progress towards Christian totality, although in reality Alfonso acted to maintain the Jewish community in Seville by allowing for the conversion of existing mosques to synagogues.<sup>151</sup>

A number of narratives in the CSM conglomerate non-Christians into a discourse of the other, under the auspices of the conversion movement. Since a good deal of the source materials for the CSM came from European regions outside of Iberia, these stories may not reflect actual Castilian examples. But it is fair to say that the adoption of conversion tropes in the *Cantigas* reflects an ideological program in the Alfonsine court. By far the most frequent narrative model for the *cantigas de miragre* of the collection is as follows: a number of representative negative social types (the most frequent of which are Moorish and Jewish characters) are set up as foils for the Holy Mother's intervention, which results in the re-establishment of equilibrium and justice in Iberian society.<sup>152</sup> As Prado-Vilar argues, this is a seductive form of performative propaganda by the dominant Christians: "According to this rhetoric, the idea of what a good life is has been determined by others, the only choice left to the 'conquered subject' is either to

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<sup>151</sup> In the context of post-conquest repartimiento, Alfonso's grant of three former Sevillian mosques to the Jewish community for use as synagogues, as well as grants of vineyards and urban houses to notable Jewish families of the northern cities, was in accord with the efforts there to maintain the city's economic life. By the end of the century, Seville's Jewish *aljāma* had become one of the largest in Castile. Heather L. Ecker, "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville: The Case of the Mezquita de la Judería," *Gesta* 36, no. 2 (1997): 190-207, and Ray, *Sephardic Frontier*, 18-19; 32.

<sup>152</sup> In the CSM, narratives of Jewish and Muslim conversion have striking similarity. For instance, both Moors and Jews who remain stubbornly intractable to Christian conversion are subjected to corporal immolation (*Cantigas* 6 and 186), and fire is also used as a means for initiating conversion (*Cantigas* 4 and 205).

‘gratefully’ live it or become collateral damage in the great scheme of history.’<sup>153</sup> The bellicose and powerful roles ascribed to the Virgin across the CSM may indeed have been connected to her presence within converted Islamic sites of worship, since it was thought that Mary’s virginal purity had the power to exorcise unclean demons from Muslim spaces and protect Christians from their Moorish enemies.<sup>154</sup> In both instances, purity of the Christian body was metonymically linked to the purity of Christian sacred space.<sup>155</sup>

Since many of the miracle narratives from the CSM derived from older, traditional miracle and Marian tales from both Iberian and pan-European cultures, the CSM cannot be trusted as accurately depicting intercultural attitudes between Christians and religious others in Iberia. However, read alongside chronicles and codes of law and the historical rise in conversions, its narratives can tell us about the political will of the Alfonsine court regarding Seville’s colonized peoples. The *Cantigas* reveal a Castilian political and cultural landscape that is complex and unstable: a period of transitions, religious segregation and conversion, and permutation and fortification of cultural boundaries.

### ***Filling space: the conversion of Seville***

Lucy Pick argues that traditional explanations of thirteenth-century polemic texts as linked to conversion efforts may be overstated. She explains that anti-Jewish and Muslim disputations and polemics during this period were still preoccupied with Christian self-

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<sup>153</sup> Prado-Vilar, “Gothic Anamorphic Gaze,” 73.

<sup>154</sup> Remensnyder, “Colonization of Sacred Architecture,” 197-203.

<sup>155</sup> The ideological intersection of Muslim and Jewish othering was often embedded in a discourse of gender difference. For instance, the following excerpt from the seventh part of Alfonso’s *Siete Partidas* not only sets a parallel legal standard for minority religious groups living in Christian territories, but it also figuratively amalgamates the spiritual quintessences of Christian women and Jewish and Muslim men: “Since Christian women who commit adultery deserves death, how much more so do Jews who lie with Christian women, for these are spiritually espoused to Our Lord Jesus Christ by virtue of the faith and baptism they received in his name.... And the Christian woman who commits such a transgression... shall receive the same punishment as the Christian woman who lies with a Muslim.” *Siete Partidas*, 7.24.9. The translation is from Dwayne E. Carpenter, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete Partidas 7.24 “De los judios”* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 35.

representation, that is, these discourses were employed to help define Christian selfhood against the backdrop of the other. Pick also observes that “the new attention paid to mission seems only to have enhanced its performative aspect... [m]ission, polemic, and disputation continued to confront nonbelievers with Christianity in order to reinforce the claims of the latter, but in ways that became increasingly more public.”<sup>156</sup> According to this understanding, in his scholarly *Dialogus libri uite* and in the play *Auto de Reyes Magos*, Archbishop Jiménez de Rada used performance in order to promote an anti-Jewish polemic, but in the end, conversion was not a crucial outcome of his performative discourses in Toledo at that time. If we concur with Pick’s convincing argument that Rodrigo had a hand in the creation of the *Auto de Reyes Magos*, we can conclude as well that the performative power of the play would have been maximized through the annual repetition of Christian truth over Jewish falsehood, since religious autos were scheduled into the repertory season of the Christian calendar.<sup>157</sup> It was in this tradition of his father’s court that Alfonso was schooled, and what emerged in the archive as fragmentary evidence for thirteenth-century Castilian theatre was expanded upon and re-emphasized for colonial purposes in the grand project of the CSM. In contrast to the spectacles of the *Dialogus* and *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, literary and performative production in Seville required more persuasive methods, performances, and suggestions of conversion, and these spectacles were grounded in an amalgamation of Jews and Muslims as colonial others.

In itself, conversion of the infidel, and all species of non-Christians, was a common theme in pan-European Christian literature in the High Middle Ages and would have been

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<sup>156</sup> Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 134.

<sup>157</sup> The central argument of the *Dialogus*—that Jews disagree about their own beliefs—is mirrored in the closing passage of Rodrigo’s *Auto de Reyes Magos*, where the Jewish characters argue about the meaning of the scriptures. The Jews function as representatives of a disunited *Synagoga*, and theatricalization of the *Auto de Reyes Magos* conveyed to the Castilian-speaking audience a defense of Christianity found in the Latin, scholarly *Dialogus*. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 190-94.

familiar to Alfonso and his court; so we might not be surprised by a unified approach to different religious groups. However, these imported discourses of difference corresponded to a period in Iberia where legal, administrative, polemical, and theatrical practices were transforming the cultural landscape of *convivencia*. The administration of the Andalusí colony was subsidized by a massive cultural venture that borrowed performance forms, musical tropes, and conversion narratives from pan-European sources, including Islamic ones. Alfonso “wanted to give a final form and unity to all disciplines: law, history, astronomy and other sciences, to the meters of poetry according to the different themes,” in order to unify Spaniards under Castilian predominance, “dominating everything, centralizing everything around himself” as an emperor of culture.<sup>158</sup> This cultural imperialism was concomitant with the political imperialism that linked back in time to his forebear Emperor Alfonso VII of Castile-León, and forward to a vision of merging the Castilian empire with the Holy Roman Empire of Christendom, “a Mediterranean unity of Christians and conquered Muslims, a new Roman Empire.”<sup>159</sup> The appearance of both Moorish and Jewish identity-in-conversion in the CSM may be in part due to the sheer size of a collection that encompasses so many aspects of religious, corporate, artistic, and daily life; however, during a historical period of intercultural ambivalence, the *Cantigas* stands out as setting an unambivalent standard and ideal that would succeed in some ways and fail in others.

The exodus of much of the Muslim population from Seville in 1248 required that Alfonso institute a massive redistribution of the properties (houses, vineyards, lands, and olive groves) to Christian settlers from Castile, Galicia, Portugal, Navarre, and Cataluña, the details of which are

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<sup>158</sup> Cayetano J. Socarrás, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona: Hispam, 1976), 11.

<sup>159</sup> Burns, “*Stupor Mundi*: Alfonso X of Castile,” 12.

drawn up in the *Libro de Repartimiento* by order of Alfonso.<sup>160</sup> Four years after the fall of Muslim Seville, redistribution activities reached their peak; the conquest of the city and immediate loss of nearly half of its population threatened the collapse of the Sevillian economy, and the crown needed to reinvigorate the commercial life of the city. Crafting parochial cells out of converted spaces of worship provided further stabilization of the community. These actions were important since post-conquest Seville occupied a strong military position near the borders of al-Andalus from which newly colonized territories were defended and campaigns into Muslim territory were inaugurated.<sup>161</sup>

Acts of ritual conversion were central to the process of colonial spatial reorganization and re-signification. Ecclesiastic jurisdictions in the Christian colony were anchored to pre-established urban mosques; therefore social space and structure retained a distinct appearance of pre-conquest Seville. However, the Christianization of these holy spaces, and the communities linked to them, occurred rapidly and was measurably different from the gradual process of Muslim-to-Christian spatial conversion in post-conquest Toledo nearly two centuries earlier. Unlike Andalusí cities that fell to the Christians in the thirteenth century, a large portion of Toledo's Muslim population remained in the city and the Christian transformation of civic and religious spaces in Toledo evolved at a slower pace. In conquered Andalusí cities, however, the performances of both quotidian and special functions (Mass, baptism, daily prayer, funerals, and payment of tithes) in and around the mosque-churches had an extra-religious (or co-religious)

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<sup>160</sup> Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951). "It has been estimated that there were about 300,000 Muslims in al-Andalus in the middle of the thirteenth century, settled chiefly in rural areas in dependence on Christian landlords. Because of the continued pressure of Castilian forces, from the fall of Seville until the middle of the fourteenth century there was a steady emigration to Granada or Morocco. According to the *Primera Crónica General* the Muslims who evacuated Seville in 1248 included 100,000 who withdrew to Ceuta and 20,000 who retired to Jerez." O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 461.

<sup>161</sup> The importance of Seville as a military center along the Christian-Muslim frontier is documented throughout Sánchez de Valladolid, et al., *Chronicle of Alfonso X*.

function to colonize vacated places. Christian rituals imbued pre-conquest structures with social and religious values and spatial signification by way of occupation by human actors bearing their own set of cultural symbols and practices. According to Jonathan Z. Smith, the production of a sacred environment occurs within a category of emplacement: “[i]t is the relationship to the human body, and our experience of it, that orients us in space, that confers meaning to place. Human beings are not placed; they bring place into being.”<sup>162</sup> Accordingly, although residual Islamic architecture and communal organization informed a colonial discourse of space, the emplacement of Christian practices and human presences reinscribed these places with new reflections belonging to the dominant culture of Castilian Christianity.

Perhaps the most significant spatial conversion was ritual cleansing of the centrally located masjid jami’ of Seville on December 22, 1248. Fernando III consecrated the mosque on the day of his triumphal entrance into the city, naming the new cathedral La Catedral Santa María de la Sede.<sup>163</sup> Most of the city’s buildings and other immovable properties remained intact after conquest, and converted mosques served as spiritual signposts in the partitioning of the city by the Castilians into parochial cells. The masjid jami’, on the other hand, became the spiritual focal point for the entire urban community.<sup>164</sup> For performances of the Cantigas, the converted central Friday mosque became the preeminent producer and arena of theatrical and ritual activities for the next three hundred years.

Although the use of the Sevillian Friday mosque for Christian ritual through the end of the fourteenth century was due, at least in part, to convenience and conservation of resources, its

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<sup>162</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 28.

<sup>163</sup> The dedication of the church waited until June 11, 1251, once a bull from Pope Innocent IV was granted. Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales Eclesiásticos y Seculares de la muy Noble y muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla, Tomo I*, (Sevilla: Imprenta de E. Rasco, Bustos Tavera, 1887), 48-49.

<sup>164</sup> Heather L. Ecker, “How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus,” in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, eds. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), 46-48.

initial conversion was rooted in the production of a symbolic message of conquest over Muslim sacred space and, by extension, the Muslim community of Seville.<sup>165</sup> Where a complete destruction of the Friday mosque and construction of a more traditional Christian ritual space (i.e., a Gothic cathedral) may have better served Christian liturgical practices, appropriation and conversion allowed the conquering culture to symbolically project religious dominance over Muslim culture by preserving the historical memory of the vanquished Muslim past.

Certainly Fernando and the entering armies, ecclesiastics, and settlers must have been aware of the potential spiritual contradictions present in an Islamic sacred site converted for Christian use, awareness reflected in the exclamatory placement of Marian statues along the perimeter walls of mosques in recently-conquered Andalusí cities. The Toledo history of mosque-to-cathedral conversion and replacement must have been fresh in the minds of the colonists. The ninth-century *masjid jami'* of Toledo was converted to a cathedral just a few years after Christian conquest, in 1085. The mosque continued to be used for nearly a century and a half, until it was dismantled under the direction of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada in 1221 because of deterioration and the fact that the architectural dimensions of the mosque did not support the Christian liturgy.<sup>166</sup> The construction of the Gothic cathedral in Toledo began in 1224 and was still underway when Seville fell to Fernando's armies.

Specific actions like walling-off the large portals to the prayer hall (which would have all but eliminated the abundant natural light) and covering over Islamic emblems—practices that went beyond pontifical standards for Christian ceremonial conversion—speak to the effort

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<sup>165</sup> Julie Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 160.

<sup>166</sup> Medieval Iberian mosques were constructed with dozens of corridors of horseshoe shaped archways, designed to optimize sightlines along a north-south axis. When a mosque was converted to a church, the orientation of the parishioners' focus was shifted towards the east and Jerusalem. This would have created a number of challenges, both acoustic and visual. Sightlines from the nave to the altar would have been obstructed in many locations throughout the haram space, critically interfering with the liturgy and witnessing of the Elevation of the Host.

involved in producing a neutral space on and through which Christian signs and practices could be inscribed.<sup>167</sup> Placing paraphernalia of the Christian ritual (chapels, crosses, reliquary, and statues) within the Almohad structure (among them the *Virgen de los Reyes*, *Virgen de la Sede*, and *Virgen de las Batallas*) would have been an important part of the process of Christianizing the space, not the least because idols were forbidden from mosques by Islamic law.<sup>168</sup> And by darkening the inner mosque environment, the Castilians were able to deemphasize the striking particularities of Islamic architecture and design, establishing a *less significant* space.

Mosques were not the only surviving architectural elements of the urban environment that required ritual transformation. Unlike medieval cities with a long history of Christian hegemony, Seville's unusually narrow streets discouraged public interaction, and public plazas for assembly and festival did not exist.<sup>169</sup> Christian corporal presence in the colony pushed back against these material constraints and signs of difference, finding purchase among, and dominating the discourses of, Islamic urban design. As Heather Ecker argues, colonial transformation of medieval Iberian cities that were severely depopulated after conquest, like

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<sup>167</sup> In the High Middle Ages, consecration of a church building took place in three phases. First, the bishop, clergy, and people circumambulated the circumference of the edifice. Next, the clergy and bishop entered and purified the space with aspersions of hyssop and blessed water to drive malefactors away from the space. Lastly, relics (that had been the subject of vigils the prior night) were inserted into the church and the remains of holy bodies were interred. See *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge, 1*, ed. Michel Andrieu (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1938), 176-95.

<sup>168</sup> Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 128.

<sup>169</sup> "La calle islámica, por el contrario, no conduce a ninguna parte.... Existe lo que podríamos llamar su negación, el adarve, el callejón sin salida, sin continuación, sin la consideración de un interés público y sí en cambio bajo la servidumbre de un interés privado.... Todo contribuye a crear una sensación de riguroso intimismo...su carácter íntimo, recatado, hermético, secreto y también sagrado...." (The Islamic street, on the contrary, leads nowhere.... There is what we might call a denial: the parapets, the dead ends, no continuity, no consideration of the public interest, yet subjected to private interests.... Everything contributes to creating a sense of rigorous intimacy...its intimate, modest, hermetic, secret and also sacred character.) José Guerrero Lovillo, "Sevilla Musulmana" in *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano*, ed. Antonio Blanco Freijeiro (Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría, 1972), 27-28.

Córdoba and Seville, required less of an effort of *reformation* by the ecclesiastical institutions, and more of an effort of *invention*.<sup>170</sup>

The new colony required sacral-political conversion on spatial and corporal grounds. The Christian crown reconfigured sacred spaces of the old city to accommodate new Christian liturgies and social rituals, and in turn, Christian bodily presence and practice recontextualized the urban environment as a New Jerusalem. These processes would intersect in musical performances of the Cantigas, where the visceral experience of playing and witnessing the songs advanced a sensual communication with the divine.<sup>171</sup> I don't mean to suggest that medieval rituals of bodily and spatial conversion incorporated identical liturgies and acts, nor do I believe that medieval concepts of body and space were identical. However, as Dawn Marie Hayes points out, during the High Middle Ages, the impermanent human body was "integral to the establishment of medieval sacred place [and] central to its function."<sup>172</sup> Clerical practices during this period of Christian history demonstrated a connection between the rite of consecration and the sacrament of baptism, and more than a few scholars have noted the metonymic and figurative junctures between the medieval social body, the body of Christ, and sacred space.<sup>173</sup> The following comments by the influential twelfth-century philosopher and mystic, Hugo of Saint Victor, succinctly illustrate these connections:

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<sup>170</sup> Ecker, "How to Administer a Conquered City," 56.

<sup>171</sup> Although Augustine is generally suspicious of the corrupting influences of theatre and music in his *Confessions*, he occasionally reveals that music also has the power to "kindle" pious behavior: "I am aware that when sung these sacred words stir my mind to greater religious fervor and kindle in me a more burning flame of piety than they would if they were not sung; and I know as well that there are certain modes in song and voice, corresponding to my various emotions and able to stimulate them because of some mysterious relationship between the two" (Book 10, Chapter 33), Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 231.

<sup>172</sup> Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe: 1100-1389* (London: Routledge, 2003), 25.

<sup>173</sup> "[T]he Aristotelian notion of the body as a representation of society is sacralized in the notion of Christ's body, simultaneously the consecrated host which emerges to consolidate the function of priesthood, and Christian society." Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London; New York: Routledge, 1993), 32.

For the faithful soul is the true temple of God by the covenant of virtues which is built, as it were, by a kind of structure of spiritual stones where faith makes the foundation, hope raises the building, charity imposes the finish. But the Church herself also, brought together as one from the multitude of the faithful, is the house of God constructed of living stones, where Christ has been placed as the cornerstone, joining the two walls of the Jews and the gentiles in one faith.<sup>174</sup>

Conversion tropes in the Cantigas sought refuge in a symbolic space of transformation—the mosque-cathedral of Seville—and the approximation of conversion narratives to a monumental environment of sacred conversion emphasized for the audiences the power of the Virgin Mary and Alfonso to conduct a Christian revival. Significantly, performances of the Cantigas in late-thirteenth-century Seville, unlike Toledo where the collection and collation project began, took place in a deserted city—emptied not only of a significant portion of the Muslim populations, but also without either a large Christian population or material signs of a Christian community. In the stark and distinctly Andalusí architecture of the central mosque-cathedral, at the center of an unstable Christian colony, the Cantigas offered theatrical metonyms and metaphors of social cohesion meant to performatively fill this absence.

Metonymic performances in a converted space create lines of association between signs, objects, and utterances without transferring the *qualities* or *prior meanings* of those signs, which in this case was Islam. Contiguity between Christian and Muslim religious and political practices was outlined in metonymy. Kings, priests, caliphs, and imams all enter, pass through, and resign themselves to spaces of worship and their objects. In this way, ritual in a sacred, converted space maintains the sense of praise and devotion, even when the act of “praising Allah” is replaced by the act of “praising God.” For example, the long aisles framed by Islamic arches in the haram of the La Mezquita were reconceived as naves for use in the Christian liturgy, despite the drastic dimensional differences between haram corridors and the naves of

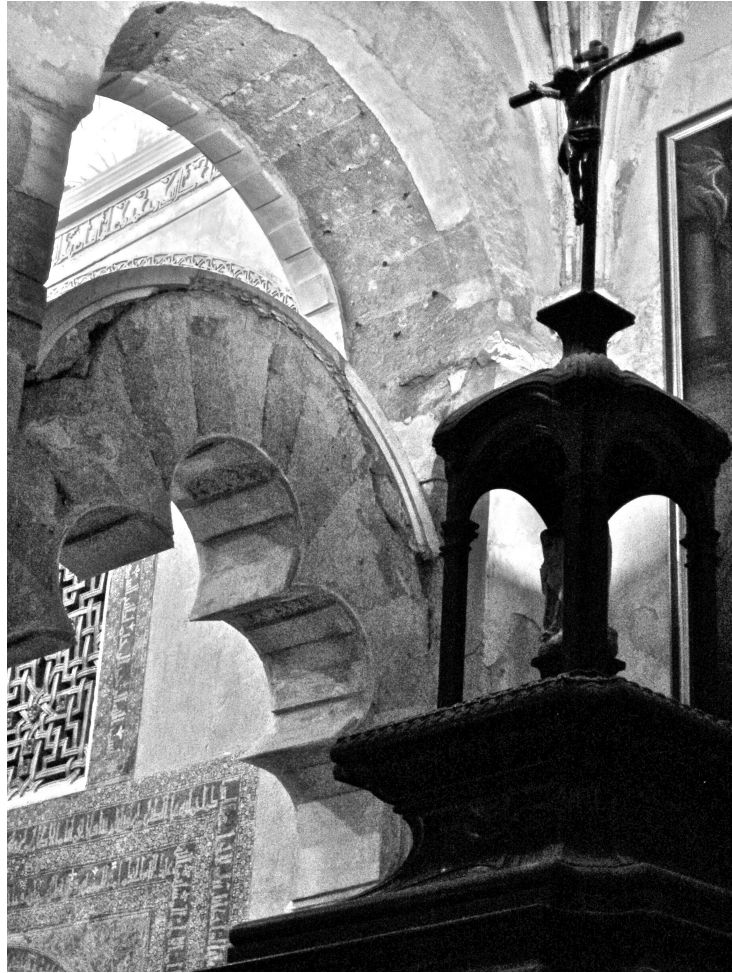
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<sup>174</sup> Hugo of Saint Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 279.

Romanesque and Gothic churches. Both nave and arched aisles orient the celebrant toward a common focal point; the domain of usage remains the same. Discrepant religious practices co-exist (in practice and memory) in the same monumental structure.

Metaphoric performances have other ways of colonizing space. Embodied metaphors transfer a set of non-associative meanings (Christian) wholesale into the new domain of use. The domain in this case—the “strange” masjid jami’—remains stable when new activities and symbols are inserted. Context and referent are arranged in a dialectical relationship, the friction between them creating a third meaning, that of contrast, tension, and fissure (Figure 2.21). A good example of a metaphor of spiritual contrast and dominance was the *Virgen de Antiguos* painting set against the Islamic mihrab on the southern end of La Mezquita. The legendary narrative of Visigothic origination carried a metaphorical charge of Christian primacy in sacred space.

Converting Seville from a major economic and spiritual center in the Muslim kingdom into a military, economic, and spiritual hub at the edge of the Christian frontier required a forceful operation of infusing preserved Islamic sacred architecture, city spaces, and artistic practices with new Christian dogma. The metonymic reorientation in the songs also redirected the audience’s gaze towards the mother Mary within the context of familiar Muslim surroundings and oral and musical cultures. Alfonso’s performative task was to symbolically transform the landscape, but only in degrees and without *materially* transforming the landscape. The task of transforming the referent of a sign without changing the material structure of the signifier was accomplished through social ritual that maximizes sensory and experiential phenomena of bodies in space, performatively recombining artifacts from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim cultures in order to produce a new society.



**Figure 2.21**  
*La Mezquita, Córdoba (mihrab lower left)*

Figuratively, the city produced centripetal force as it gathered resources inward and, on the other hand, a centrifugal force as sacred space was repartitioned and reoriented, with the mosque-cathedral occupying the innermost circle of concentric rings.<sup>175</sup> Mircea Eliade's concept of the "homo religiosus" provides insight into the political and cultural efforts of the Castilian courts to increase the economic, strategic, and symbolic capital of Seville through performances of the CSM. Eliade defines homo religiosus as a broad, communal consciousness, which included medieval communities, where individuals seek to occupy sacred spaces, which to them appear more objectively real (the same spaces that modern people might regard as illusionistic). The sacred realm's most potent manifestation is in

religious man's will to take his stand at the very heart of the real, at the Center of the World—that is, exactly where the cosmos came into existence and began to spread out toward the four horizons, and where, too, there is possibility of communication with the gods.... We have seen that the symbolism of the center not only of the countries, cities, temples, and palaces, but also in the humblest human dwelling.... [T]o settle somewhere, to inhabit a space, is equivalent to repeating the cosmogony and hence to imitating the work of the gods.<sup>176</sup>

These spaces are not only sought out, they are produced through rites of orientation and foundation. Henri Lefebvre arrives at a similar conclusion about religious space, when he argues that consensus in the community is rendered through ritual, embodied practices. A gathering of a city's population, a forceful presence that converges on a singular purpose of spatial action, "overcomes conflicts, at least momentarily, even though it does not resolve them; it opens a way from everyday concerns to collective joy."<sup>177</sup> At the affective level of communal bodies—with

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<sup>175</sup> Aron J. Gurevich has written about the medieval, Christian sense of the universe as existing in a series of concentric spheres, with Jerusalem at the center: *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 71. An important example of this in medieval culture is the *mappa mundi* design that graphically illustrates the prominence of the spiritual center and the strangeness of borders.

<sup>176</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1987), 64-65.

<sup>177</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991), 222.

its symmetries, rhythms, theatrical utterances, and ceremonial unities—a monumental, sacred home for a godly presence is produced among a consenting group of humans.

Through performances of the songs, Alfonso sought to accomplish three of the ideological goals outlined in Eliade's statement: reconstitute the sacred central space of the city as distinctly Christian; performatively situate Seville at a new *axis mundi* by citationally interconnecting Sevillian culture with cities and shrines across Iberian kingdoms and the Christian world; and communicate directly with the godlike Virgin Mary. The staging of the Cantigas took place at the central nexus of Alfonso's vision of an imperial, Iberian network, a sacred space that did more than "represent" a microcosm of Alfonso's Christian kingdom, but was also "a vision of Christian *practice* that acts as a medium of transition and transformation."<sup>178</sup>

### ***Phenomenology of performance: books and spaces***

I return to the performance with which I opened this chapter, cantiga 170. Themes of conversion and material transformation can be found in songs across the collection, but cantiga 170 is of particular interest because it reveals the ways in which theatrical and readerly strands of engagement existed in a kind of double helix relationship. At the confluence of performances of the book and stage, conclusions about the Cantigas as a meaningful colonial practice emerge.

The entire song of praise reads:

*We should praise her who always does good and in whom all moderation lies.*<sup>179</sup>  
 This is the Mother of Our Lord, Holy Mary, who always is the most excellent.  
 Therefore we should praise Her, and we can never praise Her enough.  
 Because, in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us  
 in flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels?  
 In the name of God, she should be devoutly praised by everyone in the world, for  
 some She saves, others win pardon, and She brings peace to the world.

<sup>178</sup> Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 55.

<sup>179</sup> The refrain is written at the beginning of the song and is repeated five times throughout, after each stanza.

She who always takes away evil and brings good and prays for us and keeps us  
and defends us from the wicked devil should be praised above all things.  
As for me, I swear I will praise Her as long as I live and will always speak well of  
Her blessings, for I know for certain that when I die I shall see Her face.<sup>180</sup>

As is the case with most medieval manuscript illumination, the miniatures that accompany this particular poem are not strict representations of lyrical tropes, but rather present a thematic, correlative narrative that can be read separate from, or in combination with, the poem. In the case of illuminations from T/F, which are organized in frames that are reminiscent of modern graphic novels and comic books, one might expect a sequence of images that matched the narrative of the text, or followed a logical progression. However, in Cantiga 170, and in many of the T/F miniatures, this is not the case. George Greenia argues that there is a disjuncture between the miniatures and text of the *códice rico*, especially in the lyrical songs of praise when “the miniaturists dropped all pretense of being strictly sequential.”<sup>181</sup> The first frame (a) of Cantiga 170 (Figure 2.8) corresponds rather loosely to the refrain and the first stanza of the poem. Frame (b), which introduces a theme nowhere mentioned in the poem—the Virgin helping the poor and destitute—connects rather obliquely to the line about bringing “peace to the world.” The “rank of angels” mentioned in the second stanza are visually reinscribed in frames (b) and (e). The sacrifice of Christ in the second stanza is acknowledged only later in the illumination, in frame (d). As the reader of the manuscript moves between text and image, or a participant views the illuminations while experiencing the live performance of the songs,<sup>182</sup> the

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<sup>180</sup> First person references are common throughout the songs of praise and represent the voice of the king. Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 205.

<sup>181</sup> George D. Greenia, “The Politics of Piety: Manuscript Illumination and Narration in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” *Hispanic Review* 61, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 325-44.

<sup>182</sup> Based on the Castilian prosification of cantigas 2-25 in the T manuscript, the practice of referencing the manuscript during performance seems to have occurred. For a discussion of the prosifications, see Anthony Cárdenas, “A Study of Alfonso’s Role in Selected Cantigas and the Castilian Prosifications of Escorial Codex T,” in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: Seminary of Medieval Hispanic Studies, 1987), 248-68.

images disrupt and complicate the sequence of ideas in the lyrics by reordering themes and amplifying tropes of sacrifice and transformation. This re-sequencing forces the reader to reengage multiple times with the images and text. It also invites the reader into a creative, participatory process by providing opportunities to make personal choices and form interpretations about the information on folio pages.

The procession of images of Cantiga 170 resonates with themes and lyrical expressions of faith: transubstantiation and the synecdoche of spiritual and earthly spheres. In the passage “...in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us in the flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels?”<sup>183</sup> we are reminded of the physical transformation undertaken by Christ, which is juxtaposed with a visual narrative of physical transformation on the opposing leaf. If we follow the narrative of the six panels from left to right and in rows, we are able to map the process of performative transformation of physical matter into spiritual presence, and back again. In frame (a) Alfonso directs his courtier’s attention to a scene of Mary’s benevolent actions in the adjacent frame (b). In (b), Mary inhabits full human form and is escorted by two angels. Frame (c) returns the reader-viewer’s attention to Alfonso, who now shares the image with a life-sized statue of Mary and Jesus. This particularly large rendering of the statue is unique to all of the T illuminations; like the *Virgen de los Reyes*, this Mary statue is life-sized and she is seated on a realistic altar, large enough to accommodate rituals of the Church. It is also significant that Alfonso and the audience of courtiers are included in this particular frame. This image could be the nearest representation of an actual performance of the Cantigas in the entire manuscript collection.

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<sup>183</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 205.

In panel (c), Mary is in a transitional stage; within the sequence of images, she is at a middle stage between human form and inanimate object. The pair of angels at her back and identical attire refers the reader-participant back to her human incarnation in frame (b) and forward again to her statue form in frame (f). The formal presentation of Mary in (c) is similar to the smaller image of the Mary and Child statue in frame (f); this image is a sort of visual coda that proliferates throughout the manuscript. In frame (e) Mary temporarily reverts to corporal form, and then, under the direction of Alfonso, she completes her transformation in the final frame, revealing the typical statue image that recalls the actual Virgin statues of the cathedral and those found in churches and shrines across the Peninsula.<sup>184</sup> The same transformation occurs in the illumination to cantiga 90 (Figure 2.12). In this series, Mary is in motion in each individual image until the final frame when she assumes the role of a statue (puppet?). There are many additional examples of similar transformations in illuminations throughout the T and F manuscripts.

There are, of course, additional layers of complication and intensification in the presentation of the song in the capilla real. The Virgen de los Reyes was an articulating doll framed by angels in the doors of her tabernacle. The miniature to the prologue of the Florence manuscript reiterates the theme of reincarnation and liveness with such particularity that one might interpret the image as representing physical aspects of the performance of the Cantigas in the capilla real (Figure 2.22). In this frame, the ubiquitous Alfonso performs the role of spiritual mediator, casting himself alongside the Virgin as an active agent of conversion, and steering the attention of the audience towards two Marys: the Mary statue *and* the living, breathing human

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<sup>184</sup> A number of illustrations of statues in the collection are based on specific Marian devotional sites across the Peninsula. Ángela Franco Mata, "Las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X El Sabio. Texto, imagen, música. Relaciones con la escultura y la pintura," *Ars longa, vita brevis: homenaje al Dr. Rafael Sancho de San Román* (Toledo: Real Academia de Bellas Arte y Ciencias Históricas, 2006), 209-42.



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**Figure 2.22**  
Illumination to Prologue, F manuscript

Mary, *simultaneously*. The statue in the background appears to be housed within a tabernacle. Set among a constellation of stars, this Mary symbolizes the heavenly mother. The downstage Mary carries Jesus in her left arm and is accompanied by the two angels.

A hybrid spiritual and corporal presence of Mary haunts the final frame (f) of the illumination to cantiga 170 of the *códice rico* (Figure 2.8), due in part to Alfonso's insistent and alternating presence in the visual narrative. Alfonso maintains the same posture and intentional gesture throughout, reinforcing his status as spiritual mediator and suggesting that the transposition of Mary from the space of memory, biblical history, into the space of *present* performance on the folio leaves, is a direct result of his efforts. The last line of the song—"I [Alfonso] swear I will praise Her as long as I live and will always speak well of Her blessings, for I know for certain that when I die I shall see Her face"—restates this theme in a different way. The face of the Mary to which he ritually prays—the articulating statue of Mary in the *capilla real*—is the *same* face he will see when he dies, the resurrected incarnation of Mary. Two representations become one in the metonymic rehearsal of juxtaposition and repetition.

In his third appearance in the illumination, Alfonso is holding a rotulus in his right hand, indicating the musical and physical enactment of the song of praise itself, and pulling the reader/viewer out of the internal world of the song. The illuminations then become a metatheatrical mechanism linking three hypertextual layers of performance: the biblical narrative embedded in the song, the narrative of Alfonso's role as mediator between the production and reception of Mary's graces, and the actualization of the song in a performance space. Brought into the single space is the historical story of the Passion of Christ, an apocryphal Marian tale that would have occurred in post-biblical time, and the present moment of performance, whether

we interpret “performance” to mean a performative engagement with the text as reader or as a performance of the song in the sacred space before Mary’s shrine.

Phenomenological transformations of statues abound in the miracle songs as well. Unlike the illuminations of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame*, a probable source for Alfonso’s team of poets, musicians, and illustrators, where the artists who drew the “Virgin’s statue coming to life were very careful to depict a separate divine manifestation as the enactor of the miracle rather than the statue itself,”<sup>185</sup> Alfonso provided a number of instances where statue representations of Mary perform as effectively as if Mary herself were conducting the miracle.<sup>186</sup> For instance, in the illumination to cantiga 4, a Jewish boy witnesses a statue of Mary miraculously come to life to provide communion. The Virgin later saves the boy from death at the hands of his father and he converts to Christianity. Cantiga 297 produces a defense of image worship and belief in the powers of statues to heal: “His great power is such that it can act through that thing which He deems worthy to be thus empowered. This is the true reason why the one who sincerely believes finds power in a statue.” When an “insolent and foolhardy” friar accuses the king of believing in the “power in carved wood,” Alfonso doesn’t answer with a standard theological explanation about representations of saints. He simply states that the friar

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<sup>185</sup> Anna Russakoff, “The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of *Les Miracles de Notre-Dame* by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551,” *Manuscripta*, Vols. 47-48 (2004) 135-44.

<sup>186</sup> CSM 9 relates a miracle when the image of the Virgin painted on a tablet assumes flesh. In CSM 25 a statue of Mary gives testimony on behalf of a Christian who had given her image as bond to a Jewish money lender. CSM 42 relates the story of a boy who places a ring on a statue of Mary and pledges devotion to her. Later Mary upbraids him in a dream for marrying another woman. The Virgin of Arrixaca, represented in the miniature to CSM 169 as a statue, has the power to turn back Moorish armies from a church in Murcia. Like Seville’s cathedral, this church was a converted mosque. CSM 196 tells of a pagan idol transformed into the image of Mary and Child. CSM 264 relates the story of how a picture of the Virgin defended Constantinople against the Muslims. In CSN 345, the Virgin and Child statue in Jerez appears to Queen Violante and Alfonso in their sleep, signaling that the statute suffered “injury.” The language of this poem suggests bodily injury rather than physical harm to an object. Many of the songs suggest that Moors frequently attempted to burn effigies of the Virgin Mary.

“disbelieves in Her.” Alfonso recommits himself to the concept of material and spiritual oneness.<sup>187</sup>

The conversion of Mary from inanimate matter to fleshy impersonation implies that, like Mary in her heavenly incarnation, material and symbolic forms of the Virgin—painted, plastic, and textual—possess powers to effect change in the world and deserve no less praise. Michael Camille comments that the lifelike qualities attributed by medieval observers to images do not mean they looked like the real thing, but that images *seemed* to come to life.<sup>188</sup> In this respect, it was the work of the audience in the *capilla real*—their gaze on the miraculous transformation of Mary and the sense of imaginative faith in the proceedings—that gave life to the songs and to the figural simulations that populated the altar.<sup>189</sup>

It is remarkable that Alfonso associated himself so intimately with the mechanics of miraculous transformation. In the songs of praise in particular, he has cast himself as a necessary part of the process of performative conversion. It becomes clear, throughout the illuminations to T and F, that Mary’s actions proceed from Alfonso’s efforts to animate her through words, praise, and iconographic materialization. Alfonso sustains his intervention into mystical processes with a *trovador* persona; his dramatic re-representation of miraculous happenings intimates a kind of mimetic withdrawal from the sacred. However, the performative effect is clear, made more present through insistent thematic repetition throughout the songs. Alfonso’s performance of himself as mediator and agent of conversion becomes significant by the sheer

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<sup>187</sup> Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X*, 360.

<sup>188</sup> Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36.

<sup>189</sup> “Transfiguration, *metamorphosis*, this is the name that designates both the glory of the resurrected body and the work of the spectator’s gaze on the icon.” M. J. Baudinet, “The Face of Christ, the Form of the Church,” in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part One*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 151.

weight of reproduction across the formal spectrum of the manuscripts, both for reader-viewers and for audiences who witnessed performances in the capilla real.

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The intersection of material transformations in the Cantigas and conversion of colonial spaces and bodies in Seville occurred in these moments of Alfonso's intervention into Marian performance. When entered into the socio-political realm of quasi-religious, quasi-courtly performance, the accumulative force of thematic metamorphosis created by the Cantigas provided Seville's inhabitants with a means of interpreting and engaging with the unusual Andalusí world around them. When contemplating the meaning and function of medieval images in a ritual setting, it is helpful to remember that "[r]ather than viewing objects as the culminating point in a process of production, distillates of styles and sources, we should envisage them as catalysts to series of open-ended uses and interpretations."<sup>190</sup> The fully phenomenological experience of sacred theatre provided Alfonso with an open-ended platform that facilitated moments of *becoming*: conversion of flesh, conversion of spirit, and the conversion of colonized cultural forms into a new, universal Castilian poetry.

Ardent discourses of religious difference coupled with appeals for religious conversion emerged in the Iberian thirteenth century. In the colonial capital of Castilian Reconquista, the Cantigas helped initiate a historical shift from a society of negotiated co-existence and tolerance to one of empire building and religious consolidation. After his death in 1284, Sancho IV had Alfonso's remains interred next to his parents in the capilla real and constructed a statue of his father to join the other monarchs on the altar-stage. The memory of the song's protagonist was offered to the audience in two material forms: the inanimate relics of the king and a statue that

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<sup>190</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the *Cura Monialium*: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta* 31, no. 2 (1992): 126.

looked as if it were about to move. Throughout the following centuries, the CSM continued to be performed in the mosque-cathedral for the absent king. Performative occupation of sacred and social spaces would take on new forms at the end of the medieval period, and these religious and disciplinary processions, one of which transplants the Stations of the Cross from the Holy Land to a New Jerusalem in the northern district of Seville, are the subjects of my next chapter.

### Chapter Three Penance, Conversion, and Affective Convivencia

The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmanner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban “text” they write without being able to read it.

Michal de Certeau

This chapter is about the ways in which acts of public penance contributed to the formation of religious and ethnic identities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Seville. I argue that the two major processional forms of that period—the *auto da fé* and the processions of Holy Week—operated within a penitential network that produced religious and social meanings often exceeding the social narratives generated by each individual event. The *auto da fé* and Holy Week rituals have mostly been studied in separate academic domains—the *auto da fé* is the interest of historians of the Inquisition and religious intolerance, while Holy Week processions are the bailiwick of religious studies, art history, and performance studies.<sup>1</sup> However, no such domain has yet considered the two as occupiers of shared urban spaces, and inquiry into performative signification has yet to occur in a meaningful way.<sup>2</sup> I treat them together here as performative forms that functioned within a general penitential structure of feeling, or, as offered in Chapter One, an affective template through which somatic acts of coexistence may occur.<sup>3</sup> As

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<sup>1</sup> Prominent historians of the Inquisition include Yitzhak Baer, Antonio Cascales Ramos, Henry Kamen, Benzoin Netenyahu, and Norman Roth. Scholars of Holy Week celebrations in Spain include Manuel J. Gómez Lara, Gabriel Llompart, José Sánchez Herrero, and Susan Verdi Webster.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Potter has taken note of the thematic congruencies between medieval Passion plays and the *auto da fé*, as well as the deeply felt penitential messages of the *auto da fé* common to Christian piety and practice. “The *Auto da Fé* as Medieval Drama,” in *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre*, Lancaster, ed. Meg Twycross (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 110-18. In his 1996 monograph Thomas Bestul devotes a chapter to describing the parallel relationship between bodily violence in Passion devotion and the rise of judicial torture in the thirteenth century. *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Williams defines *structures of feeling* as pervasive social consciousnesses, particularly significant and legible in art and literature that have “characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective

will become more apparent below, I have borrowed Raymond Williams's affective terminology because it makes available a range of emotional, expressive, inter-communal, and interpretive measures that reveal the ways in which the devotional and judiciary practices of Old Christians (Christians who claimed a family ancestry "clean" of any Jewish or Islamic blood) and New Christians (converted Muslims and Jews, also called *conversos* and *moriscos*) created patterns of difference and facilitated metonymic junctions, conversations, and cultural sharing across the ritual landscape.

The ethnic, cultural, and religious social category of the converso was an outgrowth of the mass conversion movement of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In particular, the year 1391 marks a radical change in Christian-Jewish relations on the Peninsula. Acts of violence committed against Jews prior to this date were mostly ritualistic in nature, but the pogroms of 1391—initiated in Seville and spreading across Castile and eastern Iberian kingdoms—resulted in the destruction of entire Jewish communities and the death of thousands of individuals. A great deal of literature about the causes of the outbreak in violence is available,<sup>4</sup> and I do not have the space here to recount this particular history in detail, only to say that deeply embedded economic jealousies and ethnic fears among Christians were aroused by the anti-Semitic preaching of fanatical priests—especially the Dominican Ferrant Martínez.<sup>5</sup> The

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elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity." *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 128.

<sup>4</sup> For information on the roles of preachers and Castilian rulers in fomenting late fourteenth-century violence, see Antonio Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía. Resistencia de los conversos a su implantación* (Sevilla: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1986); Emilio Mitre Fernandez, *Los judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III. El pogrom de 1391* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1994); and cf. Benzoin Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: New York Review Books, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> On March 15, 1391, Martínez delivered a sermon at the church of Santa María in Seville encouraging parishioners to enter the *judería* (Jewish quarter) and commit acts of violence in the community. Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía*, 14.

riots were sparked by a particular animosity towards Jews rather than a fear of Crypto-Judaism among conversos.<sup>6</sup>

The destructive riots of 1391 put tremendous pressure on Castilian and Catalan Jews to convert to Christianity; in some cities, Jews were baptized by force.<sup>7</sup> Unstable political conditions and revolts of the nobility against the crown in Castile weakened the usual amount of protection afforded to Jewish and converso communities. Further exacerbating the calamitous situation for Jews, unsuccessful attempts of the rabbinical leaders to abandon the Disputation of Tortosa in 1413-1414 (a debate designed by Christian clerics to undermine the influence of rabbinical leaders) gave Christian mendicants powerful propagandistic ammunition as they undertook the work of conversion throughout Spain. Many Jewish spiritual leaders fled to northern Africa, leaving synagogues leaderless and weakening the resolve of the remaining Jewish communities. Jews converted in great numbers throughout the century, especially in Seville, where anti-Jewish feeling was pronounced.<sup>8</sup>

Despite the radical efforts of the Church and state to make them so, strictly delineated, autonomous categories like Jew, Old Christian, converso, and crypto-Judaizer simply did not exist. In his *memoria*, written in Seville, Fray Agustín Salucio attests to the complex ancestral make-up of the category of Old Christian, writing that it stemmed from four different social groups: “the conquerors, those who were conquered, those who were neither conquerors or

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<sup>6</sup> Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 88.

<sup>7</sup> Yitzhak Baer, *The History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1992), 115-16.

<sup>8</sup> Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada, “Judeoconversos andaluces en el siglo XV,” in *Actas del III coloquio de historia medieval andaluza. La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados*, ed. Manuel González Himénez and José Rodríguez Molina (Jaén: Disputación Provincial de Jaén, 1986), 28-30.

conquered, and a mixture of some or all of the above.”<sup>9</sup> “Converso” was an unstable social category, about which the heterodox Christian community felt significant anxiety, perhaps because of concerns about their own bloodlines. The hybrid, immeasurably variable, subject of the converted Jew in late medieval Seville represented mutability and difference, and heterodox Christian communities made efforts to materially elide the converso—efforts that ranged from the cataclysmic anti-Jewish violence in 1391 through Inquisition and expulsions. As well, markers of ethnic and religious difference promulgated by *limpieza de sangre* (cleanliness of blood) statutes were laden with semiotic information regarding otherness.<sup>10</sup>

During this period of Sevillian history, penitential concepts and rituals of corporal mortification permeated public ritual. Inquisitorial theatre and Christian penitential suffering shared performance spaces and liturgical schedules, and gestured towards similar spiritual and communal themes.<sup>11</sup> The same notions of mortality, martyrdom, and future salvation and damnation were ever-present during both processional performances.<sup>12</sup> The social prerogative of *all* Christians in late medieval Seville, both “old” and “new,” was to demonstrate their faith and penitential attitudes in such a way that their practices could be coherently read, understood, and believed on the semiotic and affective levels of the body. Old Christians and conversos accessed

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<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Kevin Ingram, “Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos,” in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Volume One, Departure and Change*, ed. Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 335.

<sup>10</sup> *Limpieza de Sangre* statutes were put into place by the Archbishop of Seville in 1515. José Sánchez Herrero, *Las cofradías de Sevilla en la modernidad* (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1988), 57-58.

<sup>11</sup> Although at least the first two autos da fé of Seville did not coincide with a Christian holiday (February 6 and March 26, 1481), as the size and spectacle of the procession grew over the next century, autos da fé were organized around Christian religious feasts. In 1561, Inquisitorial rules officially established the practice to ensure maximum public participation. Jean Plaidy, *The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth, and End, Part 2: The Growth of the Spanish Inquisition* (New York: Citadel Press, 1967), 121. The auto da fé of 1486 in Toledo, in which 700 alleged apostates were reconciled with the Church, was held on February 12, the first Sunday of Lent (Quadragesima). Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 204-07.

<sup>12</sup> “...it was not uncommon to look upon the suffering convict as a pseudo-martyr, and thus Christ-like, physical pain at the scaffold stood within this very same constellation of beliefs and feeling.” Mitchell Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1999.

shared resources in order to obtain and display depth of emotional contrition and believable repentance. The central performative theme that bound together diverse penitential rituals was this sense of *theatrical demonstration*: processional actors prepared in advance of public displays of penance in order to match the expectations, excitement, and performative standards of their audience, whether those were parochial, inquisitorial, familial, or communal. The cosmology of late medieval Spanish penance provided a common frame and means through which reenactments of Christ's Passion and the corporal discipline of non-Christian others entered into metonymic, affective conversations and provided the basis for the reiteration of a range of beliefs, including Judaic reaffirmation, hybrid Christian-Jewish devotional affect, and orthodox Christology. Penitential violence centered around the Passion of Christ was haunted by the specter of Judaism, calling forth in effigy the displaced and the dead.

In suggesting affinities between *voluntary* Holy Week self-discipline and *involuntary* institutional discipline and ritual execution I do not wish to obscure the important, material fact that there were clear winners and losers within this penitential superstructure I am proposing. However, if these radical categories were to dictate the tenor of my conclusions, I would risk obscuring the fact that within historical economies of violence, conceptual bridges between judicial penance and acts of contrition were hardly strange. That is to say, symbolic and activity-based concordances among penitential processional events (both judicial and devotional) were not entirely coincidental, since they drew from the same cultural well of belief and practice.<sup>13</sup> Voluntary and involuntary penance alike were structured around devotional ontology designed to bring one closer to God through a spiritual conversion, a structure that established boundaries for

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<sup>13</sup> “The stage [of the auto da fé] is conceived as a space of religious and social significance.... The seating arrangements for the clergy and invited civic magistrates had also to be precisely observed, since their placing signified the honour accorded to the tribunal as well as their own symbolic rank.” Francisco Bethencourt, “The Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992), 160.

both affirmation and violation. For instance, public penance offered a site for dissension and apostasy, as it did in 1473 when the justification for anti-converso violence was produced by a blacksmith who claimed that a young converso girl had poured urine from her house onto the religious procession.<sup>14</sup>

On the one hand, incorporating Holy Week and inquisitorial processions into a holistic analysis of performance invites the identification of self-evident similarities between the processional events, such as shared uses of urban space and liturgical forms. Religious procession—central to performance culture in medieval Seville and placeholder of the figurative center of Christian life—conveyed symbolic power and mediated hierarchical structuring mechanisms and competing social principles. But the auto da fé, Holy Week self-mortification rituals, and other public acts of penance shared a number of additional gestural, thematic, and affective modes that require looking beyond representational evidence to phenomenological information. This chapter navigates (and in some cases circumnavigates) the hyper-orthodoxy of Inquisitional records, confraternity rulebooks, and devotional materials in the period of Trastamaran nation-building,<sup>15</sup> as well as the archive of devotional bodies and minds, in order to present an alternative (if not revisionary) historical understanding to the official account.

In essence, I am drawing on the distinction between performative “strategies” and “tactics,” as Michel de Certeau defines them. Processional and penitential strategies emerged in the city as a “calculus of force-relationships,” ones that assumed “a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, clientele, objects of research).” Tactics, on the other hand “cannot

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<sup>14</sup> Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 307.

<sup>15</sup> The House of Trastámara was a dynasty of kings that governed Castile, Aragón, Navarre, Naples, and Sicily at various times in the late fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. The period was distinguished by consolidation of monarchical power, Iberian unification, and sanctioned religious intolerance. E. Michael Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 807-08

count on a proper,” are a place that “belongs to the other,” and insinuate themselves “into the other’s place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety.”<sup>16</sup> To understand historical tactics and the ways in which power is expressed (often contradictorily) through the body, I analyze physiological and emotive transcripts. My particular inquiry aims to produce a thick history of ritual performance that exceeds the ideologically hidebound power/resistance binaries that are born out of narrow readings of Christian hegemonic texts. Religious affiliation was not the only means of social identification for Castilians during this period, and a number of secular cultural forms flowed among Jewish, Muslim, and Christian inhabitants. For instance, in the later Middle Ages wealthy Jewish merchants and landowners imitated the dress of their upwardly mobile Christian counterparts, demonstrating “their identities to be as much a product of the prevailing historical processes and social dynamics of the age as they were of the discrete traditions of the Jewish community.”<sup>17</sup> What interests me about late medieval processions in Seville are the conversations that took place between religious communities: bodies marked in ethnic difference as well as performances that exceeded social coding and played within a historical structure of feeling characterized by penance, sorrow, bloodshed, sacrifice, and somatic excess.

Since Christian intolerance in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (including, but not limited to, the activities of the Inquisition beginning in 1480) was principally aimed at Jewish and judeoconverso communities,<sup>18</sup> this chapter focuses primarily on Christian-Jewish-judeoconverso relational dynamics, practices, and beliefs. A small Muslim population of

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<sup>16</sup> Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xv-xix.

<sup>17</sup> Jonathan Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval *Convivencia*,” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 11-12.

<sup>18</sup> In addition to judaizers and lapsed conversos and moriscos, the groups targeted by the Inquisition included heretics, sodomizers, bigamists, blasphemers, and people who spoke out against the Holy Office. Sánchez Herrero, *Las cofradías de Sevilla en la modernidad*, 57-68.

approximately thirty-two individuals resided in the San Pedro district of Seville in 1502, the year Muslims received orders from the Castilian monarchy to convert to Christianity.<sup>19</sup> In the decades after the fall of Granada in 1492, ecclesiastical, inquisitorial, and political pressures were exerted upon Muslims to convert, and in 1529 the Inquisition was established in Granada to enforce sumptuary and behavioral codes that restricted customary Muslim activities among morisco communities, including the requirement to leave doors open during wedding celebrations, restrictions on speaking and teaching Arabic, and the outlawing of Moorish clothing.<sup>20</sup> The population in Seville grew slowly during the sixteenth century; Muslims and moriscos settled in the San Marcos and Triana parishes.<sup>21</sup> Once the state policy of forced conversion of Muslims was firmly established in the middle of the sixteenth century, the morisco population in Seville grew to significant numbers, and only then did the Seville Inquisition prosecute Islamists.<sup>22</sup> It is during this period that Christian attitudes toward Jews and Muslims, which had been markedly different in the medieval period, began to merge into a catchall category of non-Christian otherness.

The following description by Fernando del Pulgar, the converso royal chronicler to Fernando II (King of Aragón, 1479-1516) and Isabel (Queen of Castile and León, 1469-1504), testifies to the variegated religious complexion of the converso: “[a]nd it happened that in some households the husband kept certain Jewish ceremonies and the wife was a good Christian, and

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<sup>19</sup> Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, “Datos demográficos sobre los musulmanes de Granada y Castilla en el siglo XV,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 8 (1972-73), 481-90.

<sup>20</sup> Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 96-97.

<sup>21</sup> Alfonso Pozo Ruiz, “Los grupos marginales en la Sevilla del siglo XVI,” *Historia de Sevilla in el siglo XVI* (Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), accessed March 12, 2011, <http://personal.us.es/alporu/histsevilla/moriscos.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> By 1580, Seville had the largest morisco population in the kingdom. Ingram, “Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos,” 18.

that one son and daughter might be good Christians while another son was of Jewish faith.”<sup>23</sup> Obviously, I cannot—nor do I aim to—speak to the infinite shades and degrees of faiths among and between converso, Jewish, and Old Christian communities. However, I do hope to locate on stages of performative penance certain lines of movement, empathetic interstices, and affective networks that allowed for fluidity of faith, experiments in identity, and imagination of the sacred. Faith is restless and mercurial—even for those who self-identify as orthodox—and converso life was always-already hybrid, in constant motion within a multi-directional matrix of faith and practice. For instance, in an extraordinary breach of Judaic custom in 1449, the Jews of Seville marched in a procession asking for divine intercession to stop the plague, with the support of the archbishop of Seville or his officials.<sup>24</sup> In imitation of the customs and rituals of Christians, who regularly organized rogation processions in the town, the Jews of Seville took out the Torah scrolls, scattered branches, and decorated the streets.<sup>25</sup>

In this chapter I project these intersections spatially along the processional paths that flowed through the city. I also trace the affective information carried through performances of blood purity, economies of pain and contrition, and between and through malleable and porous bodies. How people interpreted the symbolic and analogically charged meanings carried along these structures of feeling and phenomenological pathways was infinitely diverse and incommensurable. As Brian Massumi eloquently writes about affect (what he calls “intensity”):

Intensity and experience accompany one another like two mutually presupposing dimensions or like two sides of a coin. Intensity is immanent to matter and to events, to

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<sup>23</sup> Francisco Cantera Burgos, “Fernando del Pulgar and the *conversos*,” in *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516*, ed. J. R. L. Highfield (London: Macmillan, 1972), 347.

<sup>24</sup> A letter from Pope Nicholas V to the Bishop-administrator of Seville records this exceptional event. ASV, Reg. Vat. 389, fols. 136r-137r, in Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 930-32. For another example of Jewish participation in Christian processions, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 249.

<sup>25</sup> Haim Beinart, “Seville” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (The Gale Group, Macmillan Reference, 2006).

mind and to body and to every level of bifurcation composing them and which they compose. Thus it also cannot but be experienced, in effect—in the proliferation of levels of organization it ceaselessly gives rise to, generates and regenerates, at every suspended moment.<sup>26</sup>

Within the interpretive frame of phenomenology of coexistence, affect is the territory between presence and absence: the sympathies, potentialities, and spontaneous interactions between corporal sensation and associative memory. Although it is related to emotion, it is not synonymous. It is a *capacity* for emotion, an unstable physiological status that traverses the body and mind. It is incipient action, a muscular status of waiting. Non-linear and rhizomatic, affect gets to the microphenomena of history. As penitents brought commitments to punishment and co-passion to the level of the body, their bodies became tablets for reading affective devotional attitudes and metonymic, allusive information that exceeded, in many instances, the official narratives proffered in archives. Affective information was available in the instant of performance, occurring with experience, and evidence for these transactions of feeling, like residue, sometimes provided only suggestions rather than affirmative proof. Profound contradictions are revealed in the affective life of late medieval penance: living, ritualized presence calling forth that which has been made absent; gestures and texts from antagonistic faiths; and the moment of *now* fixed to the memory of the past.

Section one of the chapter is devoted to the description of what I have identified as a historical penitential structure of feeling in late medieval Seville. First I provide a theological roadmap for understanding penitential precepts organized around the sacrament of confession and Passion theology in the Christian community, as well as the experience of penance in Judaic rituals. This underlying ideological structure, which incorporated humoral concepts of the body and devotional religiosity, laid the groundwork for the theatricalization of penance in the late

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<sup>26</sup> Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 33.

medieval period. The concepts of penance that circulated through the community were discursive resources that fed on-the-ground, tactical performances and the production of performative affect. In the second part of the chapter I examine the processional rituals of Holy Week and the auto da fé in the context of the history of intolerance and persecution of non-Christians and New Christians in Castile and Seville. I describe the formal attributes of penitential and judicial processions, as well as symbols of otherness carried out in everyday life, including markers of ethnic and religious difference promulgated by *limpieza de sangre* statutes. In particular, I focus attention on the spatial, gestural, and performative intersections of processional theatres. I summarize the argument of the chapter with a discussion of affective *convivencia*, that is, “living together” through passions and trials of the body.

***Tears, blood, and sweat: a penitential structure of feeling***

In his poem *La Trivagia*, published in 1521, Juan del Encina wrote about his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of the Marquis Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera and other Spanish noblemen. The form of Encina’s account broke from traditional pilgrimage poetry by infusing the verse with particularly personal and uncharacteristically emotional language.<sup>27</sup> Encina’s eyewitness narrative of penitential procession in Jerusalem gave Castilian readers a textual touchstone for creating an imaginative pilgrimage in the Holy Land:

Oh how many sobs, moans and tears,  
then sounded from devout people;  
from one station to another they walked barefoot,  
praying and weeping with sorrow and grief.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Lina Rodríguez Cacho, “El viaje de Encina con el Marqués. Otra lectura de la *Tribagia*,” in *Humanismo y literatura en tiempos de Juan del Encina*, ed. Javier Guijarro Ceballos (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), 167, 170.

<sup>28</sup> “O cuántos sollozos, gemidos y llanto, de gentes devotas, entonces sonaban; de un misterio a otro descalzos andaban, rezando y llorando con duelo y quebranto.” Juan del Encina, “Trivagia” in *Desde Sevilla a Jerusalén. Con versos de Juan de la Encina y prosa del primer Marqués de Tarifa*, ed. Joaquín González Moreno (Sevilla: Caja de Ahorros de Sevilla, 1974), 214.

*La Trivagia* received multiple printings alongside Enríquez de Ribera's *Viaje de Jerusalén*, a prose account of the Marquis's trip to Jerusalem (Figure 3.1). *Viaje* was the basis for the establishment of the *Via Crucis* (Way of the Cross) in Seville, a processional route that duplicated Jerusalem's *Vía Dolorosa* by following measurements taken by Enríquez de Ribera.<sup>29</sup> In effect, *La Trivagia* and *Viaje de Jerusalem* provided late medieval penitents with a guidebook for the transposition of the Holy City onto the cityscape of Seville, as well as a transposition of their affective lives on the narrative of the scriptures. Following the Stations of the Cross, the *Vía Crucis* became a locus of penitential self-flagellation that took place during Holy Week.<sup>30</sup>

A few decades earlier, a conversa named Juana González of Guadalupe had fashioned a quasi-Jewish prayer to aid in her own Christian practices. It began "Adonay, I live; you are my shelter from punishment and aid; I trust in Him and in His great mercies...." Juana testified to Inquisitional authorities that she would say the prayer in order to be saved and to gain days that would otherwise be lost in purgatory.<sup>31</sup> The prayer was formed, in part, by Kedushah doxology, but the motivation closely resembled the intercessory prayers of the Christian Church.<sup>32</sup> Juana's

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<sup>29</sup> Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, *Viaje de Jerusalem* (Lisbon, 1608; first published in Seville in 1521, again in 1606), in González Moreno.

<sup>30</sup> Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 25-35. Scholarship on public acts of penance in late medieval Spain includes Severino González Rivas, *La penitencia en la primitiva iglesia española* (Salamanca, 1949); Gabriel Llompert, "Penitencias y penitentes en la pintura y en la piedad catalanas bajomedievales," *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 28, nos. 3/4 (1972): 229-49; Luis de Agromayor, *España en fiestas* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1987); Manuel J. Gómez Lara and Jorge Jiménez Barrientos, *Semana Santa. Fiesta mayor en Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ediciones ALFAR, 1990); José Sánchez Herrero, *Las devociones pasionarias en la Sevilla de los siglos XIV y XV. Las hermandades de Jesús Nazareno* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1991); Maureen Flynn, "The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 153-68.

<sup>31</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Spain, legajo 154, expediente. 20, folio 10r., translated by Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 273.

<sup>32</sup> The Kedushah is a prayer of sanctification. The nucleus of the prayer consist of passages from three books of the bible: Isaiah 6:3, Ezekiel 3:12, and Psalms 146:10. Jacob Neusner, Alan J. Avery-Peck, and William Scott Green, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism: J-O* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 677. Although different from Catholic ideas of sin and penance, religious practices of early modern Judaism were imbued with concepts of repentance and atonement,



**Figure 3.1**

First page of Enríquez de Ribera and Encina, *Este libro es de el viaje q[ue] hize a Ierusalem* (1521)

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especially during Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur when Jews fasted to atone for their misdeeds. Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion*, 27.

amalgamation of Jewish and Christian prayers was not unique; converso communities across the Peninsula revived their observance of Jewish feasts and fasts in order to craft “a series of penitential practices that wove together Christian and Jewish theological traditions in new and personally satisfying ways.”<sup>33</sup> Within the penitential structure of feeling of late medieval Spain, Juana’s prayer and Encina’s poem served as scripts for the production of devotional affect.

In this section I develop a qualitative picture of the penitential structure of feeling that fed the spiritual imaginations of Sevillians. First, I review the history of penitential thought in Christian and Jewish theology from the Scholastic period into the late Middle Ages when penitential affect and ideology were absorbed into performative *imitatio Christi* and the affective life of Passion devotion. Next, I pursue an answer to the following related questions: within the complex field of penitential practices, how did practitioners of disciplinary *imitatio Christi* prepare themselves for performances of lachrymose displays that evoked pity? Likewise, how did conversos—who were subject to powerful prerogatives to produce a theatre of contrition in daily life, during trials of the Inquisition, and in paying their debts of penance when reconciled with the Church—learn and adopt convincing Christian attitudes and practices?

Briefly, I locate the answers to these questions within a network of psychophysical performances, and I argue that sincere expressions of repentance and contrition could be cognitively, emotionally, and physically rehearsed in advance. Preparation for public display of contrition, a phenomenon that was prevalent in Spain, would likely have been aided by the reading of poems, devotional manuals, and theological tracts. Relatively unfamiliar with the Christian penitential structure of feeling, yet impelled to demonstrate Christian remorse during confession to parochial priests and inquisitors, conversos read widely available theological tracts

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<sup>33</sup> Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, “Piety and Penance among Spain’s judeoconversas,” *Cuaderno internacional de estudios humanísticos y literatura* (Fall 2008): 59.

like those by Augustine and Juan de Ávila (as did their “Old” Christian counterparts), revived latent Jewish penitential prayers and rituals, and followed the religious instruction of mendicant proselytizers to provoke feelings of contrition and satisfy the Holy Office’s imperative of an “honest” confession. Evidence suggests that public weeping and self-mortification—whether provoked by impassioned preaching or in response to a crisis—could be learned, practiced, and repeated by the lay community.<sup>34</sup> Preparation was also likely aided by a myriad of private devotional rites imbued with narratives of sacrifice and forgiveness.<sup>35</sup> In order to effectively facilitate the act of becoming protagonists in the drama of contrition, these social actors relied on cognitive and physical tools to incorporate suggestive cultural texts into the domain of the inner emotions.

### ***Confessional penance***

About physical displays of contrition, Thomas Aquinas wrote “just as inward joy redounds into the outward parts of the body, so does interior sorrow show itself in the exterior members.”<sup>36</sup> This theory speaks to the idea that devotional actors in the medieval period strove to unite cognitive and gestural acts of contrition. The idea of an *inner* spiritual life counterpoised

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<sup>34</sup> William A. Christian, “Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain,” in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London: Academic Press, 1982), 97-114. Christian’s article focuses on the phenomenon of public, penitential weeping as a circumscribed topic. Sarah McNamer’s recent monograph looks at a number of medieval texts (what she calls “scripts for the performance of feeling” [12]) to examine affective meditations on the Passion (McNamer does not include Iberian examples in her study): *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). Flynn, in “The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets,” draws connections between public displays of affect and confessional manuals.

<sup>35</sup> There is extensive literature on private devotion. Some of the notable, recent studies that discuss Passion narrative in private devotion practices include Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Jill Stevenson, *Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

<sup>36</sup> Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Third Part*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., 1917), 132.

with an *outer* body capable of expressing spiritual/emotional truths and corporeal misinformation can be traced back to Aristotle. Karen Bassi writes:

From the point of view of Aristotle's analysis of dramatic impersonation, then, there exists an interdependence between the apprehension of internal feelings and thoughts and the apprehension of external acts and speech. We might say that this interdependence is a first principle of Aristotle's understanding of dramatic mimesis.<sup>37</sup>

Aristotle's theatrical trope was later rehearsed by Augustine and then reified in Christian confessional practices.

Confessors and the lay community believed that exterior movements of the body could communicate the interior psycho-spiritual life of a person. For a medieval Christian, demonstrating sincere contrition was a crucial step towards receiving forgiveness from God. In light of the fact that contrition denoted "a corporeal passion,"<sup>38</sup> honest, purposeful contrition and sorrow required outward, somatic signs and gestures, and the most effective were the expression, or shedding, of tears and blood. Throughout the Middle Ages, confessors were given detailed instructions on ways to coax meaningful and sincere expressions of repentance. It follows that despite the scarcity of literature testifying to the experience of laypeople during confession and other acts of contrition, they also contemplated the challenge of physical *becoming*, and devised means of their own for accessing emotive spirituality. As Karen Wagner argues, we must consider physical and emotional encounters of the lay community with sacramental and public acts of contrition if we are to better understand changes and developments in the liturgies and institutionalized methods that responded to these encounters.<sup>39</sup> I would add that there is value in

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<sup>37</sup> Karen Bassi, *Acting Like Men: Gender, Drama and Nostalgia in Ancient Greece* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 27.

<sup>38</sup> Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 102.

<sup>39</sup> "[I]f we assume that the Church had a purpose of ordering penance for all Christians, and therefore an interest in securing their participation, it would have found itself responding to lay acceptance or rejection of the practice; therefore, what laypeople did or did not do, what they felt and how they reacted, would have helped shape—overtly or not, consciously or not—the discipline of penance that emerged during this time." Karen Wagner, "*Cum aliquis*

investigating lay devotional practices for the sake of better understanding the corporal and mental practices of the ritual performer.

The Church Fathers were aware of the potential for false expressions of remorse, and so in many *ordines* the confessor is expected to both *induce* and *participate in* the penitent's feelings of remorse during the ritual. Priests were encouraged to bring about feelings of contrition by providing gestures meant for mimetic duplication by the penitent, as well as subsequently mimicking the penitent's own expressions of remorse and sadness.<sup>40</sup> The capacity to communicate recognizable and true emotions between penitential actor/audience and clerical audience/actor through sympathetic responses of the sensorial systems of the body was crucial for the successful performance of contrition. Within the genus of social performance defined by Jeffrey Alexander in Chapter One, the goal of ritual acts that effectuated the internalization of the other was to bind members of the community of believers. The construction of an ideological community occurred within a broad cognitive template through which somatic signs were uttered and deciphered.

That a person, representation, or any material object of the world entered into a confessional, prayerful, or penitentiary experience, especially to provoke a feeling of contrition, exposed a doctrinal contradiction that lay at the heart of medieval Christian devotional practices. For the Church Fathers and theologians throughout the Middle Ages, the body and its sensory apparatuses were, in a very basic way, both impediments to, and vehicles for, spiritual understanding of God.<sup>41</sup> As Bruce Holsinger points out about Augustine's ambivalent stance on

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*venerit ad sacerdotem*: Penitential Experience in the Central Middle Ages," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 202.

<sup>40</sup> Wagner, "Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem," 212-13.

<sup>41</sup> Carolyn Walker Bynum comments on the tension between divine presence and worldly matter in the later medieval period: "Identifying (as the faithful were exhorted to do) with the passion of an incarnate Christ might seem to trap both Christ and the faithful in a matter that was by definition mutable, passable, forever *in potentia*. The

sacred music and the experience of the body, “[b]y listening carefully to Augustine’s agonizings over the music of the flesh, we can begin to perceive the many contradictions subtending the Christian realization of the musical body over the next millennium.”<sup>42</sup> The foundational ontological dualism of flesh/spirit, body/mind—traceable through Paul’s *Epistle to the Romans* and Augustine’s *Confessions*<sup>43</sup>—would create theological and devotional paradoxes that Christian thinkers grappled with for centuries.

Through efforts to explain devotional apprehension of spirit via the senses, theologians produced wonderfully creative means of explaining, exploiting, and working around this basic doctrinal paradox. For instance, while Augustine’s hierarchies held out the prospect of spiritual and paternal unity and love through the intelligible realm (rather than sensible), they also make possible the revelation of God to men in their “creaturely reality.”<sup>44</sup> And in the sacrament of confession in particular, bridging the gap between the inner sensory life (sensible and intangible) to “outward, public expression in oral and corporal language” (atemporal, eternal truths) was possible through affective experience.<sup>45</sup> Performance was another way of “sensitizing” the experience of the sacred. For instance, eleventh- and twelfth-century Eucharistic controversies

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same privileging and denying of change undergirds the almost schizoid attempts of ecclesiastical authorities and theorists simultaneously to authenticate relics, uncover relic fraud, and deny that divine presence can inhere in matter. Increasingly authorities and the ordinary devout both insisted and doubted that objects manifest God.” Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 185-86.

<sup>42</sup> Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 62.

<sup>43</sup> Paul contrasts flesh and human corporality (“I am carnal”), with inner spirit or knowledge of truth (“inmost self”). For Paul, flesh is evil (“nothing good dwells...in my flesh”) and is “captive to the law of sin.” Paul, “The Letter of Paul to the Romans,” *The Bible: Revised Standard Edition* (London: Harper Collins, 1962), 7:14, 7:22, 7:18, 7:23.

<sup>44</sup> Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason, and Hugh S. Pyper, eds., *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: Intellectual, Spiritual, and Moral Horizons of Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 66. See *Confessions*, Chapter 7.16 for Augustine’s definitions of sensual and intelligible apprehension.

<sup>45</sup> Michael Mendelson, “Saint Augustine,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2000), accessed May 23, 2010, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/augustine/>.

and debates on transubstantiation were extremely productive in laying the groundwork for the feast of Corpus Christi, officially established by Pope Urban IV in 1246.<sup>46</sup>

Changes in confessional theology and practice were occurring in the High Middle Ages, and by the twelfth century, *contritio*—a state of sorrow for one’s sins that justified grace—was front and center in the discussion of penance. Acts of visible remorse during confession lay the groundwork for *contritio*. In developing the concept, theologians depended on early Christian writers for their authority. Cyprian wrote: “Do penance in full, give proof of the sorrow that comes from a grieving and lamenting soul. . . . [T]hey who do away with repentance for sin, close the door to satisfaction.”<sup>47</sup> In *De Paenitentia*, Tertullian expounds on the particularly performative “exomologesis,” physical acts of contrition that elicit a sympathetic response from an audience of priests and devotees:

Exomologesis is a discipline for man’s prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanor calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands (the penitent) to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed. . . . to feed prayers on fasting, to groan, to weep and make outcries unto the Lord your God; to bow before the feet of the presbyters, and kneel to God’s dear ones; to enjoin on all the brethren to be ambassadors to bear his deprecatory supplication (before God).<sup>48</sup>

During the Scholastic period (1100-1500) there was greater recognition of the need for the priest-confessor to supervise the process of confession in order to steer penitents away from

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<sup>46</sup> Eucharistic debates centered on the question of whether or not the body and blood of Christ were physically present in consecrated bread and wine. Barbara R. Walters, “The Feast and its Founder,” in *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, ed. Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Justus Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 32-33.

<sup>47</sup> Cyprian, *De lapsis*, no. 32 in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4, ed. Charles George Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 338.

<sup>48</sup> Tertullian, “On Repentance,” trans. Sidney Thelwall, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 3., ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), 664. Dirk Westerkamp points out that Tertullian appears to interpret Aristotle’s concept of catharsis in this passage, since in his approach “the purification of the sins is exercised on a kind of stage in full public. . . . In performing and repenting his *hamartia*, the passions of the sinner are purified. Correlatingly, the spectators among the congregation feel a compassion for the repenter, they pity him (misericordia).” “Laughter, Catharsis, and the Patristic Conception of Embodied Logos,” in *Embodiment in Cognition and Culture*, ed. John Michael Krois, et al. (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2007), 233.

feigned remorse and fully enunciate an emotional action.<sup>49</sup> In order for a confession to be valid, and to justify absolution and increase in grace, clerics were instructed to seek from the penitent demonstrations of sufficient contrition, which often meant the display of tears.<sup>50</sup> Expressions of remorse arising from fear rather than profound humility were provided a distinct—less potent—sacramental category called attrition: “Attrition denotes approach to perfect contrition. . . . [I]n spiritual matters, attrition signifies a certain but not perfect displeasure for sins committed, whereas contrition denotes perfect displeasure.”<sup>51</sup> Aquinas suggests that physical and verbal signs presented by an attrite person did not include sorrow or grief, or at least that expressive remorse was overshadowed by confessions motivated by fear of damnation; moreover, contrition and attrition required different interventions by the priest during the sacramental ritual.

Scholastic theologians carefully parsed these definitions, and opinions varied on the intercessory role of the priest and the necessity for contrition for absolution of sin.<sup>52</sup> The scrupulous attention paid to this issue by medieval theologians speaks to the importance of inner emotion in activating spiritual transformation, but it also reflects the lack of clarity in the communication of emotions during *practices* of expressing and identifying penitential affect. The combination of a new appreciation of an inner spiritual life to account for God’s grace

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<sup>49</sup> Wagner, “Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem,” 218.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Ansgar Kelly charts the parsing of penitential rules by theologians in “Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 240-317.

<sup>51</sup> Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 103. “The distinction between *contritio* and *attritio* was at first regarded as one not of kind but of degree: it was a question of the depth of the grief felt (the sorrow involved in *contritio* being greater). But when the doctrine of *gratia informans* established itself in the course of the thirteenth century, the criterion became the relation of contrition to justifying grace. For high scholasticism, then (e.g., Thomas Aquinas), *contritio* is the contrition that is given and characterized by grace itself, whereas *attritio* is attrition that is not given by grace.” Michael Schmaus, *Dogma: The Church as Sacrament* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1975), 228.

<sup>52</sup> Bonaventure, for instance, asserted the power of contrition to remove sin, even without confession. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, ed. Charles George Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 63. Aquinas (and later the Council at Trent) made it clear that with the intercession of a priest, *attritio*—arising from fear of damnation rather than full remorse for one’s sins—was affective in progressing the penitent towards a state of grace.

during this period, and the prerogatives of priests to maintain their necessary role in the sacramental ritual, created a conundrum for theologians.<sup>53</sup> What were the recognizable qualities of, and relationships between, interior feelings of attrition and contrition, and exterior signs and acts that would satisfy the sacrament? How does one determine if there exists cause-and-effect connection between the two—or are they merely coincidental? The following passage from Peter Lombard’s *Four Books of Sentences* fairly illustrates the type of gnarled reasoning employed to engage with the complexity of the issue:

And as in the sacrament of the Body, so also in this sacrament, they say that one thing, namely the outward penance, is the sacrament alone, another the sacrament and the ‘res,’ [the thing of the sacrament of penance] namely the inward penance, and still another the ‘res’ and not the sacrament, namely, the remission of sins. For the inward Penance is also the ‘res’ of the sacrament, that is, of the outward Penance, and the sacrament of the remission of sin which it symbolizes and causes. The outward Penance is also the sign of the inward and of the remission of sins.

By reasoning that interior and exterior penances are two sides of a single sacramental coin, each a “sign” and the “thing signified,” Lombard provisionally resolves conflicts between the two.<sup>54</sup>

These complexities were likely of less concern to penitents themselves, who, in late medieval Spain, pursued forms of ecstatic, bloody, and tearful remorse and sadness, especially in public devotional events.<sup>55</sup> When private rituals of tearful confession and self-mortification expanded into public performance in the later Middle Ages, expressions of emotional contrition garnered social prerogatives in the presentation and reception of affective play. For example, during penitential self-flagellation and tearful petitioning of God for relief from famine or

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<sup>53</sup> Although the final arbiter of forgiveness was God, the priest’s ritual participation in confession was crucial for the efficacy of the sacrament, and, in the end, “the priest counted for more than the penitent’s interior self.” Andrew James Johnston, “The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*,” in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring (Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi, 2005), 57.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Lombard, *Four Books of Sentences*, 22.2.5, quoted in Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick, N.Y.: Richwood, 1976), 76.

<sup>55</sup> Christian, “Provoked Religious Weeping, 98-100, 110.

plague, emotive devotional displays were mediated by networks of communal and interpersonal expectancy. In this case, the true expressions of remorse were not only crucial for the individual remission of sin, but, more importantly, for the salvation of the entire community.

A significant aspect of late medieval communal penance was the expanded ecclesiastical and theological focus on intention.<sup>56</sup> In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, distrust of the outer body to express inner intention and spiritual cleanliness was a template that would be pressed into service in *limpieza de sangre* statutes, methods for determining genealogical truths and falsehoods of the body. Conversos were compelled (under the threat of life) to produce perceptibly “honest” confessions to the mendicant arbiters of the Inquisition. This added a layer of consequence to the display of sincere contrition, including the necessity for penitents to enjoin inner remorse with an outward, corporal transcript of sorrow within the sightlines of the general public.<sup>57</sup> The increased surveillance of intention and inner affect by the Church, as can be seen in inquisitorial activities, was integrated into the general structure of feeling in Spain at the time.

Under the auspices of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the sacramental rite of confession took on its own form and tenor. A strong sense of supervision and suspicion pervaded the Inquisition confessional. The process, if carried through to the end, was lengthy and arduous for those prosecuted by the Inquisition, and unlike confession before a parish priest,

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<sup>56</sup> Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, “Lay Piety and Community Identity in the Early Modern World,” in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 399-400.

<sup>57</sup> Repentance was a familiar theme and exegetical topic in medieval Judaism. Like the Christian ritual of confession, the intricately constructed penitential system of Jewish pietists in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Germany included the demonstration of contrition prior to penitential payment for sin. Ivan G. Marcus, *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 48-51. Theories and practices of penitential pietism were established by the Qalonimides (Samuel, Judah and Eleazar), whose “penitential innovation consists of a set of dramatic, ritualized stages designed, this time, to demonstrate the penitent’s change of inward orientation.” *Ibid.*, 37.

each confessional situation was attended by a number of authorities.<sup>58</sup> Inquisitorial acts of faith began at Mass on a designated Sunday, when at the end of the sermon the congregation was obliged to swear allegiance to the Holy Office.<sup>59</sup> Especially during the first decades of the Inquisition, the institution relied on community informers to produce suspected heretics, Judaizers, and other sinners, and the ritual “edict of faith” at Mass presented opportunities for members of the community to observe signs of insincerity or noncompliance in the behavior of their neighbors.<sup>60</sup> Arrests were followed by terms of imprisonment and the accused were given three occasions to confess their guilt to a priest. During these encounters priest would work to arouse the victim’s sense of guilt to produce a confession; in a minority of cases torture was used to persuade the victim. Finally, expressions of public contrition were demanded on the occasion of the auto da fé. During the auto of Toledo in 1486, those who had reconciled with the Church were compelled to reply to the “things in which [they] had judaized” before the huge crowd in attendance.<sup>61</sup>

What is unclear from the records is the degree to which confessors sought to produce (or apprehend) signs of affective contrition during confession. It may have been that Dominican priests modeled their Inquisitorial method on the sacramental practice; therefore the process of consultation and sollicitation during confession may have been similar. On the other hand, the

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<sup>58</sup> At a minimum, a secretary, a representative of the bishop, and the inquisitor priest attended confessional ‘hearings.’ Often present as well were advocates, translators, and other clerics, and when torture was used, soldiers and doctors. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 187-92.

<sup>59</sup> Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 30-31.

<sup>60</sup> The work of the Inquisition relied on the collaboration of everyday people. In the 1480s, the Inquisition did not use trained lawyers nor did they have a very clear idea of Jewish practices. They relied on a great deal of unsupported oral testimony whose validity was rarely questioned. Most of the evidence used to condemn heresies came either from within the family of the accused or from malicious neighbors. Denunciations were often based on long-standing disputes between local community members. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 63; 177. In the very early years, edicts of grace enabled those who wanted to denounce themselves to be reconciled with the Church without suffering severe penalties. This encouraged a wave of self-denunciations, and in Seville the prisons overflowed. *Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>61</sup> Fidel Fita, “La Inquisición toledana. Relación contemporánea de los autos y autillos que celebró desde el año 1485 hasta el de 1501,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* XI (1887), quoted from *Ibid.*, 207.

ultimate goal of the Holy Office—to eradicate Judaizing and other heresies from Christian Spain—was quite different from the goal of a parish priest hearing confession. The institution was a judicial project of massive proportions and it is possible that even the most cursory confessions might have satisfied their interrogations.<sup>62</sup> Regardless, inquisitors were invested in procuring (what they judged to be) honest confessions. For instance, when torture was implemented, confessions were not considered valid until made the day after a physical ordeal because it was assumed that statements made under pressure were not truthful.<sup>63</sup> The Inquisition sought to re-try many conversos because they feared that initial confessions were false and designed to deceive the inquisitors.<sup>64</sup>

Likewise, contrite conversos may have accessed modes of penitential affect to match the expectations of the confessors. The infinite variety of converso experience prevents one from making conclusive statements about the precise quality of converso faith, however penitential spirituality was a bedrock principle of the Abrahamic faiths in the late medieval period, which suggests that conversos may have already possessed some of the affective skills required to produce convincing confessions for a Christian clerical audience. Along with conversos and moriscos pursuing integration into the Christian majority, unwilling Jewish converts and Judaizers engaged penitential prayers and sensibilities. Gretchen Starr-Lebeau writes that “penance formed a central element of Judaizing practice as New Christians described it.” Yom Kippur and Jewish holidays were observed by Judaizers and “mined for expressions of penitential piety” by “*conversos* anxious about their uncertain status straddling the Christian and

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<sup>62</sup> During the first decades of the Inquisition, large numbers of people were given penance, reconciled, or condemned in a short amount of time. Although the numbers of condemned decreased in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, autos da fé grew in pomp and spectacle and the processions would commonly continue into the night. *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>64</sup> Haim Beinart, *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1981), 222.

Jewish worlds.”<sup>65</sup> Juana González of Guadalupe was only one in a number of conversos to employ semi-Jewish penitential prayers and psalms in the service of Christian salvation. Converted Muslims as well may have sought exegetical and theological common ground to facilitate a meaningful conversion of spiritual habit and belief. Confession is one of the Five Pillars of Faith in Islam, and as in Christianity, the sincerity of one’s spiritual proclamations were guided by a meticulous exegetical system in order to guarantee the efficacy of a declaration of faith. Likewise, the practice of fasting in Islam—evidently an adaptation of Jewish practice—constituted a penitential or expiratory measure, especially during the holy month of Ramadan.<sup>66</sup>

### ***Confessional theatre***

There is an ongoing debate about the degree to which conversos followed the Christian faith sincerely.<sup>67</sup> Steadfast adherence to absolute interpretations, however, tends to obscure the grey area: hybrid religiosity (as revealed in the life of Juana González of Guadalupe) was prevalent and, in fact, was a necessary stage in the process of becoming Christian. One example, among many, is testimony from the early Inquisition in Toledo declaring a conversa “dando cabeçadas y sabadeando como judiu” (nodding her head and davening like a Jew) while conducting Christian prayer.<sup>68</sup> In baptism the converso entered into the most prevalent lay devotional practice of the period in Spain—penitence. Baptism itself was one of the seven essential acts for remission of sin, along with martyrdom, almsgiving, conversion of sinners,

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<sup>65</sup> Starr-Lebeau, “Lay Piety and Community Identity,” 401-02.

<sup>66</sup> Philip Khurti Hitti, *Islam: A Way of Life* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), 36.

<sup>67</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion*, and Netanyahu, *Origins of the Inquisition*, favor an interpretation that the majority of conversos were sincere in their faith, while Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, and Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, stress survival of Jewish faith and practice during the Inquisition period.

<sup>68</sup> Haim Beinart, *The Records of the Inquisition: A Source of Jewish and Converso History*, no. 11 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1967), 217.

forgiveness of others, fullness of love, and penance with tears.<sup>69</sup> The process of learning the particular methods of Christian penance would take time. In fact, conversion presented not only the issue of changing faith on a personal level, but also the need to perform a public identity that obscured ingrained religious and secular habits. However, a post-baptism existence that included the instantaneous excision of an entire catalogue of Jewish practices, habits, liturgies, interpersonal transactions, and devotional affects from the home (the center of religious life for Jews), replaced by a complete set of Christian practices and affects, is unimaginable.

Indeed, this unattainable standard appears to have been the very fact that criminalized the cultural habits of so many conversos. Inquisitorial trials leveraged evidence from witnesses who testified to the religious and quasi-religious customary behavior of the accused (eating and cooking habits, styles of prayer, gesture, and attire). This was true also of Spaniards of Muslim descent, where “religious deviance...came to be denoted by cultural deviance” and moriscos came to be seen as dissimulators and “double men.”<sup>70</sup> In a case in Valencia in 1498, a mudéjar woman was arrested for wearing a veil and customary dress, an act that exceeded the authority of the Inquisition but one that established a precedent regardless.<sup>71</sup> Suspicions of incomplete conversion of baptized Jews took on the character of the host desecration tales, and there was a “pervading sense [of] incomplete conversions, a process never quite put to rest, and thus of the danger which followed from the integration of converts into Christian secrets, spaces and

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<sup>69</sup> John McNeill and Helena Margaret Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 99.

<sup>70</sup> Deborah Root, “Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Representations* 23 (Summer 1988): 118, 127. Evidence submitted to the Inquisition in 1500 included testimony that moriscos “placed themselves squatting, and put couscous in a large vessel, and with everyone surrounding this they ate of the couscous with the hands, making handfuls like the Moors used to do by tradition and ceremony of the sect of Mohoma.” Quoted in Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: Un Affrontement polémique, 1492-1640* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), 19. Translation by Deborah Root.

<sup>71</sup> Root, “Speaking Christian,” 121.

rituals.”<sup>72</sup> Acceptable performances of everyday life were a prerogative for a community under constant surveillance by their neighbors, municipal authorities, and Church officials.

Christian paranoia about religious difference stemmed from cultural similarities shared by Spanish people of all faiths. The social lives, habits, and activities of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spanish Christians and non-Christians had become increasingly alike. For instance, although royal statutes of 1412 required the physical separation of Christian and minority religion communities,<sup>73</sup> these were rarely obeyed and the boundaries between the *juderías* or *aljamas* (Jewish quarters) and *morerías* (Moorish quarters) in many cities were quite fluid and open (this was the case in Seville until 1480, when segregation statutes were reenacted and enforced).<sup>74</sup> The genealogical consequences of convivencia over the centuries created a situation where ethnic differences, codes of dress, and styles of grooming between Old and New Christians were difficult to perceive.<sup>75</sup> Mudéjar acculturation to Christian-Romance language and culture prior to the fall of Granada in 1492 (and resulting conversion movement and Muslim rebellions) was neither unidirectional, nor was it understood as a negative process.<sup>76</sup> Marrying into an Old Christian family was one of the most expedient and effective means for converted

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<sup>72</sup> Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 85.

<sup>73</sup> “Por fin, el Ordenamiento de 1412 estableció la separación de judíos y mudéjares en barrios especiales, prohibió de nuevo que viviesen con cristianos e incluso que éstos, sobre todo las mujeres, entrasen en sus barrios.” Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla y otros estudios de historia medieval andaluza* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 64.

<sup>74</sup> Bestul argues that, as early as the thirteenth century in communities across Europe, the requirement of distinctive dress for Jews “shows that they must not have been the distinctly other” and were “fairly well integrated in to the Christian community.” Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 99.

<sup>75</sup> “Lo primero que se deduce de tanta reiteración, aparte de la desobediencia habitual hacia aquellas leyes, es la evidencia de que los mudéjares vestían entonces ya y peinaban de igual forma que el resto del pueblo castellano pues, en otro caso, las órdenes habrían sido totalmente superfluas.” Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla*, 64.

<sup>76</sup> Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 230. By September 1501 the Catholic Monarchs determined that mudéjares of Castile (which now included Granada) must accept baptism or leave the Peninsula.

Jews to protect their families from economic and physical harm.<sup>77</sup> As Jonathan Ray explains, from the fourteenth century forward, Jews showed “a greater concern for personal advancement than for religious or communal solidarity.”<sup>78</sup> It is interesting to note that ethnic and religious coding was not the domain of Christians only. Somewhat ironically, the Jorge family of conversos—one of the most powerful consortia of Atlantic traders in Seville in the sixteenth century—were in the habit of referring to their old Christian rivals, Castilian families without Jewish blood, as “negros,” which suggests that conversos who had ample social status and economic power were at liberty to denigrate old Christians on the basis of blood impurity.<sup>79</sup>

Further exacerbating interreligious tensions was the increasing demand for space and resources in late medieval, early modern Seville. The population of Seville quadrupled between 1384 and 1500 (reaching 60,000 souls) and more than doubled again between 1500 and 1588, which led to urban congestion, unsanitary conditions, and competition for space.<sup>80</sup> These demographic conditions had two important consequences for social relations in an Andalusian city noted for its composite character, including processional arrangements.<sup>81</sup> First, the competition for living and economic space contributed to tensions between the dominant native Christian communities and the foreigners (including large groups of Dutch, Genovese sailors,

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<sup>77</sup> “It was not unusual, especially in the fifteenth century, for wealthy mercantile families, many of converso origin, to intermarry with families of noble lineage, even with those of the high nobility. In the sixteenth century marriages between the scions of the oldest noble families and the daughters of merchants became a normal occurrence.” Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972), 23. There is ample evidence of assimilation of conversos into Old Christian society throughout the latter half of the fifteenth century as well. Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 52.

<sup>78</sup> Ray, “Beyond Tolerance and Persecution” 12.

<sup>79</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 118.

<sup>80</sup> Alfonso Pozo Ruiz, “Demografía de Sevilla en el siglo XVI,” *La Sevilla del Quinientos* (Comisariado del V Centenario Universidad Sevilla), accessed March 12, 2011, <http://personal.us.es/alporu/histsevilla/poblacion.htm>.

<sup>81</sup> In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Seville had the largest population of all the cities in the crown of Castile. As Castile’s most important city for maritime trade and Atlantic exploration, the foreign population of Seville was prominent. Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 2-5. In the middle of the sixteenth century, the two cities under the greatest threat to the Church by Protestantism were Seville and Valladolid. Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 106.

foreign soldiers, and African slaves), Romani, Jews, conversos, Muslims (and later moriscos).<sup>82</sup> It was partially the heterogeneity and size and strength of the non-Christian community of Seville that made it the logical choice for the start of the Inquisition.<sup>83</sup>

Eventually, some of the styles of living that were dangerous for the converso and morisco communities were inevitably institutionalized in legal statutes. Under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs, clothing influenced by the historical dress of the Muslims was coded as “luxury” and could only be worn by the most economically privileged people of Spain.<sup>84</sup> In May 1480, the year two Dominican friars were appointed by the king and queen as Inquisitors of their realm, the Spanish sovereigns reenacted a law of 1412 that provided the segregation of Jews and Muslims from Christians. According to this law, Jews were to be removed from localities where Christians resided within two years. The intent of reenacting this law was to try and prevent Jews from exerting influence on the newly converted.<sup>85</sup> By the late fifteenth century, statutes forbid Christians from entering Jewish houses on the Sabbath, and Jews and Muslims had to prostrate themselves before the consecrated host when it passed in procession (after being

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<sup>82</sup> José Joaquín Cortés, María José García Jaén, and Horencio Zoido Naranjo, eds., *Planos de Sevilla. Colección histórica (1771-1918)* (Sevilla: Centro Municipal de Documentación Histórica, 1985), 11.

<sup>83</sup> Isabel and Fernando visited the city of Seville in 1477, and they were persuaded by the Dominican leaders there that the only way to remedy the problems of heresy among the converso community was an institution of the Inquisition. Pope Sixtus IV issued a bull investing the Catholic Monarchs with the power to appoint inquisitors in Castile. Dominican friars inaugurated their activities in Seville in January 1481. Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 324-25.

<sup>84</sup> José D. González Arce, *Apariencia y poder. La legislación suntuaria castellana en los siglos XIII y XV* (Jaén, Universidad de Jaén, 1998), 113. Various sumptuary laws governing the dress and living habits of Jews and Muslims were redacted from as early as the court of Alfonso X in the mid-thirteenth century. These appear to have become even more distinctive by the beginning of the fifteenth century, when distinguishing characteristics between Jews/Muslims and conversos/moriscos needed to be made by Christian municipalities. For instance, an ordinance of Valladolid in 1408 obligated Muslims to wear yellow hoods. An ordinance of 1412 from Valladolid prohibited Jews from wearing shawls made from fine cloth, as were worn by nobility (which could include conversos who married into these families). These examples are not exceptional; similar ones were redacted across the Peninsula in the fifteenth century. *Ibid.*, 170-74.

<sup>85</sup> Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 325.

confined to their quarters on Sundays and Christian holidays during morning Mass). This was also the period when Jews and Muslims were required to wear badges.<sup>86</sup>

The process of delimiting the presence of the non-Christian population of Iberia that imperiled the sanguine center of Christian life—the Passion of Christ—could be called the “narcissism of minor differences.” As explained by Sigmund Freud (from Earnest Crawley), displacement of aggression is found among “communities with adjoining territories, and related to each other in other ways as well, who are engaged in constant feuds and in ridiculing each other.”<sup>87</sup> It is not my claim that the violence committed upon non-Christians in early modern Spain can be explained by Freud’s somewhat under-theorized term. Socio-psychological phenomena of any kind cannot fully explicate the causes of spontaneous and institutionalized violence against religious and ethnic minorities. I am more convinced by scholars who have identified a causal link to an economic struggle for resources, among others.<sup>88</sup> But I think “narcissism of minor differences” aptly encapsulates the sense of obsessive scrutiny to which the lives and habits of conversos and moriscos were subjected, and brings attention to the fact that the social lives, if not the religious lives, of fifteenth-century Spanish communities were not at all unlike. In the fifteenth century, a new socio-religious category was formed in order to more clearly inscribe difference on bodies of ambiguous ethnic and religious character: the converso.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion*, 278.

<sup>87</sup> Sigmund Freud, “*Civilization and its Discontents*,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Freud*, vol. 21, trans. and ed. James Strachey and Anna Freud (London: Hogarth Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1961), 114.

<sup>88</sup> In Seville wealth and commerce were concentrated in the hands of conversos and Genoese in the fifteenth century, and these factors contributed to resentments that would lead to violence against conversos. Netanyahu, *Origins of the Inquisition*, 284; 805-09. It is not coincidental that the most common hardship placed on convicted judaizers by the Inquisition was a monetary penalty. In *Communities of Violence*, Nirenberg finds economic sources for the buildup and display of resentments.

<sup>89</sup> Netanyahu, *Origins of the Inquisition*, 283. Before expulsion in 1492, *conversos* and apostates at will made up about one third of the entire Jewish (used here as an ethnic category) community, nearly 200,000 souls. Haim Beinart, “The Records of the Inquisition: A Source of Jewish and Converso History,” in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (Jerusalem, 1968), 211.

Minor differences were often the material of inquisitorial evidence, and in the case of theatres of violence, were spectacularly embodied, exaggerated, and ultimately redefined. The ritual playgrounds of late medieval Seville facilitated “playing at the edges of difference,” especially as staged in penitential violence.

The motions of this ritual play occurred at the level of affective life. *Affectus*, a concept familiar to readers of Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, and Castilian, was an aspect of penitential practices shared by Christians and members of the minority religions. In the late Middle Ages affectus was understood as a physiological state that operated across spheres of intellectual, spiritual, and somatic grounds. “‘Affection’ and ‘emotion’ are both words that must be understood physiologically,”<sup>90</sup> and these concepts intersected with practices—such as medicine—that transcended religious boundaries. The particular Iberian concept *afeiçom* or *afección* speaks to the confluence of mutable emotions, physical infirmity, and emotional-sensory spiritual status.<sup>91</sup> The Ciceronian concept *afectio* was available in Castilian translation by the first quarter of the fifteenth century: “[afección] is called that change that occurs in the heart or in the body in some time for some reason, such as joy, lust, fear, sadness, illness, weakness or other such things.”<sup>92</sup> Galenic medical philosophy confirms the responsive link between perturbations of the soul and physical effects, and this concept was rehearsed by the twelfth-century scholar-physician Moses Maimonides: “passions of the psyche produce changes in the body that are great, evident and manifest to all... [C]oncern and care should always be given to the movements of the psyche;

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<sup>90</sup> Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 302, n. 14.

<sup>91</sup> Josiah Blackmore has documented the wide uses of the concept in late medieval Spanish and Portuguese texts, including Alfonso X’s *Siete Partidas*, Fernando Rojas’s *Calisto y Melibea*, and a number of historical chronicles. Josiah Blackmore, “Afeiçom and History-Writing: The Prologue of the ‘Crónica de D. João I,’” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 2 (Winter 1997): 15-24.

<sup>92</sup> “La afección se dize aquella mudaçión que acaesce en el coraçón o en el cuerpo en algunt tiempo por alguna cabsa, como alegría, cobdiçia, miedo, tristeza, dolença, flaqueza o otras cosas semejantes.” Cicero, *La rethorica de M. Tullio Ciceron*, trans. Alfonso de Cartagena, ed. Rosalba Mascagna (Napoli: Liguori, 1969), 69.

these should be kept in balance in the state of health as well as in disease, and no other regimen should be given precedence in any wise.”<sup>93</sup>

Conceptual *afección* was meted out and given form in late medieval Spanish communal penance, characterized especially by mortification of the flesh and public weeping. In addition to Encina’s *La Trivagia*, late medieval poetic and devotional culture in Spain provided a number of texts establishing models of behaviors for Iberians to understand penitential tears and bloodletting. The translation of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* was widely available in late medieval Spain and influenced the theology of Ignatius Loyola. In the *Vita*, Ludolph recommends that the penitent “try as hard as he can to have tears” while pondering the Passion.<sup>94</sup> The textual and spatial links that insinuate the human actor into the sacred narrative of penitence in Iberia were also supported by late medieval *recogimiento* (recollection), a meditative technique and form of prayer popularized by the Seville-born Franciscan Francisco de Osuna. Practitioners of *recogimiento* believed inward concentration on one’s emotional and intellectual energies would lead to an infusion of God’s wisdom and grace. It is certain that clerical and lay devotees employed these methods of concentration when conjuring tears in public and private prayer.<sup>95</sup>

Public weeping during festivals of the Christian calendar and rogation processions from the fifteenth century and into the early modern period occurred side by side with the rise in

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<sup>93</sup> Ariel Bar-Sela et al., “Moses Maimonides’ Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: *Fī Tadbīr al-Sihhah* and *Maqālah fī Bayān Ba’d al-A’rād wa-al-Jawāb ‘anhā*,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, no. 4 (1964): 25.

<sup>94</sup> Ludolphus, IV: Ch. 59, 65v, quoted in Christian, “Provoked Religious Weeping,” 107.

<sup>95</sup> Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer abecedario espiritual* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972), 342. “The techniques [of *recogimiento*] were so common among Spanish Franciscans that their monasteries were known as *Recolectorios* and *Casas de recolección*.” Another founding father of the movement said that he “learned more from weeping in the darkness of his cell than from studying by candlelight in Salamanca, Toulouse, and Paris combined.” Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 102.

public acts of *imitatio Christi*—the “loving contemplation of the tortured Christ”—by confraternities across Spain.<sup>96</sup> Congruent with these developments, the doctrinal and experiential discourses within public penitential rituals were linked to the sacrament of confession, which was a prerequisite for communal acts of penance.<sup>97</sup> In some cases—as in the sacrament of confession—penitents of public rituals were obligated to weep on cue. Sánchez Gordillo reported many instances where penitential processions began in silent reverence and culminated in coordinated, clamorous expressions of sorrow later in the ritual.<sup>98</sup> Preparing oneself mentally to withstand the pain of the scourge and to weep upon command, sometimes at the precise moment the behavior was summoned (as part of the narrative recreation of the Passion of Christ, for instance), is similar to the experience of an actor who develops deep faith in the imaginative world of the drama by relying on texts, memories, and mental images in order to produce believable emotion on cue.

The apostolic preacher Juan de Ávila, who came from a converso family, spent most of his professional life as a priest in Granada and Seville performing sermons linking the blood of Christ (and by inference the blood of self-flagellants) with the shedding of tears. His sermons were so popular that people thronged churches to hear him preach.<sup>99</sup> The prose of his impassioned sermon was clearly designed to emotionally engage his audience:

The blood of Christ, pour it out and take it in your soul; I know for certain it will penetrate your soul, will make the non-religious devout, and make the tepid ardent in their love of God, and make the hard tender and loving. Pour it into your soul; there is no balm that penetrates as much. If not, tell me, when you stop to think about the passion of Christ, do you not feel that you are affected with new love and new devotion? Does it

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<sup>96</sup> Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 53.

<sup>97</sup> Starr-Lebeau, “Lay Piety and Community Identity,” 395-99.

<sup>98</sup> Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la religiosidad sevillana* (1630) (Sevilla: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradía de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982), 167.

<sup>99</sup> Fame also brought unwanted attention. In 1534, Ávila was brought before the Seville Inquisition and charged with exaggerating the harms of wealth, but the converso priest was quickly acquitted. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, ed. Charles George Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1907), 469.

not soften the soul? Do you not gain strength? Do you not ask forgiveness for your sins? Do you not shed tears? Oh delicious tears that spill out for the passion of Christ, they do melt in his love!<sup>100</sup>

The use of the liquiform metaphor was no doubt intentional. By establishing a highly sensual figure in their minds, Ávila fashioned an imaginative domain for his listeners to enter into with tears of their own.

In his famous spiritual treatise, *Audi Filia*, Ávila suggests that a proper devotional attitude, *afectos*, can be obtained by moving one's attention away from outward affect and back on the inner devotional image:

...if with your mind at rest, the Lord gives you tears, compassion and other devout feelings, you should accept them, on the condition that they not take possession of you to such an excessive degree as to notably harm your health, or to leave you so weak in resisting them that they make you show your feelings through moans and other exterior signs to show what you feel; because if you become accustomed to such things, you will eventually do them in public, and with great notoriety, just as in your cell, without being able to resist; for which it is reasonable that you flee them: and for this you have to accept these feelings or tears; in such a way that you do not seek them out, lest you lose the thought or spiritual affection [*afección espiritual*] that caused them. Rather take care that the thought endures.... [T]he feeling of the sensory or corporal part does not last, nor does it allow the spiritual sentiment to last, but it only holds onto it so it doesn't go away.<sup>101</sup>

Embedded in this passage is evidence for weeping in public and notoriety brought to the penitent through tearful display, an activity Ávila clearly opposes. Earlier in the treatise, Ávila suggests

<sup>100</sup> “La sangre de Cristo échala y métela en tu alma; que yo sé cierto que pasará tu alma, y de indevota la hará devota, y de tibia la hará ardiente en el amor de Dios, y de dura la hará blanda y amorosa. Échala en tu alma; que no hay bálsamo que tanto pase. Si no, dime: cuando te paras a pensar en la pasión de Cristo, ¿no sientes que te pega nuevo amor y nueva devoción? ¿No se te ablanda el ánima? ¿No recibes fuerza? ¿No pides perdón de tus pecados? ¿No derramas lágrimas? Oh lágrimas sabrosas las que se derraman por la pasión de Cristo, que hacen derretir en amor suyo!” Juan de Ávila, *Obras completas del Maestro Juan de Ávila. Edición crítica*, vol. 1, ed. Luis Sala Balust (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1953), 711.

<sup>101</sup> “...si con vuestro pensar sosegado, el Señor os da lágrimas, compasion y otros sentimientos devotos, debéislos tomar, con condicion que no sea tanto el exceso con que se enseñoreen de vos, que os dañen á la salud con daño notable, ó que quedeis tan flaca en los resistir, que os hagan con gritos, y con otras exteriores señales, dar muestra de lo que sentís; porque si á esto os acostumbrais, vendreis á hacer entre gente, y con grande nota, lo mismo que en vuestra celda, sin lo poder resistir; de lo qual es razon que huyais: y por esto habeis de tomar estos sentimientos, ó lágrimas; de tal arte, que no os váyais mucho tras ellas, porque no perdais, por seguir las, aquel pensamiento ó afeccion espiritual que las causó. Mas tened mucha cuenta con que aquello dure.... [N]o hace el de parte sensitiva ó corporal, ni áun dexa durar al espiritual, si no lo tiene, para que no se vaya tras el.” Juan de Ávila, *Obras. Audi Filia et Vide*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1792), 10-11.

that “you do not have to go by thought to contemplate the Lord in Jerusalem, where this happened; because this does much damage to the mind and dries up devotion.” Rather, the best way to prayerfully imitate the Passion is to “realize that you have him present there; and place the eyes of your soul on his feet, or on the ground near him; and with total reverence watch what then was happening, *as if* you were present; and listen to what the Lord is saying, with complete attention.”<sup>102</sup> These remarkable instructions allow the ritual actor to expediently produce an inner circumstance in order to effectuate a chain of occupational transformations. What is interesting about Ávila’s advocacy is his distinction between thinking about a prior event in a faraway location and calling God into the immediate and simultaneous presence of the devotee. Ávila provides a passageway for the penitent to move from metaphor and memory to the present experience and presence of the divine where the penitent seeks in the liquid wounds of Christ a rebirth of the soul without sin.

Aligning with the inner image of remorse, devotional paintings and objects were available for contemplation and preparation for tearful penitential performances. In *Audi Filia*, Ávila documents the tradition of adorning images for use in ritual devotion in order to obtain states of intense sorrow and contrition: “And when they want to take a statue, in order to cause weeping, they dress it in mourning and put on it everything that encourages sadness.”<sup>103</sup> Antón Pérez was commissioned to paint *La Alegoría de la redención del género humano* (Allegory of

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<sup>102</sup> “...no habeis de ir con el pensamiento á contemplar al Señor á Jerusalem, donde esto acaeció; porque esto daña mucho á la cabeza y seca la devocion; mas haced cuenta que lo teneis allí presente; y poned los ojos de vuestra ánima en los pies de él, ó en el suelo cercano á él; y con toda reverencia mirad lo que entonces pasaba, como si á ello presente estuvierades; y escuchad lo que el Señor habla, con toda atencion.” Juan de Ávila, *Obras: Audi Filia et Vide*, 9-10 (emphasis mine).

<sup>103</sup> “Y cuando quieren sacar una imagen, para hacer llorar, vístenla de luto y pónenle todo lo que incita a tristeza.” Juan de Ávila, *Aviso y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David. Audi, Filia* (Barcelona: J. Flors, 1963), 2642. The *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, a fourteenth-century songbook for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, contains a miniature showing a procession of partially nude penitents with sorrowful expressions. Illuminations in this manuscript may have been used by pilgrims to the Monastery of Montserrat in performative reading or as visual stimuli for acts of penance, confession, and praise. These, and additional examples, can be found in Llompart (1972).

the Redemption of the Human Race) for the Seville Cathedral in 1548 (Figure 3.2).<sup>104</sup> The painting is populated by a group of Christ-like figures (men) of all ages bearing crucifixes. The diminutive crosses they carry are prop-like, theatrical objects, their size indicating a practical use in enactments rather than mimesis. This painting can be understood as an illustrative guidebook to ritual behavior and imitatio. Imitatio Christi was rehearsed iconographically in paintings though the early seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup>

Statues of the weeping Virgin Mary were perhaps the most evocative representations for the contemplation of affective sorrow in early modern Seville. These devotional statues were carried in litters during processions of Marian festivals and Holy Week, the second of which included penitential self-flagellation.<sup>106</sup> These devotional objects—and many others like them—encouraged empathetic association with the sorrows of the Virgin Mary and “loving contemplation of the tortured Christ” through the navigation of one’s own physiological and emotional apparatus.<sup>107</sup> Sánchez Gordillo documented the playing of “mournful trumpets” and singing of “sad songs of devotion” during penitential rites in Seville, music that would have further augmented sensory engagement with lachrymose feelings.<sup>108</sup>

Texts, sermons, and artifacts are enticing suggestions of expressive affect in late medieval Spain, but we can also rely on certain biological parameters to explore penitential feelings of *compassio* further. According to Silvan Tomkins, affect is intrinsic to motivation

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<sup>104</sup> William Stirling Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 2 (London: John Olivier, 1848), 362.

<sup>105</sup> Jorge Bernal Ballesteros, “La Evolución del ‘Paso’ de Misterio,” in *Las Cofradías de Sevilla. Historia, antropología, arte*, ed. José Sánchez Herrero (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 51.

<sup>106</sup> Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain* is exemplary.

<sup>107</sup> Sarah Beckwith, *Christ’s Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), 53. “Franciscanism described the gestural techniques of affectus in its development of imitative and meditational schema for the production of contrition. Like Bernardine piety, Franciscanism was a decisive reorientation of the relations between sacred and profane.” *Ibid.*, 59

<sup>108</sup> “...trompetas dolorosas” and “los cantos...tristes y devotas.” Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 45; 158; 172.



**Figure 3.2**

Antón Pérez, “La Alegoría de la redención del género humano”  
*Retablo of the Sacristía Mayor, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville (1548)*

because it stems from the need for humans to prepare for action; crying is performed in order to elicit a response.<sup>109</sup> This suggests that public acts of penance required the development of emotional response mechanisms prior to, and during, reenactments of the Passion and petitionary processions. As Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella demonstrate in their study of emotional and cognitive reciprocity, “purely mental ‘events’ can evoke strong emotions,” and these events are constructed around planning for future tasks and desired outcomes:

...by maintaining an explicit representation of an agent’s plans one can easily reason about future possible outcomes—essential for modeling emotions like hope and fear that involve future expectations. Explicit representations allow one to recognize how the plans or actions of an agent facilitate or hinder the goals of others—essential for modeling emotions like anger or reproach which typically involve multiple actors.<sup>110</sup>

The production of tears in either the context of inquisitorial confessionals or public rituals of penance did not always arise spontaneously in response to chance misfortune. Cognitive preparation, forethought, or rehearsal for eliciting an affective response suggests that, unlike culturally bound styles of habit and ways of reading subjects, certain biological parameters dictate limits on, and blueprints of, expression and reception, which may persist across historical boundaries. Since the 1980s, when the social constructionist view of emotions was most influential, new psychological studies on evolutionary and genetic components of emotion have

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<sup>109</sup> E. Verginia Demos, “An Affect Revolution: Silvan Tomkins’ Affect Theory,” in *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins*, ed. E. Verginia Demos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17-26, and cf. Silvan S. Tomkins, *Affect Imagery Consciousness: The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1963), 3-7. “It should be noted that with distress-anguish, as with every other affect, there are radical differences in the total phenomenological experience of distress when the feedback of the distress cry enters into different central assemblies of components of the nervous system. As an extreme instance, the cry of pain when I step on a tack with bare feet may be the same cry of distress I emit upon hearing of the loss of a love object, yet the total experience of distress is quite different in these two cases. This is not because the affect is different but because the total central assemblies and, consequently the total information being transmuted in the two cases, differ so much that the feeling of distress-anguish in each case is experienced differently.” *Ibid.*, 5. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank perform an important reading of Tomkins, finding his emphasis on the “*strange* rather than on the prohibitive or disapproved” productive in short-circuiting many “seemingly near inescapable habits of thought.” *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 97-98

<sup>110</sup> Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella, “Tears and Fears: Modeling Emotions and Emotional Behaviors in Synthetic Agents,” *International Conference on Autonomous Agents, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Autonomous Agents*, Montreal, Quebec (2001), 278-79.

provided information on the existence of a substratum of emotional structures that exist across culture and time.<sup>111</sup> It has been suggested that a repertory of elemental, cross-cultural emotional states are stock materials for moral and social behavior that play out in specific ways and in specific cultural settings.<sup>112</sup> Within basic cognitive and evolutionary parameters, communities and individuals rehearse common emotions in ways that meet the horizon of expectation within a specific culture. In other words, basic human feelings like guilt, sorrow, and anger are methods all humans use to prepare for action in social life, and the manifestation of these affective methods (blushing, tears, and screaming) are accessed when particular social preconditions and systems of communication elicit appropriate means. It follows, then, that in order to realize these social expectations, individuals must develop specific methods of integrating basic human feelings with legible corporal and vocal signs to be read not only by the community, but also by social actors themselves as they physiologically process their feelings.<sup>113</sup> While the texts of the medieval and early modern poets, commentators, and priests examined here do acknowledge links between inner and outer affect, more recent sciences of acting and cognition—not available to these writers—reinforce and give meaningful texture to the theories and idioms of Juan del Encina, Juan de Ávila, and other late medieval Spanish writers.

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<sup>111</sup> For examples of studies on the social construction of emotions, see R. M. Nesse, “Evolutionary Explanation of Emotions,” *Human Nature* 1 (1990): 261-83, and J. Tooby and I. Cosmides, “The Past Explains the Present: Emotional Adaptation and the Structure of Ancestral Environments,” *Ethology and Sociobiology* 2 (1990): 375-424.

<sup>112</sup> Carolyne Larrington, “The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period,” *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001): 252-53.

<sup>113</sup> “Choosing to express an emotion or cognitively rehearse it may intensify or even create the actual experience of that emotion.” Margaret Clark, 1989, 266, quoted in William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xii. In her study of the interactive “physiological shifts” that occur among human subjects, Teresa Brennan defines the transmission of affect as “social in origin but biological and physical in effect.” *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), 3-5.

Like penitential tears and confessional repentance, the shedding of blood during acts of imitatio had cleansing powers.<sup>114</sup> The link between spiritual and bodily health was intentional on the part of priests and preachers, and, as Carole Rawcliffe has demonstrated, medicinal vocabulary was absorbed into homilies and sermons:<sup>115</sup> “He gives us relief from our pain through contrition, and through confession we receive a purgative, he recommends a healthful diet through our keeping of fasts; he orders therapeutic baths through our outpouring of tears; he prescribes blood-letting through our recollection of Christ’s passion. But what is this medicine? Penance.”<sup>116</sup> As the sermons of Juan de Ávila do, this popular manual of confession from Exeter quoted above draws a penitential correlation between the “outpouring” of tears and blood. But spiritual and somatic health were more than metaphorically aligned; practitioners performed in immediate terms the somatic benefits of confession, tears, and bloodshed. “The tears of repentance, a necessary precursor of spiritual healing, brought immediate physical relief of the phlegmatic, since [according to the humoral balance theory of medicine] they helped to rid the body of excessive moisture. Although black bile was cold and dry, some authorities believed that it, too, found a necessary outlet through the eyes, prompting ‘grief for sin,’ as well as a corresponding improvement in the humoral balance.”<sup>117</sup> Sweat too was evidence of affective life; emotive residue that preceded and exuded from, rapture, effort, and intensity. The passions

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<sup>114</sup> “[Saint Francis] never ceased to clarify his soul in the rain of tears, aspiring after the purity of supernatural light and counting as little the loss of his bodily eyes.” Bonaventure, *Legenda (maior) S. Francisci* ed. a PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, from Hilarin Felder, *The Ideals of Saint Francis of Assisi* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1925), 230.

<sup>115</sup> Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2006), 212.

<sup>116</sup> John Shinnors and William J. Dohar, eds. *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 171.

<sup>117</sup> Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 242.

were produced inside the body, carried through the bloodstream, and then excreted as surplus matter.<sup>118</sup>

For the early moderns, the power of the passions was a function of the affect-producing organs—the blood-making liver, the hungry heart, the angry gall bladder, and the melancholy spleen. Affects had specific points of origin... affective life was constituted by the humors coursing through the bloodstream and saturating the flesh.<sup>119</sup>

As an essential component of humoral balance theory, blood was understood to be a physical and physiological fact by literate specialists and commoners alike.<sup>120</sup> It was the special substance that joined spiritual and bodily realms, able to bring balance to the sick and sinful. The doctrine of spiritual and bodily salubrity was accessible to ritual actors and transformed into practice while following the Stations of the Cross during Holy Week. In Seville's *Vía Crucis*, the sixth station—commemorating the legend of Veronica—invited active participation from the observers of the procession. Women from the crowd entered into processional space and wiped blood and sweat from the penitents' brows.<sup>121</sup> As was commonly believed at the time, Veronica's handkerchief—and the accompanying ritual action—had purgative powers.<sup>122</sup> The expression of blood gave penitents and their audiences the means with which to transform the ubiquitous symbols of Christ's blood in art and texts into a performative presence.

Self-flagellation and other forms of blood devotion were a development of the High and late Middle Ages. In the beginning of the medieval period, people saw the crucifixion as the

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>119</sup> Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 22.

<sup>120</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 187. "The humoral balance theory of health and disease was part of general, educated discourse, comprising what we would call 'common knowledge.' Educated people accepted that health is harmony of the four humors and disease the result of imbalance just as we take for granted the existence of germs or the earth's daily rotation." Susan R. Kramer, "Understanding Contagion: The Contaminating Effect of Another's Sin," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 151.

<sup>121</sup> Antonio Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," *Archivo Hispalense*, 16 (1952): 52.

<sup>122</sup> Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 244.

moment Jesus the man showed himself to be God, triumphing over death. This understanding of Jesus changed in the High Middle Ages. The crucifixion was no longer a moment of spiritual transcendence over mortality, but was instead the cruelest and most somber moment of the life of Christ. For the first time in Christian art, the dying or dead figure of Christ on the cross bled, conveying intense suffering and corporal pain.<sup>123</sup> The devotional symbol of the crucifix displaying Christ's bloody, broken body was fraught with the "tensions between ideal and real" and became the locus of affective experience of the divine. Sarah Beckwith continues:

In crucifixion piety...the human body (Christ's body and the body of the addressee) is both an image and a physical, experiential, felt presence. This is perhaps one reason why we return obsessively to the metaphor of theatre to describe this form of spirituality, for it is the nature of the theatrical medium to foreground the human body through the mechanism of the actor as at once image and physical presence, at once representation and experience.<sup>124</sup>

From the twelfth century forward, lay and clerical identification with the suffering of Christ and his mother Mary was harnessed by an experiential piety that engaged the senses.<sup>125</sup> Blood in particular became a uniquely prominent substance, a symbol in devotional literature, sermons, meditations, and images that "expressed something quite specific about the saving action of Christ when it underlined the separated discreteness of a part that was nonetheless whole, the bubbling, roseate, and organic life of an immutable deity, the complete exsanguinations of a Christ whose tiniest particle would in itself save the world."<sup>126</sup> To Carolyn Walker Bynum's beautifully fashioned description of the symbolic valence of blood within the general economy of pious affect, I would add that blood also became a means with which penitents entered directly into an experience of the sacred. The Christian God was mediated through texts,

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<sup>123</sup> Marcia Ann Kupfer, *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 7.

<sup>124</sup> Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 61.

<sup>125</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 185.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

illustrations, and theatrical displays, all encouraging a life of empathetic association (*affectus*) through activities of *imitatio Christi*. The flow of affective piety traveled through physical channels, sight, thought, and blood, as well as sympathy. Quoting Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141) approvingly, Bonaventure wrote that “[t]he power of love transforms the lover into an image of the beloved,” and that the depth of Mary’s suffering on Calvary and her loving compassion for her son “transformed her into the likeness of Christ.”<sup>127</sup> Compassion *gravitates* towards its object (suffering, *passio*) and fuses to it.

In Franciscan life and letters, the suffering of Christ held a dominant position, and late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Franciscan manuscripts and murals represent a distinctly human form of Christ suffering during the Passion: images of mocking, scourging, and physical pain.<sup>128</sup> It is through the preaching and pastoral care of the Franciscans and Dominicans that the penitential attitudes and practices entered into Passion devotion.<sup>129</sup> By physically transforming (wounding) oneself into a representation of the God-man—like the stigmata of Francis of Assisi (d. 1226)—one’s spirit (the locus of salvation) could also be transformed. For Franciscans and Dominicans, compassionate (or impassioned) shedding of blood was salvific, although the two groups departed on the precise ways in which blood signified. For instance, Dominicans (who practiced self-flagellation more assiduously) stressed that blood *itself* was alive and divine, whereas Franciscans were more semiotically inclined. Franciscans believed blood referred to the

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<sup>127</sup> Both quotes are from Otto G. von Simson, “*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Roger van der Weyden’s *Descent from the Cross*,” *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 13.

<sup>128</sup> Bert Roest, “A Meditative Spectacle: Christ’s Bodily Passion in the *Satirica Ystoria*,” in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. Alasdair MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 33; 41.

<sup>129</sup> “The friars’ [Franciscan] reputation for theological acumen and pastoral sensitivity drew the laity to their churches. Friars heard confessions throughout the week and confessors were particularly busy during Advent and Lent, when the faithful prepared for the celebration of the solemnities of Christmas and Easter. The large number of people who confessed their sins in the friars’ churches during Lent, especially between Passion Sunday and Easter Sunday, became a feature of the order’s apologetics.” Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2006), 165.

life and death of Christ, and although they did not deny bodily relics of Christ's blood, they believed that "[b]lood relics, miracle hosts, and stigmatics were not so much literally the blood of sacrifice itself as visible marks in matter—reminding Christians of the bodily death in which salvation lies."<sup>130</sup>

Soteriological performances gave the ritual actor opportunities to experience the sacred first through compassionate observation of suggestive imagery and recitation of evocative language. They responded to the crucified figure of Christ streaming fountains of blood from five wounds, the sustenance of the life of the Church and Christian faithful. But they also experienced blood through a direct experience of pain, embodying Christlike affect and suffering. These two devotional points of access were not nearly as distinct as they may seem, since the medieval understanding of physiognomy and sensory perception was itself mutable, diffuse, and porous. Blood, which was popularly and doctrinally seen as alive and mutable, had the power to transform the experience of the bleeding penitent from compassion (*co-passio*) to impassioned (*em patior*).<sup>131</sup> Blood—as a concept and a thing—helped devotees bridge the paradoxical divide of body and spirit that resided at the heart of medieval Christianity.

The memory of the historical sacrifice of Christ on Calvary was rehearsed and ritualized by Christians on a daily basis in the Eucharistic rite, and from the High Middle Ages in extra-liturgical Passion celebration and procession. However, treating “the Passion” as a single category of art or performance is problematic. Indeed, the commemoration of the Passion

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<sup>130</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 168. “Dominicans located salvation in the shedding and sprinkling of blood, a New Testament sacrifice replacing the animal sacrifice of the Jews.” *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>131</sup> For Dominicans especially, blood was the *veritas humanae naturae*. “There is a sense in which blood itself—*sedes animae*—is alive.... Indeed, the conviction that Blut Christi lives in separation is found at all cultural levels in the fifteenth century, from university disputation to folk-and miracle-story.” Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 168.

appeared in every art form in the late Middle Ages.<sup>132</sup> The distinctiveness of Passion drama from the Eucharistic rite becomes especially apparent when examining theatrical presentations of the Passion at the local level, where economic, municipal, and practical considerations become more pressing.<sup>133</sup> Not only do temporal and local diversities complicate the picture beyond generic proportions, but the Passion also overlaps with many other practices and it is difficult to consistently identify Passion devotion separately from other ritual activities. For instance, Passion dramas were presented at Passiontide and during Corpus Christi, and pilgrims to Jerusalem performed *imitatio Christi* throughout the year along the Way of the Cross.<sup>134</sup> The Passion processions of late medieval Spain, as a practical matter, developed exclusive of the liturgies of Holy Week, although each featured biblical themes of the Passion throughout the week. Although encouraged by mendicant preaching and involvement in processions, Holy Week rituals outside the church were expressions of popular piety. If anything, relationship between parallel liturgies and lay processions could be described as independent and mutually influential.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> R. N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. Alasdair MacDonald, Bernhard Ridderbos, and R. M. Schlusemann (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 1.

<sup>133</sup> Recent work has stressed the relative independence of Passion week celebrations and plays from the Easter liturgy. Rainer Warning has demonstrated that the "Easter play flourished at the same time as the Passion play. Only a single Latin Passion play survives from the twelfth century.... It was probably in the same century that the vernacular tradition also admitted the representation of the Passion story." *The Ambivalences of Medieval Religious Drama* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 148.

<sup>134</sup> Lynette Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19-27. R. N. Swanson points out that the "idea of the mass as Passion obviously pushes at the frontiers of the idea of 'Passion devotion,' because at a critical point it transmutes into Eucharistic celebration and switches focus to the consecrated elements as Corpus Christi." Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 18-19.

<sup>135</sup> A few pieces of scholarship have uncovered the appearance of plainsong in Spanish churches, as well as musical exchange between the court and church: Kenneth Kreitner, "Minstrels in Spanish Churches, 1400-1600," *Early Music* 20, no. 4 (Nov. 1992): 533-46; Juan Ruiz Jiménez, *La librería de canto de órgano. Creación y pervivencia del repertorio del Renacimiento en la actividad musical de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Granada: Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, Centro de Documentación de Andalucía, 2007); and Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "'The Sounds of the Hollow Mountain': Musical Tradition and Innovation in Seville Cathedral in the Early Renaissance," *Early Music History* 29 (2010): 189-239. Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, documents religious statuary in processions and churches.

Thomas Bestul comments that the heightened devotion to the Passion and the suffering of Christ inevitably brought more attention to the perpetrators of Christ's torments (Jews), which were represented in anti-Semitic portrayals in Passion treatises, devotional manuals, and art.<sup>136</sup> Bestul is not alone in observing that the expanded role of the Jews in the Passion story was a by-product of the meditative and visual devotional realism promoted by Franciscans.<sup>137</sup> It is significant to note that the increased importance of sensual integration into Christian devotional practices in the late medieval period corresponded to the simultaneous increase in Christian representations of Jews as "non-seers" of spiritual truth. In medieval Christian narrative and art, Jews are never very far away from the Passion, or its liturgical incarnation, the Eucharist. The proximity of Jews to expressions of the Passion was cause for deep anxiety. On the one hand, Jews were indispensable antagonists, catalyzers of the Passion of Jesus. Despite their necessary presence in Christian life, represented in order to reinforce Christians' own sense of self-identification within the chronology of sacred time, they were also materially elided, through conversion and periodic explosions of violence:

...having rejected Christ, Jews were condemned to a life as ever-present reminders of the inception of Christianity, and of the error and evil of their ways. Their state of servitude and general abjection in the world was useful testimony to the truth of the Gospel tale. Contemporary Jews were always present, in flesh or in image, bearing witness. Converted Jews fulfilled the same role and presaged the fate of all Jews at the approach of Judgment Day.<sup>138</sup>

Jews and Muslims were barred from Holy Week and Corpus Christi rituals in the period after 1391 in Spain. Outdoor religious performance was a common source for the eruption of anti-

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<sup>136</sup> Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 71-72.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 72. Merback argues that Christian artists often sought to emphasize the mundane, penal aspects of the biblical events on Golgotha, death scenes that instantiated a disgraceful form of punishment. Merback, *Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 16. Diane Hughes discusses marks of difference in art and Franciscan preaching in "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-rings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City," *Past and Present* 12 (1986): 3-59.

<sup>138</sup> Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 9.

converso riots in the mid to late fifteenth century. Communal and corporate divisions that were enforced by *limpieza de sangre* statutes during the century appeared to have exacerbated tensions during festivals. For instance, an anti-converso riot arose out of a Marian procession in Córdoba in 1473 conducted by an Old Christian confraternity.<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, there is evidence from Catalonia for the participation of Jews in Passion plays.<sup>140</sup> As antagonists in biblical and apocryphal stories, Jewish characters were guilty, scapegoated, blind and obstinate, both inimical to the central subject of Christianity and occupying an ontological absence.<sup>141</sup>

Anti-Semitic discourses in Passion painting, statuary and relief carvings, dramas, polemics, and host desecration tales were numerous and pervasive. Examples of positive images of Jews and Jewish allegorical figures, like *Synagoga*, are also available, but examples of this type are difficult to locate in Spain.<sup>142</sup> The CSM, for instance, contains at least eight separate *cantigas de miragre* with Jewish characters, most of which relate tales of Jews who earn swift retribution after committing anti-Christian acts. Less malevolent Jewish characters in the songs are converted to Christianity by the power of the Virgin Mary. The Jews in the miniatures of these songs are assigned some of the typical physiognomic signifiers in Christian art: pointed hats, long beards, and huge, hooked noses, as drawn in *cantiga* 4 (Figure 3.3, frames 3, 4 and 6). Interestingly, the Jewish boy who takes the sacrament (from a mobile Virgin Mary Statue, frame 2) and converts to Christianity does not have the physical features of his father. In the narrative,

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<sup>139</sup> Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia*, 232.

<sup>140</sup> Sebastián J. M. Doñate, “Aportación a la historia del teatro, siglos XIV-XVI,” in *Martínez Ferrando Archivero. Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (Madrid: Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros, y Arqueólogos, 1968), 149-64, and Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 215.

<sup>141</sup> For medieval Christians “Jewishness is a *spectral* presence, strongly felt and yet just as strongly derealized.” Steven Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: (Dis)embodiment and the Dynamics of Medieval Jewish/Christian Interaction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xvii.

<sup>142</sup> Essays by Elizabeth Monroe and Jacqueline E. Jung in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008) provide examples of relatively positive characterizations of Jews in Christian art.



**Figure 3.3**  
Illumination to Cantiga 4, T manuscript

the Jewish man tries to burn his son after hearing of his conversion (frames 3 and 4), but Mary intervenes (frame 5), and, as graphically illustrated in cantiga 4, angry Christians burn the Jewish man in the boy's stead (frame 6).

Sanguinity was embedded in the stereotypical Jew of Christian preaching, art, and texts. Accusations of ritual murder focused on aspects of blood and it was thought that male Jews menstruated. Bonaventure wrote: "Consider therefore how great was the impiety of the Jews, who thirsted for the innocent blood of the one who loved them so much that he wished to pour out of his body for them, and how great was the devotion of Christ, who so pitied the impious that he poured out his blood for those who wished to shed his blood."<sup>143</sup> Jews were often called "blood-thirsty," although preachers were careful to delineate concepts of killing and sacrifice in relation to the story of the Passion. In host desecration tales, bleeding was an act of protest and accusation. Whether abused, ritually misused or "attacked by unbelievers, heretics, or Jews, the mistreated object bleeds in protest."<sup>144</sup> Gavin Langmuir has argued that the myth of host desecration at the hands of Jews developed out of Christian insecurities surrounding the doctrine of transubstantiation, pointing to numerous examples where Jews are associated with the blood of Christ.<sup>145</sup> Another common anti-Jewish blood-libel in the Middle Ages was that Jews crucified Christians—children especially. The descriptions of these stories are often coordinated with other aspects of the Passion story.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Bonaventure, "Sermo 2 de nostra redemptione," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, vol. 9, 11 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882), 726. Translation by Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 242.

<sup>144</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 242; 183.

<sup>145</sup> Gavin Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>146</sup> In 1389 in Prague, a host desecration story constructed on the literary form of a *passio* emerged. *Passio judaeorum secundum Johannem rusticus quadratus* (The Passion of the Jews according to John the Stocky Peasant) rearranged, distorted and parodied biblical passages, juxtaposing contemporary Jews in Prague with the historical, sacred tale of the Passion. The accusation story relates how a Jew threw small stones at the monsternace during a procession of Holy Week, not very far from the Jewish quarter in Prague. Built upon the plot of the biblical tale of Christ's Passion, the representation included Jewish children carrying branches and cursing the entry of Christ into

Host desecration accusations against Jews were common in the Iberian empires throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Aragón, a petition to the king accusing a Jewish group of criminal abuse of the host references a similar experience in Seville.<sup>147</sup> In 1468, a rumor spread that a boy in Sepulveda was kidnapped on the Thursday of Holy Week (a day within the Christian calendar focused on penitential activities), crowned with thorns, whipped and crucified. An inquiry into the matter resulted in the condemnation to death of a group of Jewish men.<sup>148</sup> Rumors were spread in Saragossa that a group of conversos had “scourged a crucifix, to the accompaniment of Hebrew prayers and sermons, in imitation of the torments of Jesus on the Cross. The *conversos* in question were alleged to have played the roles of Pilate, the high priest of Annas (Hanan), Judas, and Longinus, who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear.”<sup>149</sup> This accusation, like so many blood-libel accusations against Jews, seems too fantastical to be believed. Regardless, the discursive power of blood-libels speaks to the strong (and sublimated) ideological link between the Passion and its antagonists. From the High Middle Ages through to the period of the Iberian Inquisition, Jews and judaizers were subjected to all forms of deprivation and violence within the Christian economy of retribution payment for the killing of Jesus, *poenitentiam justitiae divinae* (payment of divine justice).<sup>150</sup>

It may not come as a surprise that the Jewish response to accusations of Eucharistic desecration was to exploit Christian anxieties about body and blood in transubstantiation

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Jerusalem and a congregation of Jews and Pharisees in a synagogue. Preachers in Prague used this story to move their audiences to revenge, and the Christians of the city amputated the limbs of the Jews in the city and burned the books of Jewish law. Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 135.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>148</sup> Two such stories were set into motion in Valladolid within a span of two years, 1452 and 1454. Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 107-08.

<sup>149</sup> Baer points out that even though these actions are mentioned nowhere in Hebrew literature, the libel was used as evidence by the Inquisition and a number of *conversos* lost their lives. Baer, *History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, 379-80.

<sup>150</sup> Edward Kessler and Neil Wenborn, eds., *A Dictionary of Jewish-Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 339.

doctrine.<sup>151</sup> Many Jewish theologians focused on the impossibility of the coexistence of accidents and spiritual essence in the Eucharist. The discussions “ranged from exegetical opposition to visceral rejection of libelous accusations” and included descriptions of “ingestion of the accidents of the Eucharist and the involvement of God in human excrement.” Miri Rubin acknowledges the relationship between the distrust of the converso body and the anti-Eucharist arguments taken up by rabbinical writers in fifteenth-century Spain, at a time when the tone of Christian-Jewish disputation grew in acrimony and “anxiety about the penetration of Jewish converts into the Christian body grew fiercer.”<sup>152</sup> That the reaction by rabbinical philosophers to increased intolerance of Jews on the Peninsula (expressed particularly through cleanliness of blood statutes) was to critique the Eucharistic rite on the basis of impurity and filth, speaks to the shared doctrinal theme of purity in Judaism and Christianity.

Bloodshed was a central activity of both Holy Week processions and the public chastisement of confessed Judaizers in Seville. Both were palliative rituals involving tropes of release and display. Blood revealed itself for full examination by the community as both clean and dirty: phlebotomy rid the body of humoral excess and it showed the inner cleanliness of the blood of Old Christians. Lapsed conversos who confessed and were reconciled with the Church were often sentenced to penitential flogging in public (often processionally), their blood symbolically reuniting them with a sacred community. Voluntary bloodshed was the privilege of Christian men. Bestul argues that the cult of bodily pain was salvific for individual souls and the community: “[t]he suffering of Jews, heretics, and lepers provides a reference point in the contemporary material world that helps the Christian to reconstruct imaginatively, as much as is humanly possible to do so, the immeasurably greater and finally inexpressible pain that Christ

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<sup>151</sup> Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 93-96.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

endured in the cause of human salvation.”<sup>153</sup> Jews—whose bodily excretions (saliva in particular) were thought of as the kinds of pollution that could lead to defilement and death—were barred from the economy of bloodshed.<sup>154</sup> A burning at the stake explicitly removed bloodletting from the dramaturgy of persecution. In fact, immolation by fire was the one form of medieval corporal punishment where blood and body of the victim were removed entirely from sight. Dramaturgically, the complete eradication of the body ends the journey of an individual’s soul. There is no afterlife in the memories of the community for burned heretics; it’s as if they never existed. It was not a “good death” as Mitchell Merback defines it, in that lasting impressions of the crime and the criminal were minimized. In a good death, the “confessed criminal who took refuge in God’s grace, admitted guilt (*culpa*), accepted penance, prayed for forgiveness and made a good end,” and the broken body of the criminal was displayed and left unburied to remind the community of the sin.<sup>155</sup> “Each mode of punishment, then, whatever its original sacrificial or cosmic symbolism, presented spectators with a powerful, precise image of the offender’s place within a vast legal *ordo* which, in both learned and popular perception, encompassed every living thing in nature.”<sup>156</sup> Symbolically, common forms of late medieval, early modern punishment, such as breaking on the wheel, hanging, garroting, and stoning, produced a lasting spectacle of pain for communal observation. Once the criminal had perished in these brutal executions, the body of the unburied criminal assaulted the senses of the community, feeding their imagination of the state of hell. Unconfessed and unrepentant Jews and conversos who burned at the stake fell outside this legal *ordo*; executed beyond the walls of

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<sup>153</sup> Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 159.

<sup>154</sup> Bestul makes the point that many of these anti-Semitic passages are rhetorically bound to Passion narratives. *Ibid.*, 107-10.

<sup>155</sup> Merback, *Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 19-20.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

the city of Seville, their demise was sudden and untraceable and foreswore a symbolic answer to a crime. The Jewish body was extirpated from the sightlines of spectatorship.

***Blood in the streets***

Prior to the early modern period when confraternities monopolized the practice and scourging became an organized, calendar event, spontaneous acts of public penance were practiced by men, women, and children from a cross-section of society, sometimes in connection with conversion rituals.<sup>157</sup> The following vivid description by Henri Ghéon is illustrative:

...with faces veiled, backs and shoulders bared...the men and women Flagellants came to the church behind the friar and his assistants. All intoned the chant that [Ferrer] had composed for the Confraternity.... And the voice of supplication repeated the word “mercy” again and again and again. Then the voices died away, the Flagellants knelt down before the porch; the moment had come. There was no longer a cry to be heard or a word. No sound in the air save the noise as of heavy rain produced by the blows of scourges upon flesh.... Often the people, swept on by example, would tear off their clothes to imitate the scourgers. Men and women joined in, and children little more than babies...<sup>158</sup>

Ghéon’s narrative testifies to spontaneous penitential acts that arose out of ritual, suggesting that the boundaries between spectators and *disiplinantes* (penitents partaking in self-mortification) often broke down, if ever a clear line existed at all.<sup>159</sup>

The fifteenth-century revivalist preacher Vincent Ferrer, whose sermons were well known for provoking tears, was at least partly responsible for bringing public practices of self-mortification—popular rituals already established in Germany and Italy—to Spain. Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga documents disciplinary activities among members of Seville confraternities from 1408, crediting Ferrer’s presence in the city for the institution of public forms of disciplinary

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<sup>157</sup> Mitchell Merback, “Living Image of Pity: Mimetic Violence, Peacemaking and Salvific Spectacle in the Flagellant Processions of the Later Middle Ages,” in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honor of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 163.

<sup>158</sup> Henri Ghéon, *Saint Vincent Ferrer* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954), 77-80.

<sup>159</sup> Merback, “Living Image of Pity,” 163.

penance.<sup>160</sup> Manifestations of petitionary and rogation flagellant processions are documented on the Iberian Peninsula from the turn of the fourteenth century, and the penitential Brotherhood of the True Cross existed in Toledo, Seville, and Zamora in the fifteenth century.<sup>161</sup> The Spanish devotional experience was profoundly influenced by Franciscan presence on the Peninsula, and it is believed that the preaching and teachings of friars was one of the causes for the dramatic rise in rituals of public penance, especially self-mortification rites during Holy Week.<sup>162</sup> In the sixteenth century, Jesuits also incorporated self-mortification and weeping into their catalogue of practices.<sup>163</sup>

### ***Holy Week penitential procession***

Although it was not until 1538 that an indulgence from Rome formally sanctioned Holy Week rites of self-mortification in Seville, penitential practices in public were already an established tradition there.<sup>164</sup> For instance, we know from a church synod of 1511 in Seville that night vigils and representations of religious dramas were prohibited in churches and monasteries; the detailed delineation of regular feast days from extraliturgical representations in the synod (Figure 3.4) suggests that the archdiocese was compelled to enforce prohibitions of ongoing penitential activities during this period.<sup>165</sup> Susan Verdi Webster points out that although these

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<sup>160</sup> José Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias religiosas de Sevilla. Ó noticia histórico-descriptiva de todas las cofradías de Penitencia, Sangre y Luz fundadas en esta ciudad* (Sevilla: Imprenta y Librería del Salvador, 1882), 3-5.

<sup>161</sup> “Las calamidades que abrumaron Europa, no sólo la Gran Peste, durante el siglo XIV hicieron aparecer las nutridas tropas de flagelantes, grupos de hombres y mujeres que recorrían en cortejo campos y ciudades ofreciendo el espectáculo de sus maceraciones y el concierto de sus lúgubres cantos...” José Sánchez Herrero, “Las cofradías sevillanas. Los comienzos,” *Las cofradías de Sevilla. Historia, antropología, arte* (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 31; see also pages 9-11; 18-19.

<sup>162</sup> Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 22-23.

<sup>163</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London: Edward Arnold, 1963), 1-3; A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino of Siena* (London: 1913), 301-02; and cf. Christian, “Provoked Religious Weeping,” 98-106.

<sup>164</sup> William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 184-86.

<sup>165</sup> Archivo de Catedral (Archobiprado) *Fondo Histórico General*, Legajo 42 4/1, n.p., “Sinodo de Diego de Deza, 1511,” ff. 20r, 21r.

dia de la muerte del testador. Por lo qual mandamos a todos los curas  
 que escriban en cada un año todos los que fallecieron en sus parrochias  
 las personas que dexaron por sus albaceas y testamentarios que  
 de los mandados que quier fieren sus testamentos y ultimas  
 voluntades que nos lo embien por memoria cada año quando quisiere  
 la marquilla de los testados para que mejor podamos proveer sobre ello  
 lo qual mandamos que cumplam a pena de un florin por cada vez que no lo  
 fiziere. aplicando en la manera susodha.

Que fiestas se han de guardar. E que los curas las  
 notifiquen a sus parrochianos.

Los santos dias de la pascha dominicos e otras fiestas estatuy-  
 das en la santa madre y que fueron dedicados al sermón de dios  
 nuestro señor e se celebraron para obsequio nuestro y exercicio de los sacri-  
 ficios e obras corporales. Y somos informado que en nuestro arzobispado e  
 provincia las dichas fiestas no se guardan por los felices yamos de la  
 yntinon de la ycha las yntinon y como se deven guardar para  
 virtud de sus almas. Antes al contrario que en los dias de las fiestas  
 segund vemos muchos personas se ocupan en vias negras e disolu-  
 tions donde se hacen otros muchos yncovenientes e males en los  
 pueblos. Por ende nos acordando remediar los dichos yncovenientes  
 y el pecado que yncurren los que quebrantan las dichas fiestas. e por no  
 correr las necesidades de aquellos que son pobres. tanto quanto dispon-  
 gamos de quitar algunas fiestas de las que hasta aqui se solian  
 guardar e mandamos que de aqui adelante se guarden las fiestas oyentes.

El dia de la circuncision de nuestro señor jhu xpo.  
 El epifania.  
 El san sebastian.  
 La purificacion de nuestra señora santa maria.  
 El san Mattheo apostol.  
 La anunciacion de nuestra señora.

Figure 3.4

"Sinodo de Diego de Deza" (1511)

Archivo General del Arzobispado y Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla

synods do not mention penitential confraternities specifically, the prohibitions refer to descent and resurrection ceremonies that were routinely celebrated by local penitential groups.<sup>166</sup> The confraternity of *La Preciosa Sangre de Cristo* and other confraternities of the Passion were active from the fifteenth century in Seville, while less organized forms of Passion devotion are documented from the fourteenth century.<sup>167</sup> The special medieval devotion to the Blood of Christ was reactivated through the iconographic theme of Christ as the source of life, in particular his blood: his crucified figure streaming fountains of blood was a clear allusion to blood as basic sustenance of the life of the Church, and ultimately all the Christian faithful. In Seville, penitential bloodletting was fully embraced; a number of confraternities adopted the Blood of Christ as their main invocation. Unlike most other penitential confraternities across Europe, whose practices of self-mortification were secondary to charitable and trade-related activities, mortification was the organizing principle and ritual focus of Spanish penitential brotherhoods.<sup>168</sup> Penitential confraternities in Spain were called *cofradías de sangre y luz* (brotherhoods of blood and light), highlighting their processional activities during Holy Week: carrying candles and shedding blood.

The numbers of penitential confraternities grew quickly in the sixteenth century, from less than a dozen before 1550 to approximately forty penitential groups by 1604. Apostolic Bulls and Privileges limited all processions of self-mortification to the daylight hours of Holy Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday—except for the Confraternity of *Santa Vera Cruz*, which conducted its rituals in the evening, ending at 10 p.m.<sup>169</sup> The performances of self-mortification

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<sup>166</sup> Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 42.

<sup>167</sup> José Sánchez Herrero and Silvia María Pérez González, *La Cofradía de la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo de Sevilla. La importancia de la devoción a la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo en el desarrollo de la devoción y la imaginería de la Semana Santa* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1999), 14-15.

<sup>168</sup> Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 23-24.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

were carried out on the last seven days of Lent as well. One group of penitents, called “aspados” (cross-men), paraded during Lent, Holy Week and rogation periods wrapped in robes, hands tied either to a Roman cross or an X-shaped cross (mimicking the martyrdom of Saint Andrew). Others, tied to a pole or trunk of a tree with arms outstretched, were wounded in the manner of Christ on the cross.<sup>170</sup>

*Cofradías de conversos* (confraternities with an exclusively converso membership), the numbers of which increased after 1391, existed in Seville from the late Middle Ages.<sup>171</sup> In the late 1400s, there was a movement in Spain among religious leaders (some of whom may have been of converso origin) to ease tensions and competition between converso and Old Christian *cofradías* by uniting groups of each or prohibiting the creation of new brotherhoods based on this distinction.<sup>172</sup> This occurred in both Toledo and Alcalá in the second half of the century, although policies of segregation between Old and New Christians in Seville confraternities appear to have persisted through the end of the century.<sup>173</sup> The *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz*—the first to officially adopt corporal penance into its regular practices in the early fifteenth century—appears not to have forbidden membership of conversos according to their rulebook of 1538, although the rulebooks of other penitential brotherhoods that formed after Vera Cruz allowed membership to neither “blacks, mulattos, nor those of moorish caste, nor conversos, nor Jews, nor penitents of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, nor to be of vile trade and infamy, nor infamous person because of the judiciary, nor misbehavers, nor gamblers.”<sup>174</sup> The fact that the

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<sup>170</sup> Martín de la Torre, “Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo,” 52.

<sup>171</sup> José Sánchez Herrero, *La Semana Santa de Sevilla* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2003), 22.

<sup>172</sup> Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion*, 103.

<sup>173</sup> Sánchez Herrero, “Las cofradías Sevillanas. Los comienzos,” 27.

<sup>174</sup> The confraternity *Limpia y Pura Concepción de Nuestra Señora la Virgen María* denied membership to “...negros, mulatos, ni de casta de moros, ni conversos, ni judíos, ni penitenciados por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición, no sean de oficio vil e enfame, ni persona infamada por la judicicia, ni amancebados, ni tablajeros.” Sánchez Herrero, *La Semana Santa de Sevilla*, 73-84; 87.

Confraternity of San Mateo, an all-converso confraternity founded in the sixteenth century, was not categorized as a “cofradía de sangre y luz” suggests that conversos were kept at a distance from rituals of the passion and death of Jesus.<sup>175</sup>

The *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, the first known confraternity to officially incorporate self-flagellation into its Holy Week processional activities, was founded in 1448,<sup>176</sup> and Sánchez Gordillo estimates that this brotherhood practiced self-disciplinary acts in public at the Convent of San Francisco as early as 1480, the year the Inquisition was established in Seville.<sup>177</sup> The frontispiece to its Rulebook of 1631, most likely a copy of its 1538 rules, gives us an idea of the appearance of the hooded penitents of the processional entourage (Figure 3.5).<sup>178</sup> The brothers covered their heads during processions of self-flagellation, obscuring their distinctive familial and urban identities and foregrounding working, suffering bodies. By reenacting the torments of Christ, the penitent mitigated the terrors of mortality by imaginatively incorporating the resurrectable Christ into his own body, etching the possibility of grace into the inevitable moment of collapse. Each painful stroke of the lash, each carnal punishment defined a territory mapped across the body in which recollection and devotional literature were inscribed into the present moment. To varying degrees, bodies of penitents were stripped bare, and the tips of scourges wiped with wax in order to draw blood (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). The pain felt by

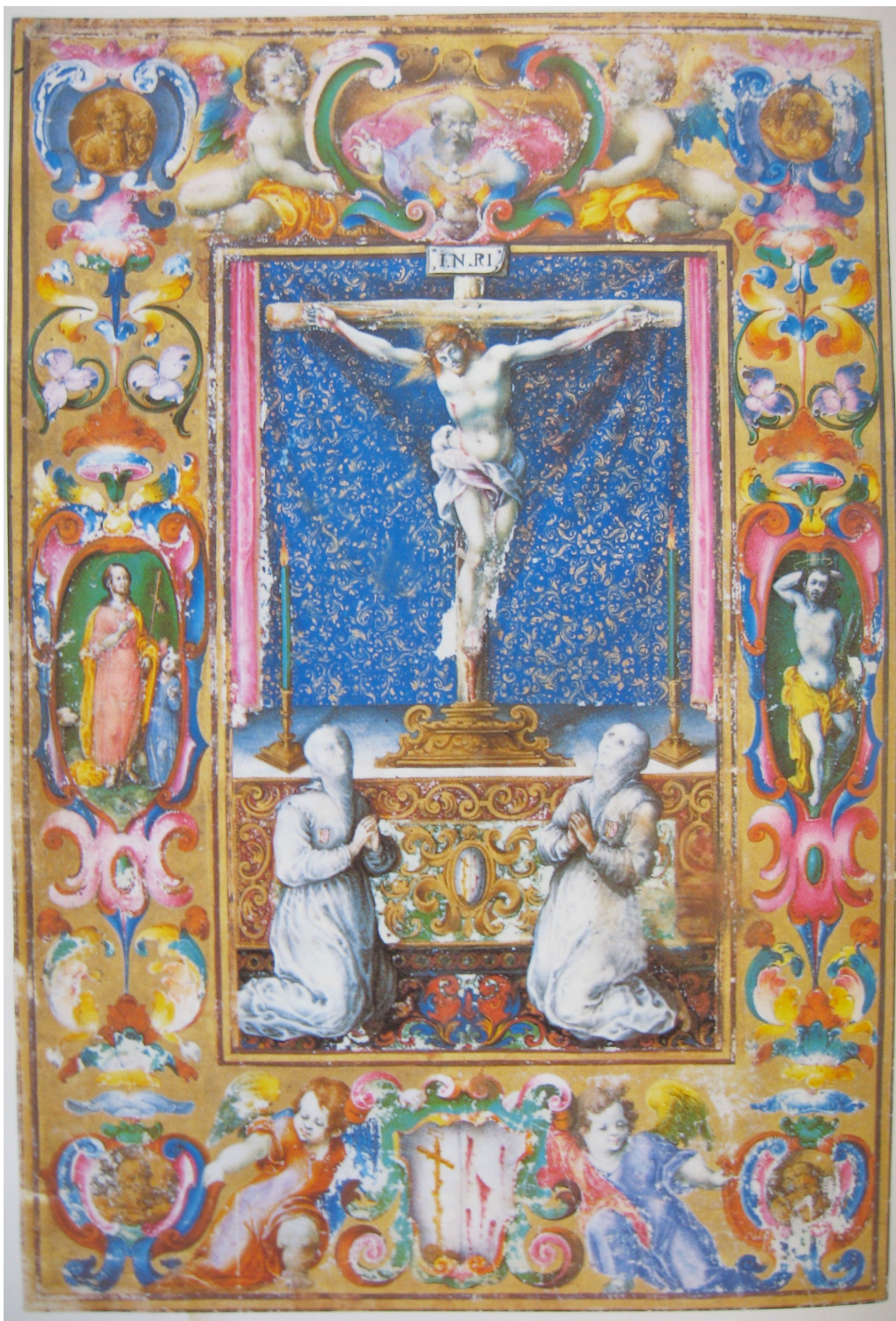
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<sup>175</sup> The Confraternity of San Mateo was a wealthy organization that ran two hospitals and maintained a chapel in the Monastery of San Francisco. Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 33-34. San Mateo is not listed in Bermejo y Carballo's definitive history of early penitential confraternities in Seville; *Glorias religiosas de Sevilla*.

<sup>176</sup> Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias religiosas de Sevilla*, 349. Penitential processions that incorporated flagellation and stational procession are first recorded in 1520. José Sánchez Herrero, “El origen de las cofradías de Semana Santa o de Pasión en la Península Ibérica,” *Temas Medievales* 6, no. 17 (1996): 75.

<sup>177</sup> Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 151.

<sup>178</sup> Juan de Herrera, *Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz, 1627-1631* (1538). ABUS.



**Figure 3.5**

Front cover of “Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz” (1631)  
Archivo de la Biblioteca de Universidad de Sevilla



4.1 A Castilian flagellant on Holy Thursday  
 'In this manner those of Castile expiate their sins on Holy Thursday.'  
 [Source: *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)* (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1927), Laminas LVI]



**Figure 3.7**  
 Christoph Weiditz, Penitent in Saragossa, (1529)

**Figure 3.6**  
 Christoph Weiditz, Castilian flagellant on Holy Thursday (1529)

flagellants had the power to bring forth tears, and it is likely that sweat and tears would have soaked their white, linen hoods.<sup>179</sup>

The Rulebook also describes the evening procession lead by the majordomo carrying a black flag with a red cross, after which the penitents walked in pairs. After every four or five pairs of self-flagellators, two members of the confraternity carried candles. Following the train was a cleric carrying “un Crucifijo grande” (a large crucifix) accompanied by additional brothers in black shirts carrying axes. Franciscan friars brought up the rear of the train. Choral music was not a part of the ritual, only “cuatro trompetas tañendo de dolor” (four trumpets resounding with sadness). The procession visited five stations: the Convent of San Francisco, the cathedral, and the churches of El Salvador, Santa María Magdalena, and San Pablo.<sup>180</sup>

It would be a mistake to suggest that spectators at the edges of the processional were in some way excluded from the ritual action, physically or otherwise. Members of the community who did not shed their own blood by performing self-mortification rituals had many opportunities to participate actively in the dramatic narrative, perhaps most concretely by interfacing with the temporal-spatial narrative of Christ’s journey to Golgotha and assuming the biblical roles of the witnesses. Spectators of these, and many other occasions for performative penance, insinuated themselves into ritual theatre with tearful demonstrations, as described in Encina’s *La Trivagia*. By the early sixteenth century, both male and female confraternity members participated in penitential processions, and although women were later banned from flagellant activities by the Church, they played a part in the procession in other ways. Women

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<sup>179</sup> Flynn, “Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets,” 154. The processions were disciplined and orderly, and participants beat themselves just to the point that blood began to flow. The point was “the visible, *stylized* combination of these bodily techniques with other gestures, sights, and sounds in the overall staging of the spectacle.” Merback, “Living Image of Pity,” 162.

<sup>180</sup> Teresa Laguna Paúl and José Sánchez Herrero, *Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 58.

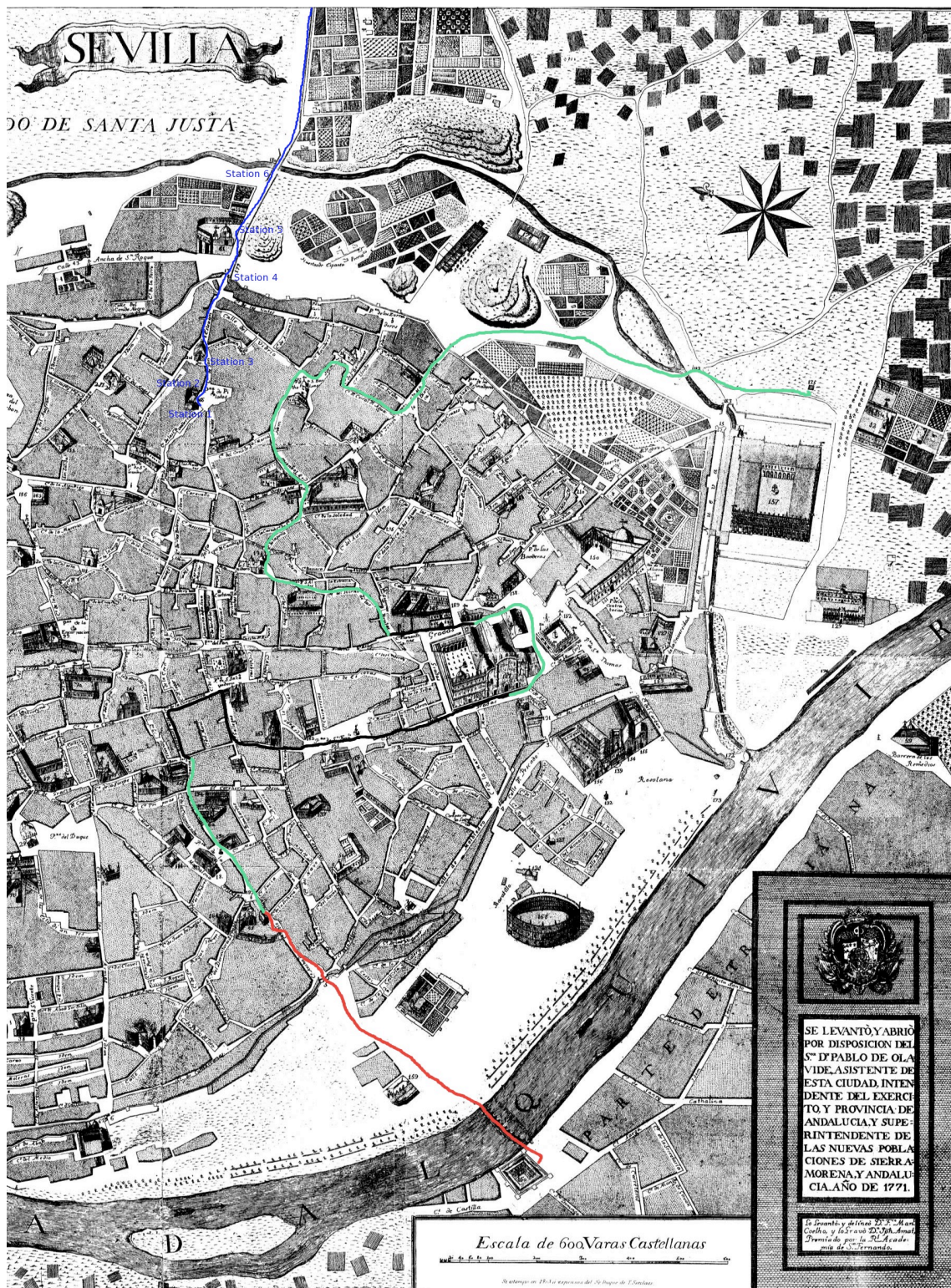
entered the procession carrying candles, tending to penitents' wounds, wiping their brows, and offering water; these merciful interventions into the processional flow were mimetic of Veronica's legendary role in the Passion.<sup>181</sup> Women also partook in public weeping, which during Holy Week would have strongly suggested an imitation of the Virgin Mary, who, from the central Middle Ages in Spain, was the primary focal point for devotion in the constellation of saints.

In 1521, several Sevillian penitential confraternities adopted Marquis Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera's Vía Crucis for their processional route, using it at a site for engaging in acts of flagellation and reciting prayers.<sup>182</sup> The participating brotherhoods included the *Exaltación de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Pendiente del Santo Madero de la Cruz y Lágrimas de Nuestra Señora, Santo Crucifijo del San Agustín*, and *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*, a "cofradía del negros" (confraternity of blacks). The Seville Vía Crucis began in the chapel of the palace of Enríquez de Ribera and concluded at a location outside the city walls known as *Cruz del Campo*, which represented Calvary. Like the *Quemado de la Tablada* ("the burning place"), which marked the end of the procession of victims of the Inquisition, Cruz del Campo was beyond the walls of the city (Figure 3.8, green and purple lines). The trajectory of both processions gestured towards the east and Jerusalem. The course of the Vía Crucis began near the center of the city and passed through the parish of San Estaban, a converso neighborhood that received attention

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<sup>181</sup> Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 157-58. Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 133.

<sup>182</sup> Details about the early modern Vía Crucis in Seville are from Juan Gomez de Blas, *Memoria muy devota y Recuerdo muy provechoso, del Camino trabajoso que hizo Christo Redemptor Nuestro, para encaminarnos á la Gloria, y de los pasos que dió con la pesada Cruz sobre sus delicados ombros, desde la Casa de Pilatos, hasta el Monte Calvario, donde fué crucificado y muerto, para darnos vida eterna, Cuyo trecho es el que comienza desde las Casas de los excelentísimos Señores Duques de Alcalá, hasta la Cruz del Campo desta Ciudad de Sevilla* (Seville, 1653), BCC, 57-1-12, ff. 167<sup>r</sup>-168<sup>r</sup>; Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias religiosas de Sevilla*, 64, 184-89; Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain*, 144-45; Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," 49-104; and Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 151-72. I only mention a few of the stations here; the reader is directed to the sources above for information on all twelve stations of the cross in Seville.



**Figure 3.8**  
Map of processions in early modern Seville

**Legend**

- Purple:** Via Crucis
- Green:** auto da fe
- Red:** segment of the auto da fe once the route was extended to the castle of Triana in 1482.
- Black:** portion of the auto da fe that corresponds to the route of the Corpus Christi

from the Inquisition. José Bermejo y Carballo estimated the distance of the passage from the palace to the Cruz del Campo to be 3,321 paces (approximately 997 meters).

The first Station of the Cross was commemorated within the courtyard of Enríquez de Ribera's palace (called *La Casa de Pilatos*, "the House of Pilate," to this day), after Mass was heard in the chapel. The chapel contains a stone replica of the column upon which Jesus was bound and received lashes. Because the penitents could not all fit in the chapel, they congregated in the patio outside. From the patio the procession passed beneath the entrance arch (built in 1528), which was inscribed with the narrative of the Marquis's pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Figure 3.9).<sup>183</sup> In the small square outside the palace, the murmur of prayers and the crack of lashes emanated from the crowd of penitents as they began their march (Figure 3.10). According to archival records from 1653, existing churches, convents, and hermitages substituted for stational landmarks along the *Vía Crucis*.<sup>184</sup>

Station two, where Christ is burdened with the cross, was located about twenty-three yards from the entrance arch of the Casa de Pilatos. At this point a large cross carefully wrapped in rough cloth (perhaps to protect it from the blood of the penitents) was elevated. The parish church of San Esteban (station three) stood for the place of Jesus's first fall and further down the street near the *Puerta de Carmona* (one of the most famous gates of the city and certainly the oldest) Jesus's encounter with his mother (station four) was commemorated. The area before the gates of the city was open and provided space for additional mourners and spectators to take part in the ritual. Penitents paused here, at the plaza of Santas Justa y Rufina (now plaza de San Agustín). According to the poet Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán, when Fernando III delivered Seville from the Muslims, he dedicated "a magnificent church and monastery on the site of the

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<sup>183</sup> Vicente Lleó Cañal, *La Casa de Pilatos* (Madrid: Electa, 1998), 35.

<sup>184</sup> Gomez de Blas, "*Memoria muy devota*," ff. 167<sup>r</sup>-168<sup>r</sup>.



**Figure 3.9**  
Archway entrance to the patio of *Casa de Pilatos*



**Figure 3.10**  
Plaza outside *Casa de Pilatos*

prison of Justa and Rufina.”<sup>185</sup> The two saints were also commemorated at this location during the Corpus Christi procession and on the day of their feast through the early modern period, instigating a powerful amalgamation of political, hagiographic, and sacrificial meanings through the present experience of sacred space, sight, and pain.<sup>186</sup> Logistically and narratively, station four would have implored collaborative weeping and wailing.

Station six, where Veronica wipes the sweat from Christ’s brow, was located at the Convent of San Benito. Along with the eighth station of the cross, where “las hijas de Sion, llorando a Cristo” (the daughters of Zion, weeping for Christ) were to be found, the sixth station offered another opportunity for observers of the procession to enter into the historical narrative with tearful reenactments of pity.<sup>187</sup> The simultaneity of the phenomena of tearful lamentations and physical signs of pain during Holy Week flagellant processions was not coincidental: disclosure of human blood resonated metonymically with the expelling of fluid tears.

The *Vía Crucis* merged *co-passio* with embodied Passion performance, helping penitents mediate competing demands on the social subject: the sacred and profane, body and spirit, present ritual and future salvation, substance and metaphor. These dichotomies were bridged by the technical and kinesthetic accomplishment of performing bodies to imitate the divine in sometimes monstrous proportions, displaying the weakness of the body in pain in order to suggest strength of spirit. The Spanish Passion procession was a gateway for the mobilization of *afección*; it was a path for the tortured body to accomplish affective empathy and engage

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<sup>185</sup> Medieval and early modern Sevillians celebrated the feast of Justa and Rufina with sermons and religious procession on July 17. Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 36.

<sup>186</sup> Martín de la Torre, “*Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo*,” 49-104.

<sup>187</sup> “En la octava Cruz, se considera, quando salieron las hijas de Sion, llorando a Christo, y les respondió su divina Magestad: *No lloreis hijas de Sion.*” (In the eighth station, it is understood, when the daughters of Zion, weeping for Christ, and his divine Majesty answered them: Do not cry, daughters of Zion.) Gomez de Blas, “*Memoria muy devota*,” ff. 167v.

performative memory, not as a representation of the past, but rather as a “perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present.”<sup>188</sup>

The suffering flesh was conceived of as open and malleable, and the present experience of a bleeding, tearful body coalesced around a nexus of emotional and athletic engagement with sacred narrative. The corporal technique of recalling the divine into being depended on the human subject effectuating a union of contrition with imitation, and the degree to which this junction was possible was directly connected to the degree of commitment, imagination, and concentration of the ritual participant. Disciplines, penitence, and athletic training (forms of bodily transformation through spatial and object interaction) “have the effect of something more than human, the dignity and gravitas of tragedy.”<sup>189</sup> These activities move the body from conventional ritual and to the space of the sacred.

### *Auto da fé*

Both Dominican and Franciscan monasteries were well established in late medieval Seville, although it important to note the increase of Dominican influence with the arrival of the Inquisition in 1480. Under these conditions, the coexistence of penitential self-flagellation and Inquisitional penances such as flogging were more than coincidental.<sup>190</sup> I am not asserting a cause and effect relationship between the two. Rather, I argue that these parallel practices of public pain were linked together in a complex web of penitential practice and were mutually reinforcing. Christ-like bodies in pain symbolically filled the cavity left by the absencing of Seville’s Jews.

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<sup>188</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire,” *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 8.

<sup>189</sup> Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 2006), 147.

<sup>190</sup> Embodiment of the Passion fit into a scheme of suffering described by Bestul as a “general cultural attitude toward the body and a common understanding of what can fittingly be done by a human person to the body of another and what can be fittingly represented.” Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 149-50.

Absence was the structuring theme and spatial motif that framed the ritual manifestation of God on earth. In the period of Inquisition in Spain, the void against which the Christian God was re-presented was outlined by the ritual murder of the abased other of society. In a city whose spatial character was multicultural (Roman and Almohad walls around the city, the walls of the judería, the minarets of converted mosques, Christian Gothic architecture, and mudéjar textiles), old identities died hard; symbolic traces of pre-conversion artifacts framed the bodies of the converted, and the ongoing effort to homogenize corporal signs of religious affiliation rebounded against historical survivals in architecture.<sup>191</sup> With each expulsion and extermination of non-Christian bodies, an outline of the space where a body once stood remained in the ancient stones.

Public rituals of pain were characterized by vacancies. For instance, in many cases condemned heretics were burned *in absentia*. The immolation of the heretical body (and effigies) in flames produced another absence, the absence of a body. From the establishment of Christian rule in the thirteenth century, in fact, Seville's identity was infused with the memory and reanimation of absent bodies. As discussed in the previous chapter, the capilla real of the converted mosque of Seville was built over the crypts of Muslim potentates from the Almohad period. It was also believed that the rock in the crypt of the church of San Agustín was the place where the sisters Saints Justa and Rufina were scourged.<sup>192</sup> After her death, Justa's body was pulled from a well by the bishop of Seville, Sabinus. Finally, converso identity itself was predicated upon the trope of absenteeism: the elided (yet persistently present) Jew.

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<sup>191</sup> "Tras la conquista de la ciudad por los cristianos, se conserva la mezquita, que estuvo reservada a los mudéjares hasta el siglo XV en que desapareció la morería sevillana. A partir de entonces pasa al culto cristiano conservándose la construcción árabe." R. Cubero, I. M. Vioque, N. Vera Rodríguez, N. López López, et al., *Apuntes sobre el origen y evolución morfológica de las plazas del casco antiguo de Sevilla* (Ayuntamiento de Sevilla Junta de Andalucía: Sevilla, 1987), 72.

<sup>192</sup> Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 36.

More than one scholar has observed that the inquisitorial process itself was theatrical.<sup>193</sup> The auto da fé, of course, was spectacle on a grand scale and, as I have been arguing, the confessional process encouraged the accused to produce outer transcripts of faith that often belied their inner affect. The trial and performances of penance were also highly theatrical. If inquisitors failed to coercively elicit a confession from the accused, the case proceeded to trial. Once all documentary evidence was collected, a *consulta da fé* (consisting of inquisitors, theological advisors, representative of local bishop) was assembled to determine the case. Four outcomes were possible: acquittal (rare), penance, reconciliation, or death (either in person or in effigy).<sup>194</sup> Penance usually applied to those who confessed their guilt, and the most commonly performed penitential act for a victim of the Inquisition was the wearing of a penitential costume called the *sanbenito* (Figure 3.11, large red diagonal cross). The status of a person who confessed after a trial was marked by *revolto del fuego* (Figure 3.12) and the status of a person condemned to burn by flames and dragons (Figure 3.13). It is not known when these categories were put into place, but at least from the beginning of the Inquisition special yellow tunics were provided for those found guilty of heresy.<sup>195</sup> After a period of wearing, the garment was often hung in the parish church, during the life of the penitent and even after his or her death. Those reconciled with the Church (relapsed heretics who confessed) were subject to flogging, galley service, seizure of goods, prison sentence, and indefinite wearing of the *sanbenito*.<sup>196</sup> Families of those who lost their lives were also subject to ritual penances over a long period. When hung

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<sup>193</sup> Andrew Herskovits, *The Positive Image of the Jew in the 'Comedia'* (Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, 2005). Herskovits claims that the origins for Baroque theatricality were partly related to the “converso problem” and “the necessity for people to live a lie” (31).

<sup>194</sup> Eighty percent of victims in early modern Spain were either given penance or reconciled. Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, xv.

<sup>195</sup> Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 120.

<sup>196</sup> Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 49. The word *sanbenito* comes from the Spanish name for Saint Benedict and is an ironical reference to the Benedictine scapular.



**Figure 3.11**  
*Sanbenito*, 17th-century  
drawing, Spanish

**Figure 3.12**  
*Revulto de fuego*

**Figure 3.13**  
Condemned prisoner of  
the Inquisition

outside the parish church, the sanbenito of the deceased assured a mark of infamy and shame upon later generations of the converso family. Throughout the first two decades of the Inquisition, individual offenders or their heirs were offered opportunities to be released from additional penitential acts or prohibitions by purchasing “rehabilitation.”<sup>197</sup>

The auto da fé was embedded in the mise-en-scène of religious procession in Seville.<sup>198</sup> Like all religious festivals, the day of the auto commenced with a celebration of Mass at the cathedral. From early morning onward the accused were lead in procession accompanied by familiars. The procession began in the southern suburb of Triana, made its way across the Guadalquivir river, past the thirteenth-century *Torre del Oro* built by the last Muslim ruler of Seville, the Monastery of San Pablo (residence of the Dominican Inquisitors), and onto the Plaza de San Francisco and cathedral, where the sentences were pronounced (Figure 3.8, line in red).<sup>199</sup> The accused (which included those who confessed and were given more lenient sentences) were compelled to wear yellow garments (or the sanbenito) and carry unlighted candles. Lighted candles, of course, were regularly carried in Passion processions, the light of salvation contrasting to the extinguished candles of the auto da fé. While ritual performers of the Vía Crucis assembled, heard Mass, began their stational procession at the center of the city space and completed their spatial discourse outside its walls, the auto da fé procession produced a cyclical narrative, from the prisons of Triana, through the main thoroughfares and plazas of Seville, and

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<sup>197</sup> Between 1488 and 1497, the Inquisition in Andalusia collected 33,312,768 *maravedies* for commuted sentences and reconciliations with the Church. Penitential acts for more minor offenses could include pilgrimages, flogging, and wearing of the sanbenito. Ladero Quesada, “Judeoconversos andaluces en el siglo XV,” 38-39.

<sup>198</sup> I have drawn the routes of the Vía Crucis, auto da fé, and parts of the Corpus Christi onto the oldest surviving street plan of Seville, from 1771. Cortés José, García Jaén, and Zoido Naranjo, *Planos de Sevilla*, 22 (Figure 3.8).

<sup>199</sup> Within a few weeks of the establishment of the Inquisition in Seville in January 1481, six men and women were executed, and in response many conversos fled the city. Others concealed weapons in their homes in preparation for a planned active resistance. By order of Isabel, the population of the city was ordered to remain in their residences and guards were placed at the city gates. Because the number of people arrested attempting to flee Seville was so great, the location of the inquisitor’s prison was moved to the castle of Triana, across the Guadalquivir. Andrés Bernáldez, “Recollections of the Reign of the Catholic Kings,” in *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. and trans. Lu Ann Homza (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), 6-7.

back through the city gates at the *Puerta de Carne* to the eastern suburbs of the city and site of execution. It is unlikely that the two processions shared street space, since the Casa de Pilatos and Vía Crucis were situated to the north of the known sites of the auto da fé. However, the auto da fé shared at least two thoroughfares with the Corpus Christi procession (Figure 3.8, black line).<sup>200</sup> Also, the Vía Crucis was not the only processional course for the celebration of the Passion; like most processional events in Seville—including the auto da fé—confraternities of blood and light incorporated the Plaza de San Francisco and the *Plaza del Salvador* into their ritual processions of Holy Week and Lent.<sup>201</sup> The base vocabulary of processional ritual shared by the many penitential activities provided a meaningful frame that allowed Seville's penitents to enter into the experience of suffering of the debased other.

The Seville cityscape of today is a product of Roman, Almohad, medieval Christian, and Baroque era design and re-construction. Rarely can you walk more than a block without being led into open-air plazas of various sizes and dimensions. The smaller plazas took their shape in the medieval period and form hexagons, rhombuses, triangles, and semicircles. Many of the larger, symmetrical plazas and wider avenues were carved out of preexisting street patterns during the eighteenth century. Prior to the eighteenth century, Seville had—for the most part—an ancient, Islamic character. The streets were private, narrow and the grid was constructed in a way that discouraged congregation.

The particular architectonic dimensions of Seville urban space narratively structured ongoing religious events, festivals, and processions, and required that existing smaller plazas be

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<sup>200</sup> Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 114. The Corpus Christi procession and the auto da fé would have traversed many of the same streets and plazas. The auto da fé was accompanied by religious confraternities that participated in Holy Week, Corpus Christi and other religious festivals. Lléo Cañal, *Fiesta grande. El Corpus Christi en la historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Biblioteca de Temas Sevillanos, 1980), 27-28. In the auto da fé of Toledo in 1486, the procession apparently followed the precise course of the Corpus Christi. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 207.

<sup>201</sup> Herminio González Barrionuevo, *Los Seises de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Editorial Castillejo, 1992), 102.

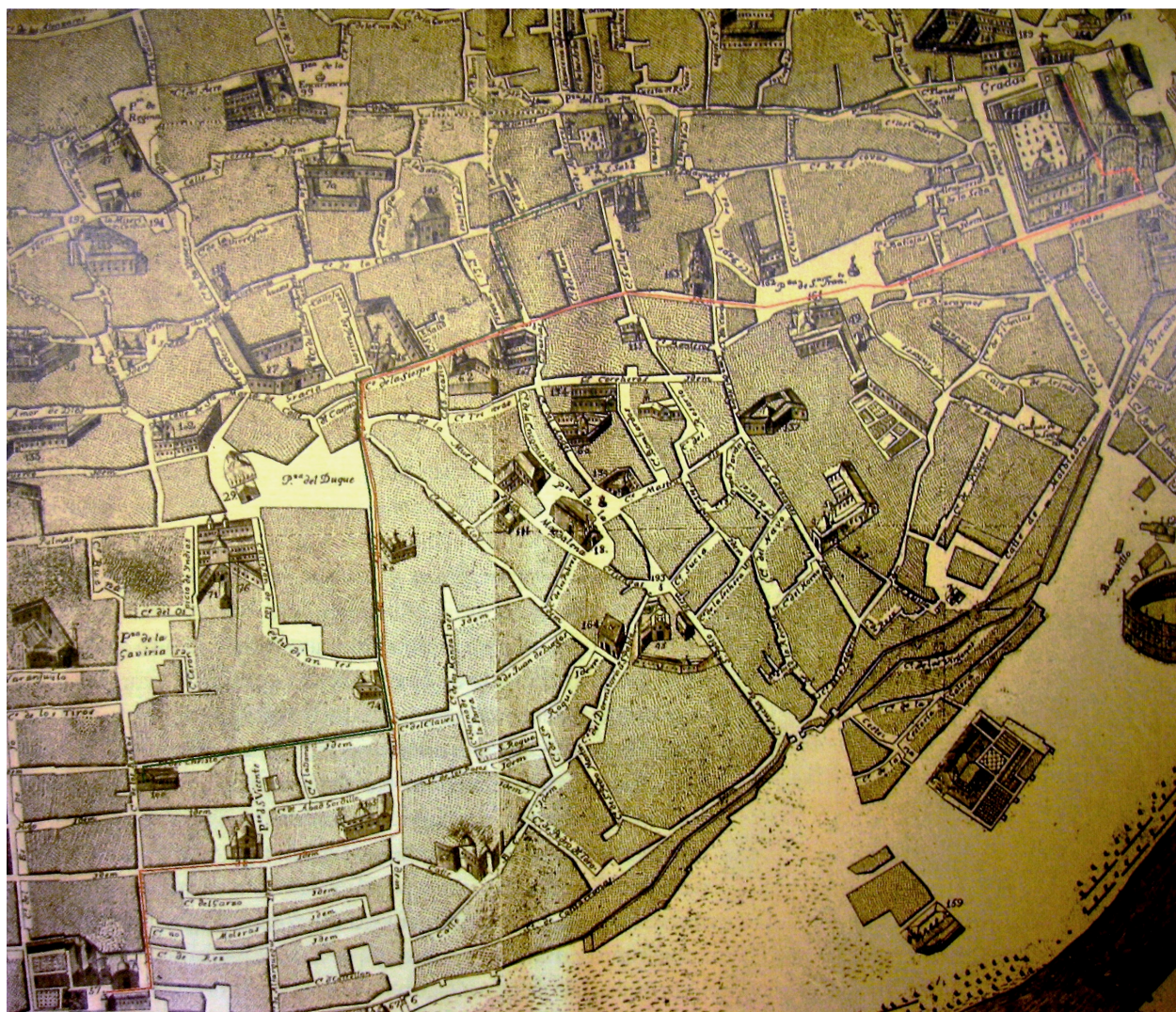
incorporated into the processional arrangement. Countless modestly sized plazas in the streetscape of Seville, often adjacent to a parish church or convent, were part of a network of narrow thoroughfares. In order to accommodate the large crowds that attended religious and judiciary festivals, the processional stream would have been designed to intersect as many of these plazas as possible. This is made clear when one attends a religious procession today. Many of the streets are impassable to anyone other than the members of the processions themselves, and the viewing public will most often congregate and wait for passing processions in plazas (if not in a shallow doorway or from a window). In this diagram of a late sixteenth-century Holy Friday procession, the effort to maximize the use of open city space is apparent (Figure 3.14).

The auto da fé was a highly complex ritual, and therefore was meticulously planned and stage managed. The high cost of preparations meant that auto da fé processions were held infrequently. Dates were chosen to coincide with special religious feasts, especially celebrations of the Triumph of the Cross, which coincided thematically with Good Friday (the main event for disciplinantes). Announcements, accompanied by trumpeting, were made for the auto ahead of time, inviting people to attend on a stipulated date. Penitential robes and hats were made well in advance. Two raised stages were built in the plaza of the cathedral—one for the penitents on trial and one for inquisitorial, ecclesiastical, municipal and royal officials.<sup>202</sup> Francisco Bethencourt argues that the prototypes for the separate stages were pageant cars (*carros*) found in liturgical dramas of the Corpus Christi procession.<sup>203</sup> Unlike pageant wagons, however, the scaffolding

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<sup>202</sup> Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 37. Prior to the Second Vatican Council of 1962, the celebration of the Triumph of the Cross was observed on May 3 and September 14. Robert Gantoy and Romain Swaeles, eds., *Days of the Lord: The Liturgical Year: Solemnities and Feasts*, vol. 7, trans. Madeleine Beaumont and Mary Misrahi (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1994), 223-24.

<sup>203</sup> Bethencourt, "Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," 157-58.



**Figure 3.14**  
Holy Friday procession, Seville, late sixteenth century

that accommodated the inquisitors, clergy, municipal leaders, and prisoners (with tiered benches of “infamy” and “honor”) was static and often quite large. Fixed stages constructed in large, open spaces facilitated continuous and focused viewing by the citizens of the city on the rituals of condemnation and penance.

The auto da fé generally processed in the following sequence. A band of soldiers led the way, followed by Dominican priests. The prisoners followed these, each accompanied by a guard and two friars. Those who were accused of lesser crimes appeared first, those facing execution last. Men were segregated from women, and even in cold weather the victims were bareheaded and unshod. Like Holy Week penitents, the bare bodies of those convicted by the Inquisition were foregrounded. Crying and wailing were common and, although these expressions of sorrow were more likely instigated by fear and shame than by a sense of contrition, in this case, tears and affect motivated by fear conformed to the penitential category of attritio. The convicted were followed by the municipal authorities—magistrates, judges, and officers of the town—and then the secular clergy. The rear of the train was occupied by the members of the Holy Office, bearing the standard of the Inquisition.<sup>204</sup> Arriving at the plaza of the cathedral, the Dominicans preached and the sentence was read. Penances included disciplining of the body with scourges of hemp cord (barebacked, as with the self-mortification of Holy Week), fasting, monetary fines, removal of positions in public office, and the sanbenito.<sup>205</sup> From this point, the prisoners were transferred to the custody and jurisdiction of

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<sup>204</sup> T. M’Crie, ed., “The Reformation in Spain” in *The Works of Thomas M’Crie*, vol. 3 (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1855), 132-33.

<sup>205</sup> Fidel Fita, quoted from Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 207-08.

the municipal authorities and the train was lead through the eastern part of the city to the Puerta de Carne.<sup>206</sup>

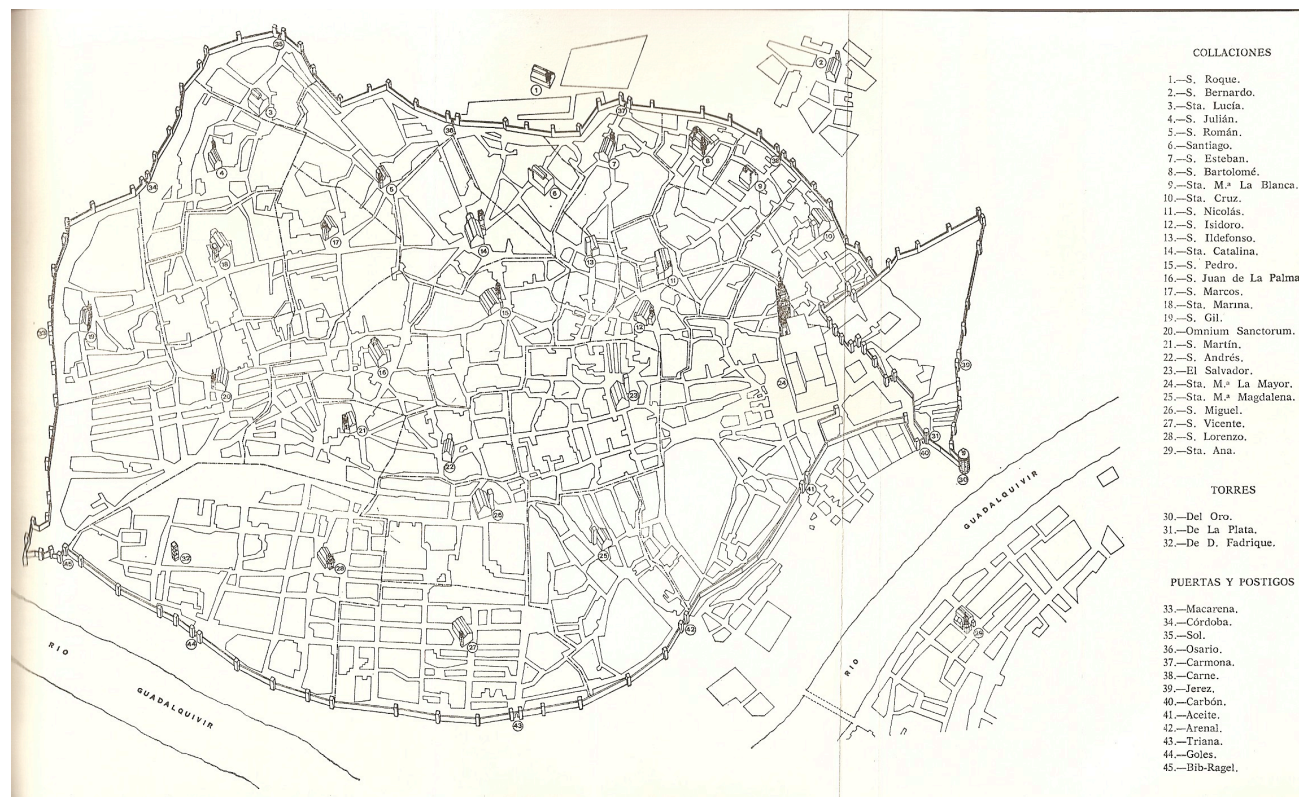
Six of the eight parishes that received intense scrutiny from the Inquisition in Seville (Santiago, San Esteban, San Bartolomé, Santa Maria la Blanca, San Isidoro, and El Salvador—6, 7, 8, 9, 12 and 23 in Figure 3.15) were situated directly northeast of the cathedral and Santa Cruz district (10 in Figure 3.15), the judería of the medieval period.<sup>207</sup> The fact that Santa Cruz was not one of the districts targeted by the Inquisition suggests that by 1481 Jewish conversos had abandoned Santa Cruz and moved into neighborhoods to the east and north, undoubtedly to disassociate themselves from their past coreligionists.<sup>208</sup> For a number of practical and tactical reasons, the progress of the auto da fé would have cut through at least two of the parishes containing a high population of conversos (and crypto-Judaizers). In order to reach the place of burning, the procession passed through the Santa María la Blanca district, a large parish directly adjacent to Santa Cruz where a great many conversos and Jews lived in the fifteenth century. An important Dominican convent was located in this district, making it an obvious choice for a “station” of the auto da fé. Adding to the symbolic efficacy of space, the church of Santa María la Blanca was one of only a handful of converted synagogues in the city. The rest (approximately 23) had been destroyed at the end of the fourteenth century by the archdeacon of Ecija (Seville), Ferrant Martínez. It is likely that the procession of the auto da fé also intersected the major plaza in the San Bartolomé district. The church of San Bartolomé that resided on the

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<sup>206</sup> Toby Green, *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2007), 34. Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 116.

<sup>207</sup> San Juan de la Palma and San Vincente were also the focus of Inquisitorial attention. Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía*, 145.

<sup>208</sup> After the conquest of 1248, the Jewish residents of the city were moved during repartimiento to land around the existing plaza del Cristo de Burgos, which formed the ancient Jewish Quarter. In 1360 the Jews were relocated again to the Santa Cruz district, forming the new Jewish Quarter. This was set up as an isolated enclosure within the city, behind a wall along Calle de Garcia Perez. Cubero, et al., *Apuntes sobre el origen*, 84.



**Figure 3.15**  
Parishes, medieval and early modern Seville

plaza was also a converted synagogue, and because of the denotative value of the site (spatio-religious conversion), its size, and its proximity to Puerta de Carne, the plaza provided an ideal space for onlookers of the *auto da fé*.<sup>209</sup>

The procession passed the Jewish cemetery of Seville next to the Puerta de la Carne, and then continued to the place of execution outside the walls of the city, the Quemado de la Tablada. The “place of burning” on the Tablada was built in 1481; it was adorned with four large statues representing prophets. The architect of the Quemado was a zealous Seville dignitary who also helped finance its construction. It was later discovered that he was a follower of Judaism. Ironically and tragically, he became one of first victims of the Inquisition.<sup>210</sup> Additional performative moments potentially occurred at the Quemado. If the condemned repented their sins, the audiences could be moved to tears; conversely, the condemned could provoke jeers and derision by playing the “villain” and by cursing the community.<sup>211</sup> In the first years of the Inquisition, the entire schedule—from morning Mass to the burning of recalcitrant heretics—could be completed by the afternoon. However, as the years passed, the *auto da fé* increased in size and spectacle and would progress into the night.

### ***Affective convivencia***

In the preceding pages I have analyzed a wide range of penitential processions and rites in late medieval Seville. Although the practices were diverse in intention and in form, all were gateways for the mobilization of affective *convivencia*, a path for the tortured body to

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<sup>209</sup> The third surviving synagogue structure that survived after the late fifteenth-century expulsions was the church of Corpus Christi in the Santa Cruz district. Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, *La educación en la Hispania antigua y medieval* (Madrid: Ediciones Morata, 1992), 272.

<sup>210</sup> Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, eds., *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest of Times to the Present Day*, vol. 6 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1916), 588.

<sup>211</sup> Andreas Höfele, “Stages of Martyrdom: John Foxe’s Acts and Monuments,” in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 81-93. Enders argues that medieval and Renaissance audiences to spectacular punishment sought a cathartic experience while witnessing a public execution. Enders, *Medieval Theater of Cruelty*, 191-92.

accomplish an experience of the other. As a method of cohabitation, *convivencia* among religious and ethnic groups in the waning years of the medieval period was experienced through mimetic practices of violence. The prevalent sense of loss in Inquisitional and post-expulsion Seville was documented by the extreme preoccupation of Sevillians with processional enactments during this period. Spatial, gestural, and metonymical correlations existed between the two major processional activities in early modern Seville: the *Vía Crucis* and *auto da fé*. Like the prisoners of the *auto da fé*, the bodies of Holy Week penitents were subjected to extreme duress and the humiliating gaze of the public. Both prisoner and penitent were minimally clothed; exposure of the flesh fetishized the excesses of the human form by divulging its mutability beneath the force of the scourge. The *auto da fé* followed established processional routes through the streets, often travelling along thoroughfares used by flagellant confraternities. The lines between judicial, political, and religious enactments in Seville during this period were not so clearly drawn and the implications of utilizing identical spaces for sundry rituals would not have been lost on the spectator.<sup>212</sup> The way through the streets of Seville mapped parallel trajectories of kinesthetic empathy, trans-symbolic associations, associative memory, and surrogation.

The bloody mortification rituals that slyly imitated the punishment of lapsed conversos and heretics had the effect of crossing a thematic bridge of demonstrative humiliation, connecting the pathetic figure of Christ with the suffering, maligned non-Christians in society. In this way the Christian body appropriated signifiers of the other: voluptuousness, blood, tears, and potential chaos. In an attempt to relieve the anxiety of difference, penitents embraced and contained difference somatically, punishing those closely held differences a second time. If what

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<sup>212</sup> Stern, *Medieval Theater in Castile*, 266-67. For a general discussion of processional routes and their semiotic meaning in medieval cityscape, see Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989), 14-37.

Joseph Roach says is true, that sacrificial violence is expenditure useful to extend societies' sense of cohesion "in the face of a threat of divisive substitution,"<sup>213</sup> then we may be able to understand masochistic violence as an inversion: divisions are absorbed into the very site of the body.

This emphatic fetishization of profane and excessive bodies profoundly articulated a desire of Sevillians to come to terms with loss, inviting all to re-member corporal investments through the bodies of ritual actors. Embodied memory—"the space in which a thing happens for a second time"<sup>214</sup>—provided the stage for engaging this desire. The destroyed bodies of the victims of inquisitorial powers were metaphorically "buried" within the bodies of penitential participants. This engagement with heterodoxy signaled a negation of conventional social identity and symbolic submersion of self through corporal practices of the other. Within a structure of penitential feeling, phenomenology of coexistence meant a ritualization of the living body and a mnemonic revival of the dead.

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<sup>213</sup> Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 40.

<sup>214</sup> Paul Auster, *The Invention of Solitude* (New York: Penguin, 1988), 83.

**Chapter Four**  
**Imperial Performance in the**  
**Medieval Economy of Saint Veneration**

Las manifestaciones del temprano sentimiento político que hemos estudiado hasta aquí denotan que esa comunidad protonacional se desarrolla en un entorno conflictivo, en el que se levantan fuertes tensiones, en relación con las cuales se ha formado una nueva realidad política. La nación supone una dualidad, en cierto modo existencial: la nación y lo que no es la nación, a saber, el extranjero. El sentimiento del extranjero, del “otro” en relación a una existencia comunitaria, es de los de más antigua raíz en los orígenes históricos de la cultura europea.<sup>1</sup>

José Antonio Maravall

...el oro, con sus connotaciones místicas y escatológicas está en el mismo corazón de la religion del Descubridor.<sup>2</sup>

Alain Milhou

When I was seven years old my family lived in Bergamo, Italy. One of the memories from that time is of my sister Sophie and me being processed around a schoolyard on the shoulders of the local children while they shouted “Cristoforo Colombo, Sophia Loren! Cristoforo Colombo, Sophia Loren!” The children rejoiced to have Americans in their midst. I sensed at the time that the children’s Italian translation of our names was a way of recognizing the “Italian-American-ness” of Columbus and Loren, and by extension, the American-ness of the Italian children themselves—and ultimately the American-ness of the world. Having crossed the Atlantic, bearing the American identities, Sophie and I completed the circular journey of Columbus and Loren; we had brought Cristoforo and Sophia home.

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<sup>1</sup> “The manifestations of early political sentiment studied so far suggest that this protonational community develops in an environment of conflict, in which strong tensions arise, in relation with those with which a new political reality has formed. The nation represents a duality, to a certain extent existencial: the nation and that which is not the nation, namely, the foreigner. The sense of the foreigner, of the ‘other’ in relation to a communal existence, belongs to those of more ancient root in the historical origins of the European culture.” José Antonio Maravall, *Estado moderno y mentalidad social. Siglos XV a XVII*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1972), 500.

<sup>2</sup> “...gold, with its mystical and eschatological connotations, is at the very heart of the religion of the Discoverer.” Alain Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid: Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1983), 119.

The incantation of the children of Bergamo, and my own participation in the event, functioned within a historical imaginary that many schoolchildren learn from an early age: Columbus's discovery of America. Their rehearsal of this notion in a ceremonial setting was a way of raising Columbus from the dead, reanimating him in the body of an American boy. This is nothing new: theatricalizations of transatlantic history of discovery (parades, holidays, memorial observances, school plays) contribute to the invention and maintenance of European and American nationhood. That Columbus "discovered" the Greater Antilles is no less plausible than a new "discovery" of Italian schoolchildren in Bergamo. Both encounters undergo ongoing recording and restoration through the memory machine of performance.

The present chapter examines a number of related ceremonial acts that contributed to the constructions of imperial identities within the burgeoning Spanish empire during conquest and colonization of New Spain. As the religious and mercantile hub of the empire, Seville was a stage and thoroughfare for processional rituals that featured imperial themes.<sup>3</sup> The sovereign strength of the Castilian-Aragonese court increased measurably after the conquest of Granada and consolidation of the Iberian kingdoms, and the power of the subsequent Hapsburg emperors was maintained partly through the organization and mapping of new territories in expansive and universalizing ways—economic, evangelistic, militaristic, and theatrical.<sup>4</sup> While the Spanish domain expanded into Atlantic territories, many of the ritual events of the period grew in size, occupying larger spaces and travelling longer distances. Processional movement of sacred

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<sup>3</sup> "[T]he volume of shipping between Seville (whence all trade with Spanish colonies had to pass) and the Americas grew seventeenfold between 1511-15 and 1606-10." Robert S. DuPlessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 53.

<sup>4</sup> Whereas medieval maps and conceptions of space were qualitative and local, and functioned to orient the world around the spiritual center of Jerusalem, Ptolemaic graphic iteration of space was expansive and quantitative. The printing and distribution of Ptolemy's *Geographia* at the end of the fifteenth century revolutionized European cartography. Ptolemy's method of extending a grid over known and unknown space helped mapmakers and cosmographers plot and make known (in often flawed and distorted ways) Atlantic discoveries.

objects—still gravitationally tied to shrines in and around the spiritual hub of *La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede* of Seville—moved outward to encompass the diffusive imperial terrain. The props and scenography of festival enactments were gilded and exotic, and linked together discursive economies of sainthood and mineral enrichment. Like the Cantigas de Santa Maria and penitential processions, performances of empire in sixteenth-century Seville utilized human subjects and sacred objects in order to phenomenologically delineate spiritual, monumental, and colonial spaces.<sup>5</sup>

As in the late medieval period, Seville continued to be a highly performative city in the sixteenth century. The church of Seville was successful in harnessing the energies of municipal and economic interests, as well as the “militant and demonstrative faith” of Seville’s citizens, to create a city renowned for its brilliant fiestas.<sup>6</sup> These festivals of faith and nation included the spectacular, extravagant tableaux and autos sacramentales of the Corpus Christi celebration, the abundance of penitential processions of the *cofradías de sangre y luz*, royal entries, wedding masques, parading of Atlantic sailors and conquistadores, and displays of Amerindian goods and bodies. The performative integration of Amerindians into the theatrical landscape of the metropolitan community—at once a nucleus of colonial *hidalgo*, Christianity, and commerce—is what distinguishes Seville from the constellation of urban religious and monarchical destinations across Iberia. Seville served as a point of departure and destination in a circum-Atlantic performance circuit of mobile saints, conquerors, and conquered subjects.

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<sup>5</sup> John Elliott argues that the absence of the term “colony” prior to the age of discovery does not mean that the Spaniards lacked the capacity to think in imperial terms about the widespread dominations of their king in the medieval period. John Huxtable Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 38.

<sup>6</sup> Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain’s Golden Age* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1988), 44.

Amerindian performances were especially prominent during the second decade of the sixteenth century, the period of conquest and early administration of Mexico. In 1519, five Totonac Amerindians arrived in Seville, where they were dressed in European clothes and bejeweled for their presentation at court. In 1522, a second group of Totonacs recreated scenes of Aztec war and sacrifice before a private audience in Seville. In the year of the marriage of Carlos V and Isabel of Portugal (1526), the sons of Aztec lords demonstrated a traditional Mexica ball game. The following year, five Tlaxcalans traveled to Spain with Hernán Cortés. Finally, in 1528 a large delegation of Mexica entertainers and lords were received at the Seville palace of the Duke Medina Sidonia. Although motivations and affective lives of the Amerindian performers themselves were formed by the particular political alliances each tribe had with the Spanish, as well as the material conditions of their Spanish excursions, rarely does it appear that European audiences were able to distinguish between Totonacs, Tlaxcalans, and Aztecs, and their inability to discern the separate identities of heterogeneous peoples permitted a wide interpretive space for the projection of colonial fantasies.

As the epigraph to this chapter suggests, the presentation of New World objects and people to Spanish communities was a method of national self-definition through processes of religious and cultural juxtaposition. In a sense, New World peoples were included among Muslims and Jews as heretical others against which Christian subjectivities were defined. However, in the initial decades after first contact, indigenous Amerindians—so perplexingly strange to the hegemonic European community—were not identified within a general frame of difference alongside Jews and Muslims, who had lived on the Peninsula for centuries. In fact, during this period it was far from clear whether Amerindians—whose statuses as human subjects were uncertain to Spanish theologians—were capable of spiritual conversion. Amerindian belief

was entirely strange to Christianity, and the Church “did not simply have to contend with the heretical deviations or the apostasies with which it was familiar in the Old World, but now saw itself forced to employ its imagination regarding the novelties that the Evil Spirit manifested in America.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, the mere existence of a people that are never discussed in the bible produced a great deal of anxiety among Europeans and debate among Catholic jurists. Since the Amerindians did not belong to salvation history, questions persisted as to whether they had souls that could be converted. The missionizing brotherhoods pushed to have judgment made in favor of allocating human status to Amerindians since it benefited their own project of Christianization of the New World.

The outspoken Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas—whose accounts of Spanish brutality towards the Amerindians were employed by the enemies of imperial Spain to propagate the “Black Legend”—was influential in moving Pope Paul III to reinforce an earlier papal bull confirming the human status, and humane treatment, of Amerindians in 1537.<sup>8</sup> But despite these efforts of the brotherhoods and pope, the understanding of the spiritual status of Amerindians remained in flux throughout the sixteenth century, and the ongoing debate only heightened the anxiety about their presence in the Christian community. Were they soulless, inferior humans or a lost tribe of Adam that had strayed into terrible, unknown regions at the edges of the world?

The lack of consensus about the status of Amerindians, combined with the newness of the

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<sup>7</sup> Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, “New Spain’s Inquisition for Indians from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century,” in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 28.

<sup>8</sup> Starting in 1515, Las Casas voiced his opposition to the *encomienda* system (slavery) in the New World and in 1516, offered a list of propositions called *Memorial de Remedios para las Indias* for the protection of Amerindian rights. The 1542 publication Las Casas’s *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (and the 1599 printing with engravings by Theodor de Bry)—widely translated and distributed across European Catholic and Protestant kingdoms—contributed to the development of the anti-Spanish discourse called the Black Legend. For more on the connections between Las Casas and the Black Legend, see Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters* (New York: Methuen, 1986), and Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and New* (New York: Knopf, 1971).

encounter, inspired a range of reactions on the European continent, including expressions of disgust, fascination, and fear. As I argue below, it was the ambiguous and fluid identity of Amerindians that set the scene for novel theatrical representations of New World peoples and inscriptions of more familiar tropes from Christian devotional practices onto their bodies.

Imperial evangelistic and economic goals were often at odds as the Spanish wrangled with the contradiction of being ‘at home’ with colonialism, and the medieval ideology of *Reconquista* also helped resolve these conflicting dynamics.<sup>9</sup> By reviving concepts and methods of medieval crusade, early modern Sevillians conceived of themselves as part of a long history of religious imperialism, and theatres of Atlantic conquest (a sustaining supply of performative exceptionalism at the leading edge of Christian Europe) fed from the same historiographic trough. Like the Renaissance-style bell tower that was affixed to the top of the twelfth-century Islamic minaret (*La Giralda*) of the Seville cathedral in 1568 (Figure X.3), the Spanish Hapsburg Empire built upon its own historical and juridical understanding of medieval Spanish Reconquista, relating a narrative of continuity while updating many para-liturgical and militaristic performances to fit a new set of circumstances. As Angus Mackay puts it, the late medieval period was

a laboratory for testing and developing some of the government, social and economic institutions and forces which were to be prevalent in early modern Spain and parts of its Empire. It is, for example, a remarkable fact that almost all the institutions of the early modern period were developed during the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “[C]onversion and exploitation were contradictory goals. Despite the emergence of new legal and religious forms adapted from medieval models, it proved impossible to follow faithfully the pattern of Reconquista utilized on the peninsula.” Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, “The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 3 (July 1, 1993): 541.

<sup>10</sup> Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1977), 5.

Festivals and processions that had structured Christian, Muslim, and Jewish relations were adapted for the construction of attitudes and identities for the age of Atlantic discovery. The development of early Spanish nationhood through the aesthetic and ceremonial arts was bound up with the development of the colonial empire: “Corpus Christi, like all other nonpenitential processions, employed a vocabulary of triumph derived from Roman imperial ceremonies.”<sup>11</sup> Along with entire shiploads of New World flora, fauna, artifacts, codices, gold and silver, jewelry, and ritual costumes, indigenous people had their bodies put on display in entertainments, games, processions, masques, and mimetic ritual sacrifice. In addition to, and dependent upon, imperial identity formations made against a background of theatricalized “barbarism,” Amerindians were marketing tools for the sale of the lands and treasures of the West Indies and Mexico. As they made their way through Seville—Europe’s gateway to the New World—the souls of the Christianized Amerindians offered templates for religious conversion while their bodies displayed the promise of wealth in far away colonies.

In order to reconstruct the Amerindian soul to fit into a scheme of Christian salvation, the Amerindian body was inscribed with medieval imperial and devotional signs and directed to act within performance frames that educed Eucharistic, militaristic, and saints’ day spectacles. Ritual embodiment, rather than ritual effacement, was the primary dynamic in the displays of Amerindians. The goal of substitutional stagings of absented bodies (inanimate, nonidentified, and dead) was to make New World apparitions present, alive, and tangible. Although the performative canonicity of indigenous peoples from the New World was short-lived (eventually overtaken by coexistent theatres of difference and commodity), religious festival offered Christians on the Peninsula a way of synchronizing two actions that were at ideological odds

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<sup>11</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 9.

with one another: Christian conversion of spaces and bodies on the one hand, and on the other, domination and acquisition of those same resources on the grounds of radical difference.

Encounters with aboriginal cultures in the Renaissance initiated a centuries-long practice of bringing African, Asian, and American people to Europe and the United States “for aesthetic contemplation, scientific analysis, and entertainment.”<sup>12</sup> Performances of colonialist primitivism have been an ongoing presence in Western theatre over the last half-millennium. Some of the most best-known examples include John Dryden’s *The Indian Emperour; or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (1665), ethnographic shows, like Sarah Baartman’s appearance in London in 1810, the Noble Savage of the nineteenth-century melodramatic stage, Buffalo Bill’s *Wild West Shows*, and, as Coco Fusco argues, the spectacle of primitivism in early twentieth-century avant-garde art and performance. According to Fusco, the first Amerindians to perform for European audiences were “forced first to take the place that Europeans had already created for the savages of their Medieval mythology.”<sup>13</sup> Although I agree that Amerindians served as performative substitutes for medieval figures, I would qualify Fusco’s statement by proposing that savagery was not always the embodied metaphor. At least in the first decades of the sixteenth century, there was an attempt by Spanish producers of “Indian spectacles” to evoke the thaumaturgical might of medieval saints as well.

As in earlier chapters, my analysis of Amerindian performance involves three interrelated subjects: spaces, objects, and bodies. I contextualize material culture by explicating an imperial Christian structure of feeling that gave meaning to the intricacies of Amerindian theatres. These ideologies were established through papal decrees and the conversion tactics of evangelizing

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<sup>12</sup> Coco Fusco, “The Other History of Intercultural Performance,” in *The Feminist and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 208.

<sup>13</sup> It is not clear if Fusco means Christian devils or folk creatures, like the dragons and giants of the Spanish Corpus Christi festival, or the monstrous races at the borders of the world. *Ibid.*, 210.

brotherhoods, often in conjunction with the policies and legal opinions of the Castilian courts, many of which were activated into law through public ritual. I also expound upon the sense of Christian universalism on a local scale, in Corpus Christi processions, royal entries, devotional rites of the saints, and the migratory patterns of treasured bodies. The historical phenomenon of medieval and early modern devotion to saints, especially in the form of relic veneration and *translatio*, frames the discussion of Amerindian performance. The high-ranking impresarios of New World spectacles employed the aesthetics and narratives of relic devotion as a means of sanctifying Amerindian bodies, making them legible for audiences who were deeply invested in the promise of the New World. It is improbable that Spanish audiences for Amerindian displays (who were, in every instance, members of the privileged classes—wealthy financiers, nobles, bishops, foreign dignitaries and ambassadors, courtiers, and kings) apprehended a direct correlative between relics and indigenous peoples. The converted bodies that had purportedly been emptied of pre-conquest cosmological belief systems through baptism still carried outward signs of difference. However, by staging the conquered class within long-established performance forms imbued with regal and eschatological powers, Amerindian costumes, jewelry, props, and bodies were inscribed (reritualized) into a European cosmology of sacred power, and the audiences to these spectacles (mis)identified the treasures as the dear objects and minerals that enshrined the relics of kings and saints.

### ***Ideological and geographic space***

The history of European colonialism began long before Columbus's transatlantic crossing, and the European imaginary of a peripheral world filled with non-Christians was not nearly new. Centuries of crusades and pilgrimages to Jerusalem contributed to a distinct awareness of powerful Islamic societies in and around the Holy Land, an awareness that became fear of encroachment in the Latin West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. In response to

this event, a greater need arose to retool the strength of Christian faith from within, as well as to unify a western Christian community that could withstand imperial forces from without.

Successive popes exhorted European leaders to unite against the threat from the east. The formation of the idea of a Christian world surrounded by antagonistic tribes of unbelievers to the east and to the south was enforced by centuries of crusades and conflict with the Turkish, Almohad, Nasrid, Hafsid, and Ottoman empires, and culminated in 1480 when Mehmed II (Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 1444-1446 and 1451-1481) pushed through Eastern Europe and threatened Italy with war.<sup>14</sup>

Medieval Iberia—with its history of Reconquista and religious and ethnic diversity—played an important historical role in defining both the boundaries between Christians and infidels at the periphery of Christian medieval Europe and model for Christian expansion not only across southern Iberia, but in the colonization of Atlantic, Mediterranean, and African lands as well. A 1254 papal mandate instructing “archbishops and bishops of Spain to protect the crusaders who go to fight the Moslems in North Africa under the command of Alfonso X,” also granted crusaders remission of interest on debts owed to Jews.<sup>15</sup> The medieval mode of colonization on the Peninsula was employed during expansions into the Canary Islands, begun by the Genovese in 1312, Mallorcan and Catalán in 1320, and Portuguese in 1341. The administrations of satellite properties of Iberian kingdoms were based on *repartimiento*—colonization by repopulation and resettlement—which had been employed by Castilian monarchs throughout the Reconquista.<sup>16</sup> The Portuguese explorer Prince Henry “the Navigator” (Infante of

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<sup>14</sup> See Suzanne Conklin Akbari, “From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 19-34, for medieval geographical schema and racialization.

<sup>15</sup> Shlomo Simonsohn, ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), ASV, Reg. Vat 23, fol. 164r, 209-10.

<sup>16</sup> Stevens-Arroyo, “Inter-Atlantic Paradigm,” 516-18.

the Kingdom of Portugal, b. 1394—d. 1460) led excursions into the northern and western coasts of Africa in the fifteenth century, and by the middle of that century an active slave and gold trade had been established by the Portuguese as far south as the Cape Verde Islands.<sup>17</sup> Energetic Portuguese exploration and commercial shipping trade with ports along the African coast, and with Indonesia in the sixteenth century, brought desirable exotica and foreign objects to the European courts and merchant classes.

Historians of early modern Iberia have examined lines of institutional continuity from late medieval evangelization into the imperial, sacred possession of the New World, especially in light of the Counter-Reformation and the particularly stringent Christian ideological discourse that accompanied the conquest and colonization of the Americas.<sup>18</sup> These scholars have, in various ways, understood the Spanish Reconquista, unification of the Spanish kingdoms, and spiritual conquest of the Americas as participating in a single historical process, for instance, by examining the ways Church policy in the Old World influenced or dictated Christian practice in the Americas. The official ecclesiastical and state decrees and laws of the period tend to rely on pre-conquest letters, decretals, and spiritual tracts in order to cope with the strangeness of the situation in the New World, borrowing theological motifs to justify spiritual and military conquest. As the borders of the empire expanded, Christian self-confidence increased, enabling

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<sup>17</sup> For more on late medieval Iberian exploration see P. E. Russell, *Portugal, Spain, and the African Atlantic, 1343-1490: Chivalry and Crusade from John of Gaunt to Henry the Navigator* (Aldershot; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Books that examine transatlantic and transhistorical continuities between medieval and early modern Spain include James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979); Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz, eds., *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, ed., *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); and Anthony Pagden, *Peoples and Empires. Europeans and the Rest of the World, from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2001).

a belief in the likelihood of universal Christianization. For instance, when they inherited the Canary Island colonies, Fernando and Isabel alternatively employed an “abusively pragmatic approach to produce wealth and other, more sublime, concerns about evangelization and cultural protection,” a colonial experiment with a people whose culture differed greatly from those of Muslims and Jews.<sup>19</sup> Anthony Stephens-Arroyo has shown that these early colonial encounters “provided a major stimulus to modify and change policies which had characterized the medieval Reconquista encounter with Muslims and Jews, thus boosting the development of a new imperial model for later subjugating Mexico, Peru, and much of the American continent.”<sup>20</sup> Medieval approaches to colonizing the Atlantic were updated; by necessity, more vigorous conversion tactics were used on a population that had no prior contact with the Christian community.

Castile and Aragón had completed their long conquest of the southern Peninsula from the Moors in 1492, whereupon a precarious agreement was made between the Catholic Monarchs and Muhammad XII (ruler of Granada, 1482-1492) that allowed Islamic practice to continue. After the fall of Granada, public religious festivals and plays were not employed as a means of mass conversion with any degree of success by the evangelizing brotherhoods, although the Jeronimite Fernando de Talavera—who was made archbishop of Granada after it fell to Christian hands—had success in converting many Muslims through preaching and instruction.<sup>21</sup> The status of *mudéjares* after 1492 depended on the surrender treaties and decrees of the Spanish monarchs. Upon the completion of the centuries-long Reconquista of the southern Peninsula, Fernando and Isabel promised the Muslims religious freedom by the Treaty of Granada, and, at

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<sup>19</sup> Stevens-Arroyo, “Inter-Atlantic Paradigm,” 521.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.

<sup>21</sup> Mary Elizabeth Perry, “Moriscos and the Limits of Assimilation,” in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 275-76.

first, the new consolidated crown rejected the suggestions of the “zealous prelates and *frailes*” at court to offer the new Moorish subjects the choice of baptism or exile.<sup>22</sup>

Starting around 1498, earlier promises were reneged on as methods of coercion began to replace propaganda. In 1500, Fernando crushed a movement of Moorish resistance in the Alpujarras and the capitulating Moors were forced to convert. Clergy who were sent into Moorish lands were carefully monitored for their seamless faith, and the custom of performing mass baptisms was common in Granada up through the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Prior to traveling to New Spain in 1524 in order to establish parish churches, preach, and convert the indigenous peoples, the apostolic “First Twelve” Franciscan friars undertook a short-lived preaching mission among the *moriscos* in the mountains of southern Spain and from this experience were emboldened in their mission to eradicate the work of the devil among the native population. Orders given to the First Twelve Franciscans by Francisco de los Angeles (Commissary General of Ultramontane Franciscans and later Bishop of Coria) significantly informed conversion tactics in the initial decades after conquest. The First Twelve were the strictest of the sect of Observants (Franciscans who observed an austere life as a model for potential converts) and were committed to reviving thirteenth-century eschatological beliefs in divinely inspired missionary work for the benefit and salvation of souls in the last days of the world. The language of Francisco de los Angeles’s letter is imbued with militaristic fervor. His commands include defending “the King’s army already falling and presently fleeing from the foe, and, taking up the victorious contest of the heavenly Victor, you preach by word and work

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<sup>22</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1968), 38.

<sup>23</sup> Weckmann, *Medieval Heritage of Mexico*, 183.

unto the enemy.”<sup>24</sup> Throughout the sixteenth century, relevant ideas and techniques of evangelization flowed across the Atlantic in both directions as Jesuit and Franciscan mendicants sought to buttress conversion movements in Granada and the New World that had moved in very different directions.<sup>25</sup>

A specific model of evangelical theatre that could be transferred wholesale to the New World did not exist due to language barriers and the distinctive ritual traditions of New World peoples and European Muslims and Jews. It would take decades before the indigenous populations of Hispaniola and New Spain learned to read and speak Latin or Castilian for catechistic instruction (or for Spanish *autos sacramentales* to be translated into Nahuatl and other indigenous languages), unlike in Granada where the bible and the liturgy were translated into Arabic.<sup>26</sup> However, the clerics may at least have understood from the Granada experience the need to inject instructional and devotional text into the pre-established performance traditions of a target population. In Granada, Christian liturgies, translated into Arabic, were incorporated into the Muslim *zambra* dance, although the success of this enterprise paled in comparison to the massive, enthusiastic Flowery Festivals and other hybrid processional events conducted by mendicants and indigenous peoples in New Spain.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Francisco de los Angeles, “Orders Given to ‘The Twelve’ (1523),” in *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, eds. and trans. Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 62.

<sup>25</sup> Jerónimo de Benarcama, “Letter to Francisco de Borja, Granada, Spain (1566),” in *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, eds. and trans. Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale Graham (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 128-31.

<sup>26</sup> Perry, “Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation,” 275-76.

<sup>27</sup> For vivid descriptions of early colonial Christian festivals in Mexico, see Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Claudio Esteva Fabregat (Madrid: Dastin, 2001) and Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* (Mexico City: Porrúa, 1971). Among the Spanish chroniclers of Aztec and Amerindian life during conquest and early evangelization in Mexico, Mendieta and Motolinía’s accounts contain rich details on Christian festivals as Amerindians celebrated them. Although the friars’ accounts are valuable to theatre historians in this regard, the evidence must be used with caution. Ethnohistorians have recognized several drawbacks to the accounts of early Spanish chroniclers, including instances of generalization made about diverse

After unification of Spain under the Catholic Monarchs, the political situation in Granada remained unstable and the separate Iberian kingdoms retained many of their individual cultural characteristics. The exorbitant titulature of Carlos I (King of Spain, 1516-1556, and as Carlos V, Holy Roman Emperor, 1519-1556) attests to the fact that nationhood—as an ideology—was only in the beginning stages of development.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps because of these cultural, economic, and linguistic differences, the logic of Spanish imperial expansion was infused with a belief in worldly rights and heredity that implied universal lordship by a single legislative authority over diverse territories. For Spanish Hapsburgs, the ancient Roman concept *imperium* was also understood as monarchy “which underpins the medieval and early-modern conflict between empire and republic.”<sup>29</sup> *Imperium* would find its way into processional and sacramental stagecraft, employed on the Peninsula and in the New World in order to establish and maintain spiritual orthodoxy in the form of catechisms, preaching, religious spectacle, and sacramental drama. Notions of identity and of empire have long been associated with territory, and wrapped up in the dramatization of frontier conflict along the medieval boundary between Castile and al-Andalus—such as mock battles of *moros y cristianos*—are discourses and attitudes about possession of space, not only self-identifying measures taken by Christians or Muslims, but also the constructions of reciprocal identities through these performances of difference.<sup>30</sup>

The Roman ideology of *imperium* can be traced through the Middle Ages and into the early modern period in Spain, when jurists adapted the concept to accommodate imperial rights

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cultures across Mexico. Michael Ernest Smith, *The Aztecs*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 18.

<sup>28</sup> In addition to ruling over dozens of Mediterranean, eastern and northern European, and Atlantic territories, the Emperor’s title included *King of all Spains, of Castile, Aragón, León, Navarra, Grenada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Majorca, Sevilla, Córdoba, Murcia, Jaén, Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, King of Two Sicilies, of Sardinia and Corsica*.

<sup>29</sup> Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, 16.

<sup>30</sup> Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 31-66.

during the colonization of the Atlantic rim. A foundational metaphor in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* was that of the central, sustaining, and even transformational city capable of providing life's necessities, a concept not very different from Cicero's vision of Rome: the provincials are "barbarians" who must be ruled by the Republic "precisely because servitude in such men is established for their welfare."<sup>31</sup>

[T]he *civitas* also had the power to transform all those who entered it. So long, that is, as you were outside it, a barbarian or a provincial, you were in some sense less than human. Once inside, you would in time become 'civilized'.... Christianity was thought of as spatially co-extensive with *Imperium romanum*. The *orbis terrarium* thus became, in terms of the translation effected by Leo the Great in the fifth century, the 'orbis Christianum.'<sup>32</sup>

Anthony Pagden goes on to argue that the obligation to extend the empire to non-Christians is palpable in Cortés's prediction that King Carlos V would be named emperor of the New World. Cortés attempted to guarantee this rhetorical claim by drafting a fictionalized account of a ritual donation by Moctezuma II (Aztec Emperor, 1466–1520) of his empire to Carlos.<sup>33</sup> Again, the Atlantic empire was reinscribed—in histories rewritten and rehearsed—with the languages and rituals of the older empire.

Carlos V borrowed from the same reservoir of ancient discourse to help craft his imperial image. In 1517, the humanist Luigi Marliano invented an emblem for the emperor to symbolize his reign: the Pillars of Hercules.<sup>34</sup> In Greek and Roman mythology, the pillars marked the limits of the ancient world, *Nec Plus Ultra* (Nothing Further Beyond), at the Straits of Gibraltar. Carlos's emblem, however, read *Plus Ultra* (Further Beyond) and included images of an imperial bonnet and double-headed eagle soaring over distant seas, implying a dominion extending

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<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *De Republica*, quoted in Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, 24.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-25.

<sup>33</sup> Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, 32.

<sup>34</sup> Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title Page in England, 1550-1660* (Boston and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 186.

beyond the limits of the ancient world. An adaptation of the image is preserved in Francis Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (1620) (Figure 4.1).<sup>35</sup> Heraldry became stagecraft on the cityscape of Seville. At the north end of the *Alameda de Hércules* of Seville, built in 1574, sit two giant Roman pillars, one of which supports a statue of Hércules (the legendary founder of Seville), and the other of Julius Caesar (who supposedly revived the city during the Roman period) (Figure 4.2). Prior to the construction of the mall and pillars, the area was called *La Laguna* ("The Swamp") was the primary staging place for tournaments, running of the bulls, games of canes, and jousts in the city. The area remained a place of performance after 1574, when it was used to stage processional events.<sup>36</sup> Imperial architecture shaped the processional course, providing a frame through which Sevillians could imaginatively cross between ancient history and contemporary understanding of New World exploration and enrichment.

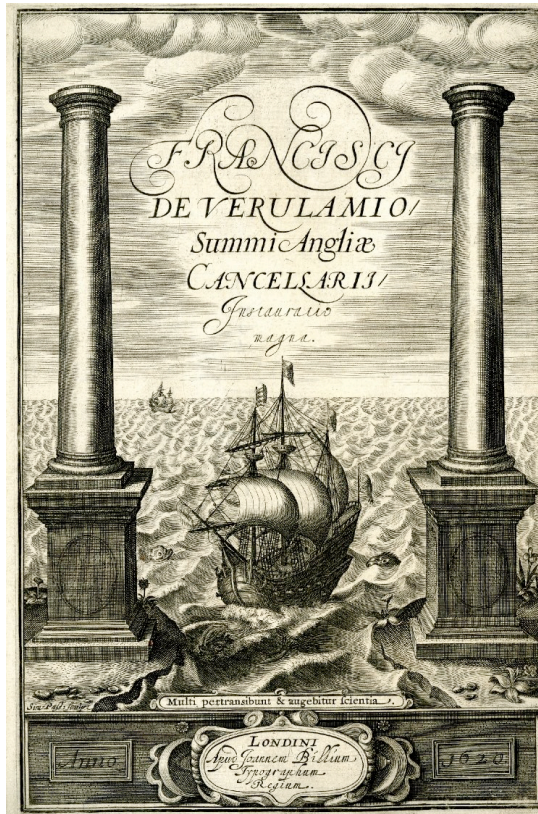
The Roman Church's entrance into the Atlantic colonization project provides additional information about early sixteenth-century structures of feeling of Iberian Christians and provides a framework within which to better understand processional displays organized by corporate, ecclesiastic, and royal bodies in the colonies and metropole. In the mid-thirteenth century, Pope Innocent IV developed a legal basis for a theory of papal relations with non-Christian societies that would have profound implications for canon law devised in response to fifteenth-century Atlantic discoveries. The essential question he raised was: "is it licit to invade the lands that infidels possess, and if it is licit, why is it licit."<sup>37</sup> In his defense of the efficacy of the Church in Muslim territories, he also argued that because the pope was responsible for the souls of *all* men, papal intervention in infidel societies was justified. Innocent IV added an important qualification

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<sup>35</sup> Francis Bacon, *Frontispiece, Instauratio magna*, 1620, The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.

<sup>36</sup> Antonio Blanco Freijeiro and Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1992), 232.

<sup>37</sup> Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 5.



**Figure 4.1**  
Frontispiece, Francis Bacon, *Instauratio Magna* (1620)



**Figure 4.2**  
Roman Pillars, *Alameda de Hércules*, Seville

to this rationale. He supported the view that the sins of the infidels could call forth Christian armies blessed by the pope; however, such forces could not be employed to impose baptism on the infidels because conversion to Christianity was strictly a voluntary act. The needs of Christian nations and the Christian Church crucially intersected in his next point. Innocent IV stated that the pope was authorized to send missionaries into the lands of infidels to instruct the people in Christianity, and “[s]hould an infidel ruler block the entry of peaceful Christian missionaries, the pope could order him to admit them or face an invasion by Christian armies.”<sup>38</sup> Innocent’s discussions about the relationship between Christians and the infidel helped to assert the superiority of spiritual power over temporal power.

Because contact between the Christian and the infidel world was not significant again until the fifteenth century, the canonists in the fourteenth century occupied themselves with the status of infidels within the boundaries of Europe. Then, as Portugal and Spain reached beyond their borders to the Canary Islands and African coast, the Church was drafted into Portuguese and Spanish territorial conflicts. In order to legitimize conquest, the requirements of the Christian Church were called into play and the centuries-old debate about the limits of coercive Christian evangelization in non-Christian worlds was reignited. The registers of Urban V in the early fifteenth century reflect the growing papal interest in missionary efforts in the Canary and Azores archipelagos (where the Franciscans were especially active), lands possessed by neither Muslims nor Christians.

Then, in 1455, Pope Nicholas V’s agentive, far-reaching bull *Romanus Pontifex* effectively ended the struggle between Portugal and Castile for control of the Canary Islands and Africa by giving them to the Portuguese (as well as the responsibility of converting the

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 11.

inhabitants to Christianity). It also reflected earlier precedents regarding the treatment of European infidels, but for the first time took into consideration the presence of Christian subjects in new lands unknown to both Islam and Christianity. Although the international dispute over trade routes and the rights of infidels were the targets of the bull's discourse, the edict created a frame within which the Church extended its own imperial authority. The bull outlined the pope's responsibility for the souls of men, extending it to every corner of the world: "the sheep divinely committed to Us might be brought to the Lord's one fold."<sup>39</sup> Reflecting Innocent IV's thirteenth-century tract, *Romanus* implied that missionaries would be unwelcome in these lands, and so Christians could justifiably use armed force to protect the preachers of the gospel there. "The visitor in such a just war was within his rights in seizing the goods and power of the conquered."<sup>40</sup>

Complementing these new spiritual/imperial doctrines from the Papal court, Fernando and Isabel populated their own court with intellectuals and historiographers who entertained similar imperial ideologies. The monarchs of Castile-Navarre replaced the aristocracy as principal court advisors with scholars and historiographers steeped in the *letrado* tradition of the fifteenth century. Briefly, this intellectual class maintained a concept of the history and purpose of Spanish monarchy based on medieval scholastic political theory and Roman law. The letrados argued for an all-powerful state, correct religious beliefs and practices, and rationalist adjudication of religious orthodoxy by examining outer works rather than inner piety. Letrados entertained millenarian fantasies about the Catholic monarchs by propagandizing Castilian

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<sup>39</sup> Frances G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1917), 21.

<sup>40</sup> Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 135.

Reconquista and imperialism.<sup>41</sup> A 1449 rebellion in Toledo directed against *conversos* would only heighten the militant pro-monarchism of the two leading letrado theorists, the conversos Alonso de Cartagena and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Ironically, although many of the main letrado thinkers were conversos themselves, the implementation of programs developed in letrado circles at court became a “tragic nightmare for the conversos” as the imperial monarchy reinforced its authority over mechanisms of social control and oppression, in great part through the help of the Church in Spain.<sup>42</sup>

The discoveries of 1492 opened up new room for dispute. The resolution to the problems that Columbus’s discoveries presented was contained in three bulls: *Inter caetera, Eximiae devotionis*, and *Inter Caetera*, dated May 1493. They created a zone where the Castilians would be responsible for establishing churches and missionary activities. Strictly speaking, the bulls did not divide the world between Castile and Portugal; rather they simply recognized that both kingdoms had asserted responsibility for converting the infidels in the newly discovered lands, and allocated to each kingdom areas of ecclesiastical domain. In the prologue to both versions of *Inter caetera*, Alexander VI traces the history of Castilian crusading activity up to the conquest of Granada, effectively bridging medieval conquest doctrine with the new realities of sea-exploration. He argues that, having completed the Reconquista, the rulers of Aragón and Castile could now begin to extend the boundaries of the Church by “bringing the word of the gospels to those nations that had not yet heard it.”<sup>43</sup> In return for converting and civilizing the new lands

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<sup>41</sup> In the Spanish colonies a letrado class of elites also promoted the imperial aims of the monarchy through legalistic, representational, and literary means. In *The Lettered City*, Ángel Rama demonstrates how the power of colonial letrados was administered through a network of urban relationships. *The Lettered City*, ed. and trans. John Charles Chasteen (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

<sup>42</sup> Dayle Seidenspinner-Nunez, “Conversion and Subversion: Converso Texts in Fifteenth-Century Spain,” in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 246-47.

<sup>43</sup> Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 137.

and peoples, the pope granted commercial dominion and trade monopoly to the kingdoms of Aragón and Castile, just as *Romanus* had done for the Portuguese in Guinea and the coast of Africa. These profits were to recompense the Castilians for the costs of the missionary work and to justify the exclusion of all other Christians from the region, unless a license from the Castilian government was obtained.

An important document that used spiritual doctrine to legitimize the use of force in New World territories was the *requerimiento*. Issued in 1513 by Fernando II, this unprecedented political instrument was performed ritually for New World inhabitants upon initial contact, giving them an ultimatum: acknowledge the superiority of Christianity or be warred upon. Patricia Seed argues that the protocol of the *requerimiento* “was the principal means by which Spaniards enacted political authority over the New World.”<sup>44</sup> If the natives were to resist the authority of Christian domination, any blame for subsequent death and destruction caused by the Spanish attack must be assigned to the conquered population since they rejected the original demands to peaceably recognize their superiors. Precedent from the secular world of military conflict provided the frame and substance of the protocol, specifically early medieval Islamic battlefield procedures and customs of tribute and demand for surrender in Muslim Spain that were later adopted by Christian forces during the period of Reconquista. Juan López Palacios Rubios was the likely generator of the *requerimiento*, and in reading his legalese we can appreciate echoes of earlier canon law regarding Christian interaction with infidels. Regarding the “natives” Rubios wrote: “[they will] discover the truth, having it explained to them how the care of the whole world, and the power over it resides in the Pope, who has made a donation and concession of the province in which they live to His Majesty, whom they must obey as the divine

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<sup>44</sup> Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70.

trustee of the Church.”<sup>45</sup> In the context of medieval canon law, it was the Amerindians, rather than the conquistadores, who were to make discoveries, of a world that had always been under the domain of the pope and Christian Church. What we see in Spain, more so than in other European Christian nations, was the belief in a political authority tied explicitly to the authority of the pope and interpretation of canon law.

Pope Clement VII reasserted his universal dominion over heathens in 1529 in *Intra Acana*, in which he stated to Emperor Carlos V of Spain, “[w]e trust that, as long as you are on earth, you will compel and with all zeal cause the barbarian nations to come to the knowledge of God, the maker and founder of all things, not only by edicts and admonitions, but also by force and arms, if needful, in order that their souls may partake of the heavenly kingdom.”<sup>46</sup> This assertion represented the apogee in regards to the administration of religious and social programming in the New World, and opened the gates for Spanish conquistadores and gold-hunters to subjugate Amerindians to slavery and other inhumane treatments.<sup>47</sup>

Canon legislation from *Romanus Pontifex* through *Intra Acana* attests to the feeling of Spanish Christian hubris when it came to conquering and converting infidel societies in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This sense of invincibility would fade a century later; the 1609 expulsion of all non-converting Muslims on the Peninsula attests to the profound resignation to the failures of this project by the Spanish State and Church, and in Mexico it became clear to the secular clergy that the utopian conversion project was falling apart.<sup>48</sup> But in

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<sup>45</sup> Rubios, quoted in Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 92.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted from Lewis Hanke, “Pope Paul III and the American Indians,” *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (April 1, 1937): 77.

<sup>47</sup> William Marder, *Indians in the Americas: The Untold Story* (San Diego: Book Tree, 2005), 61.

<sup>48</sup> Missionaries and colonial ethnographers claimed that Amerindian Christian practice was insincere and “polluted” with ancient idolatry. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, “Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity,” in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400-1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 355-63.

the meantime, additional methods for possessing imaginative and material space supported the legalese of the papal court in first part of the century: mapmaking and processional theatre.

As Barbara Mundy and Ricardo Padrón have shown, the sixteenth-century sciences of cartography and cosmography—based on an experimental blend of eyewitness accounts, geometry, Ptolemaic theory, and Arabic theoretical astronomy—were one way early modern Spanish made the expanding Atlantic world knowable.<sup>49</sup> The scholastic view of space was gradually superseded by central perspective during the Renaissance, with its infinitely extended space centered on an arbitrarily assumed vanishing point, which “entailed abandoning the idea of a cosmos with the middle of the earth as its absolute center and with the outermost celestial sphere as its absolute limit.”<sup>50</sup> This is a rather homogenous summary of complex processes in Renaissance art, cartography, and philosophy, and scholars have challenged Edwin Panofsky’s theory of historical perspective as overly broad and even faulty.<sup>51</sup> However, the ideology (if not always the practice) of vanishing point perspective and arbitrary space certainly informed the ways in which European conquerors remade the New World. A grid that quantified space geometrically was necessary for imperial movement in two respects: first, for more precise navigation of land and sea, and second, as a tool for marking colonial possessions during the period of national competition for territory. In both cases, the divination of space according to a seemingly arbitrary grid was ideologically bound, as “cosmographers aimed to make the New World visible to the eyes of its king—to put it, and themselves, on the map.”<sup>52</sup> Felipe II’s (King

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<sup>49</sup> Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>50</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 1991 [1927]), 65.

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed deconstruction of Panofsky’s *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, see Patrick Maynard, *Drawing Distinctions: The Varieties of Graphic Expression* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005), 28-53.

<sup>52</sup> Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain*, 12.

of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, 1556-1581) two most prominent cosmographers, Alonso de Santa Cruz and Juan López de Velasco, created their maps of the New World from the eastern side of the Atlantic, at the *Casa de Contratación* (House of Trade) of Seville, a royally mandated corporation that monopolized importation and exportation between Spain and Atlantic territories.<sup>53</sup> The quantification and subdivision of land and sea was then legitimized by claims of empirical cartographic knowledge that was, in fact, quite flawed.<sup>54</sup> In the negotiations with the Portuguese, for instance, Carlos V's delegates were "highly aware of the fundamental role of the misrepresentation of space" as part of political negotiations and ritual.<sup>55</sup> The same kind of misrepresentation was at work in the theatricalization of the New World on Spanish stages. The decontextualized Mexica and Totonac rituals and entertainments presented to Carlos V and his historiographers—precisely contemporaneous with the period of time when maps of the New World were intentionally drawn to misrepresent space—demonstrated the power of invention at the Hapsburg court.

In sixteenth-century maps, like the map of the Atlantic world drawn by Columbus's navigator Juan de la Cosa in 1500 (Figure 4.3), important port cities were used as nodes to anchor projection lines plotted across the oceans. Despite the introduction of the Ptolemaic concept of space, maps still contained centralizing points, and one of the most important nodes was Seville.<sup>56</sup> Adding to the sense that the port city was the center of Spanish exploration and

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<sup>53</sup> *La Casa de Contratación* (The House of Trade) of Seville, or *La Casa y Audiencia de Indias*, was an agency of Spanish monarchy and nobility that attempted to control the exploration and colonization of the Indies and Americas by institutionalizing chart and map making, bringing together the talents of pilots and cosmographers, and regulating the flow of treasures that entered Spain.

<sup>54</sup> Seth R. Kimmel, "Interpreting Inaccuracy: The Fiction of Longitude in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 305-06.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 315.

<sup>56</sup> As one example, a mariner's report of Columbus's 1498 Atlantic crossing situates various points of reference on the charts according to their relative distance from Seville: Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight*



**Figure 4.3**  
Juan de la Cosa, *Mappa Mundi* (1500)

colonialism, a master map—the *padrón real*—was kept in Seville by order of the king in 1508, and was updated every time a flotilla returned from the New World with new geographical information.<sup>57</sup>

Jerusalem had been the center of the Christian universe for centuries, and the Church had to adapt to the sudden re-envisioning of the world and quickly incorporate the expanding horizon into their spiritual domain. The bulls and theological tracts written in response to Atlantic discovery were a kind of textual mapping that encompassed space outside the knowable frame and into a universal sphere; a political space with a cosmological inclination. This is an example of what Henri Lefebvre calls the creation of monumental, representational space: “The social and political operation of a monumental work traverses the various ‘systems’ and ‘subsystems’, or codes and subcodes, which constitute and found the society concerned.... [Supercoding] tends towards the all-embracing presence of the totality.”<sup>58</sup> For written supercodes of the Church to catalyze an embrace and make their presence felt, they must be translated into monumental corporal languages—staged on superhighways of processional devotion and rites of spiritual possession.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the New World was the stage for elaborations of autos sacramentales and other religious plays, important tools for the evangelization of indigenous peoples.<sup>59</sup> Attending the political conquest of the New World (and deeply implicated in the processes of colonization) was the spiritual conquest of the Americas.

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<sup>57</sup> Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain*, 13.

<sup>58</sup> Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 222.

<sup>59</sup> Two of the most important books on religious theatre in early colonial New Spain and Peru are Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ* and Louise M. Burkhart, *Holy Wednesday: A Nahuatl Drama from Early Colonial Mexico* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996). My “The Sacred Performative: Holy Wednesday and Colonial Ritual/Theatre,” *The Journal of Religion and Theatre* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 144-53, revises some of Burkhart’s conclusions about the social meaning of hybrid colonial performance.

As Carolyn Dean has shown, colonial Corpus Christi processions “explicitly linked the state’s political and military victories with divine triumphs; divine will and royal will were inextricably intertwined.”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the sense of superiority fostered by Spanish conquests in the Canary Islands, the North of Africa, Hispaniola, and the Mexican peninsula—given full ideological justification through papal grants and theological tracts—“aroused powerful messianic and providential impulses,”<sup>61</sup> impulses shared by the Catholic Monarchs, Christopher Columbus, and many conquistadores, whose militaristic front in the New World was quickly reinforced by the arrival of evangelical missions, administrators, and merchants. Columbus was especially involved in the late medieval messianic, eschatological culture of Franciscanism that was centered on Marian devotion.<sup>62</sup> Throughout the period of early modern Spanish empire, public festivals grew in size and elaboration, encouraged by the practices and tenets of mendicant brotherhoods. Festivals demonstrated the power and wealth of court society and the influence of the Church in counter-reformation Spain.<sup>63</sup> Spiritual, political, and mercantile goals were realized in the composite processional forms of the era.

Theatrical expressions of imperium were strongly in evidence in Seville, where spectacles of spiritual domination and pride in courtly, municipal, and religious processions

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<sup>60</sup> Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 13.

<sup>61</sup> M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, “Christians, Civilised and Spanish: Multiple Identities in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8, Sixth Series (January 1, 1998): 239-40.

<sup>62</sup> Columbus was a follower of the cult of the Immaculate Conception (The Virgin of Trinidad). Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, 118.

<sup>63</sup> “When Charles V entered Valladolid in 1517... [the] royal entry in Spain was little more than a popular festival marked by dancing in imitation of fictitious battles with Moors, *juego de cañas*, in which groups of horsemen would pursue each other while throwing light javelins, and bullfights. The entry itself was essentially a cavalcade in which military banners mingled with those of the church and of religious orders. It was only under King Felipe II that royal entries began to resemble those which he had seen in Italy and Germany during his lengthy progress in 1548-1549... Once the royal court had settled in Madrid in 1561 entries even began to influence town planning. The processional route became fixed, and the important buildings were erected along it while squares suitable for festivities were opened up.” R. J. Knecht, “Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-Century France,” in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Margaret Shewring, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 22.

unified the urban space. In the Corpus Christi procession spatial and visual narratives of conquest were explored and reaffirmed. The possession of public space by ritual actors was especially important in maintaining order and reinscribing orthodoxy in Seville's heterogeneous society. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, Seville's performance culture from 1248 through the sixteenth century was characterized by an intensity of spiritual expression that derived from the city's incomparable religious, ethnic, and national diversity, and keenly reflected the powerful interests of religious brotherhoods and other institutional bodies.<sup>64</sup> During the early period of Atlantic exploration when Seville's economy became the strongest engine of wealth in Europe, much was at stake for the local and international cast of nobles, merchants, financiers, craftsmen, sailors, and soldiers of the city. The boisterous mercantile and colonial energy in Seville found its outlet, and was regulated by, ongoing spectacles that were elaborate and costly.

The Sevillian family of the Duke Medina Sidonia, the wealthiest and most influential family in Spain at the time, sat at the center of New World trade and performance culture. The members of the family were great patrons of the arts and took up an urban rather than typically rural existence in sumptuous palaces at the heart of Seville:

In ceremonial civic entries, exits and promenades, the Duke of Medina Sidonia was always accompanied to and from his palace by heraldic instruments (trumpets and drums) and minstrels, dressed in livery in the colours and bearing the arms of the family. These instrumentalists were also present at the equestrian games sponsored by the family whether in the Plaza de San Francisco or in the square outside their own home, in which case they played from the turrets of the medieval palace on special occasions.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The Genoese community in Seville, already in residence prior to Christian conquest in 1248, was especially influential in establishing techniques of commercial capitalism. "Practically all modern techniques of capitalism—double-entry bookkeeping, drafts bills of exchange, and maritime insurance—were already in use in the thirteenth century, and the Genoese were experts in all of those techniques." William D. Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 85.

<sup>65</sup> Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "Power and Musical Exchange: The Dukes of Medina Sidonia in Renaissance Seville," *Early Music* 37, no. 3 (August 2009): 403.

From the late fifteenth century, the Duke's palace had its own musical chapel with a permanent group of skilled singers and minstrels, and their talents were often loaned to Spanish monarchs for performances at the royal chapel. Exchange and competition between a handful of noble families in Seville accelerated the diffusion of *cancioneros* and sacred polyphony during the period.<sup>66</sup> Medina Sidonia was also responsible for hosting royal events in the city—entries, feasts, and masques—and when the Duke traveled to cities like Toledo, he was treated in kind with costly processional celebrations: “his lodging was so richly adorned, with a great many rooms, patios and chambers lined with gold cloth and silk brocade, as well as silver and gold objects and many people's likenesses.”<sup>67</sup> During his itinerancy, the Duke was accompanied by a group of musicians, which included eight Amerindian minstrels who played traditional European instruments with great facility.<sup>68</sup> Musical culture circulated among families of the wealthy in quasi-religious, semi-majestic settings, and along arteries of aristocratic cultural exchange.

The Duke of Medina Sidonia also controlled the administration of the Casa de Contratación.<sup>69</sup> The “House” was established by order of the Catholic Monarchs in 1503 in the Moorish palace of Seville (*El Reales Alcázares de Sevilla*), creating an office of chief pilot who carefully taught the art of cosmography and navigation. Institutional methods of producing charts and instruments, and rigorous training of pilots were mostly copied from the Portuguese. Theory and practice—the formal education of cosmographers and the experiential knowledge of

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 404-05.

<sup>67</sup> “...e tuvo su casa tan bien adereçada, así de muchas salas, quadras e cámaras entapiçadas de tela de oro e brocado, como de cosas e plata e oro e copia de gentes,” Barrantes Maldonado, *Ilustraciones de la Casa de Niebla*, from Ruiz Jiménez, “Power and Musical Exchange,” 408.

<sup>68</sup> The Amerindian slaves were purchased by the Duke at a price that was at least three times higher than the price of any other slave bought by the family, Ibid., 408.

<sup>69</sup> Although historical evidence provides contradictory narratives of Columbus' predisccovery years in Spain, it is certain that he petitioned the Duke Medina Sidonia for financial assistance for his voyage. It is likely that Columbus took residence with the Duke for a period of time before finding financial support from the Queen Isabel. Miles H. Davidson, *Columbus Then and Now: A Life Reexamined* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 134-39.

pilots—were combined in the disciplinary and pedagogical pursuits of the Casa de Contratación. A center of information collecting, storage, interpretation, and dissemination, the Casa regulated payments of taxes and tariffs, conducted civil hearings on criminal matters that arose out of trading in the Americas, and controlled everything that went to and from the New World through Spanish ports: passengers, sailors, merchandise, objects, animals, and African slaves.<sup>70</sup>

Before setting out on their expeditions, explorers, navigators, sailors, and captains participated in a number of public and private rituals in preparation for their voyages; most were religious in content, or at least in tone. Attending Mass before a transatlantic journey was obligatory. At the church of San Jorge Mártir, a converted mosque, Columbus and his men heard their last Mass on the morning of August 3, 1492, in a “church portal whose language of forms was rooted in an Islamic civilization now vanquished but still at Spain’s very heart.”<sup>71</sup> In *Santa María la Blanca*, a district just north of La Catedral that had once been home to a thriving Jewish community, a customary procession was organized in the square before the parish church. The cadre of young captains on their way to the New World was led by two pages, “one with spear and shield, the other with a shield of steel and braided harness on his helmet,” followed by captains on horseback and foot wearing “vestments made of blue velvet or pressed silver embellishments,” swords at their sides and muskets and ammunition in their hands.<sup>72</sup> The parade moved into the cathedral, where the coterie prayed before the painting of *La Virgen de la Antigua*. As mentioned in chapter two, according to tradition Fernando III had discovered the Byzantine image of La Virgen de la Antigua behind the mihrab of *La Mezquita* in 1248. The

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<sup>70</sup> Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 31-32; 36.

<sup>71</sup> Jerrilynn D. Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture*, 1st ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>72</sup> “...el uno con lanza y adarga, el otro con rodela de acero y arnés tranzado con su celada... vestido de terciopelo azul o prensado guarnecido de plata.” López Martínez and San Román, *El templo de Madre de Dios de Sevilla*, 40.

cult of the Virgen de la Antigua was the first Marian cult established in New Spain and she was petitioned during battles with the Amerindians.<sup>73</sup> Detailed reproductions of the painting from the Seville cathedral were made throughout the colonial period and can be found today in churches across Latin America and the Caribbean: in Mexico City, Lima, Santo Domingo, Bogotá, Cuzco, and elsewhere. The procession ended at the great *Plaza de Arenal* that overlooked the ships of the Spanish fleets waiting in the river Guadalquivir.

Perhaps no image encapsulates the sense of spiritual conquest in a ritual setting better than the *Virgen de los Mareantes* (Virgin of the Navigators, also known as the *Virgen de Buen Aire*, or the Virgin of Fair Breezes) (Figure 4.4). Sailors bound for the Americas prayed at the altarpiece for good weather to assist them in their crossing. Commissioned and completed in 1538, the painting hung behind the altar of the chapel of Seville's Casa de Contratación, reminding pilots, sailors, inspectors, cosmographers, legal advisors, fiscal lawyers, justices, and treasurers who worked in, and passed through, the Alcazar that mapping the New World and counting her profits was part of a larger evangelical scheme. The central part of the painting shows the Virgin Mary protecting a group of natives and Spanish courtiers with her cape. The painting is one of the first in European art to capture indigenous Americans (Christoph Weiditz' drawings are earlier).<sup>74</sup> The four side panels, from top to bottom and from left to right, show Saint Sebastian, the apostle Saint James, Saint Telmo (patron saint of navigators), and Saint John the Evangelist (who gave his name to the island *San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*). The group

<sup>73</sup> “The Spaniards, commanded by Enciso, who was judge in the name of Hojeda, prepared for the conflict. First kneeling, general and soldiers together prayed God to give them the victory. They bound themselves by a vow to make votive offerings of gold and silver to the statue of the Blessed Virgin, known in Seville by the name of Santa Maria della Antigua, vowing to make a pilgrimage to her sanctuary, to name in her honour the village they might find, and to build a church sacred to her or to transform the house of the cacique into a church. They also took a vow not to retreat before the enemy.” Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Drawings of Amerindians were made during Weiditz' 1529 trip to Spain, where he met Cortés, and in 1530 and 1531 based on sketches. Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz*, ed. Theodor Hampe (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927). Reprinted as *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the “Trachtenbuch,”* ed. and trans. Theodor Hampe (New York: Dover, 1994), 3.



**Figure 4.4**  
Alejo Fernández, *Virgen de los Mareantes*, retablo and shrine (1536)  
Alcázar de Sevilla

of ships in the lower part of the painting includes examples of vessels from the Spanish fleet at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Below the image of the Virgin protector, on the left, stand Fernando the Catholic, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (the Bishop of Palencia who oversaw Amerindian affairs), and Sancho de Matienzo (a canon of La Catedral and Treasurer of the Casa de Contratación), and on the right Christopher Columbus and two other prominent Seville pilots.<sup>75</sup> It is probable that the altar and altarpiece were carried in processions or used at other sites for prayer (such as parish churches or near the docks of the Guadalquivir) since the altar was constructed to be portable.<sup>76</sup>

As Seville's commercial prominence rose throughout the century, its influence beyond the city walls increased: the administrative and ecclesiastic jurisdictions of the city covered all territories to the west of the city including the Atlantic ports. Political conduits joined the mercantile interests of Seville with the cities at the mouth of the Guadalquivir: Jerez, Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María, and Palos de la Frontera (Figure 4.5).<sup>77</sup> From the late fourteenth century, as the size of the hulls of ships grew in size, navigational necessity made it incumbent upon the shipping industry based in Seville to extend its manufacture of vessels and landing platforms further down river.

Seville's assumption of the role of provincial capital was no mere accident. It was because of her nodal location in lower Andalusia that the settlement was endowed with the role of magnetic collector, assembler and redistributor of the

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<sup>75</sup> Rafael Sánchez Mantero, *La Universidad de Sevilla, 1505-2005. V centenario* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 109-10. Carla Rahn Phillips, "Visualizing Imperium: 'The Virgin of the Seafarers' and Spain's Self-Image in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 815-16.

<sup>76</sup> Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 548.

<sup>77</sup> Administratively, late medieval Andalusia was organized around the city-states of Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville. Royal jurisdiction was exercised through town councils endowed with extensive lands and municipal law codes (*fueros*). These laws were, at times, at odds with the interests of nobility, who fought for and maintained a degree of influence. The bishopric of Cádiz was dependent on Seville. Angus MacKay and David Ditchburn, eds., *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 143. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, who provided Cortés and his entourage of Tlaxcalans with a residence in Seville in 1527, owned estates that covered most of the territory of what is now the province of Huelva, as well as a large part of the lands around the city of Seville. DuPlessis, *Transitions to Capitalism*, 53.



**Figure 4.5**

Abraham Ortelius, *Andaluzia* (1603)

(Jerez de la Frontera and Puerto de Santa Maria are located just north of Cádiz near the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and Palos de la Frontera is located at the mouth of *Rio Tinto*)

rural surplus. For the city's success, the former role was critical as its foodstuffs and wood provided the wherewithal to victual the fleet while taxes provided the money to build and expand... Without the wealth that derived from [olive oil, viticulture, and wheat], Seville's American career many not have been possible.<sup>78</sup>

Patrick O'Flanagan goes on to say that goods controlled by the monopoly in Seville that were unloaded in Cádiz and elsewhere were moved along an artery called the "Cádiz-Sevilla axis;" the walls of the city could not accommodate the "diversity of functions" that spilled out in all directions.<sup>79</sup>

The wealthiest nobles of the city—Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Tarifa (founder of the *Via Crucis*), and others—supported their extravagant living and theatrical pursuits (masques, concerts, receptions, weddings, devotional spectacles, etc.) with the income earned from leasing the vast acreage that stretched from the edges of the urban community all the way to the western port cities. These families protected and enhanced their wealth through a number of political alliances with the crown, including rewards of land given for military assistance, favorable taxation policies, and control over commercial production and exchange.<sup>80</sup>

Neither could the walls of the city contain performances proclaiming Seville's exceptionality. Processions regularly crossed the Guadalquivir to and from the Triana district, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the destination points of the *Vía Crucis* and *auto da fé* were located in the surrounding countryside. By their very nature, royal and noble processional entries created coextensive spatial relationships between Seville and the outlying regions. The corridors of old Roman roads that connected Seville, Santiago de Compostela, the court in Valladolid, ocean ports, and shrines across the kingdom were shared by Christian pilgrims,

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<sup>78</sup> Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 41-42.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-64.

<sup>80</sup> Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1980), 14.

traders, conquistadores, and soldiers. The tentacles of imperial procession and mercantile and colonial exchange in the sixteenth century matched the growing sense of universal domain felt by the inhabitants of the city. Reinforcing this capacious sense of ownership was the vibrant culture of pilgrimage on the Peninsula.

The shrine of Santiago (Saint James) in Compostela, Galicia was, in the High and late Middle Ages, the most famous shrine not only on the Iberian Peninsula, but also in all Christendom. The shrine was built in the tenth century in response to the northern Christian kingdom's need for a holy figurehead to confront the Muslim invaders. The foundational narrative of the shrine included a miraculous *translatio* of the Apostle James's headless body back to Spain (the head was discovered at a later date and rejoined with the body). After papal indulgences raised the status of the shrine of the relic of Saint James to that of Rome and Jerusalem in the twelfth century, Santiago de Compostela became the most important pilgrimage destination on the European continent. The best-known miracles of Saint James were those he performed on battlefields; his legendary involvement in the Iberian Reconquista included appearances alongside Christian rulers in battles against enemies of the faith.<sup>81</sup> Hagiographies of Saint James further contributed to his martial identity. For instance, the *Golden Legend* explained how Christ named his favorite apostle "Son of Thunder" because of his "eagerness to avenge the Lord" and "thunderous sound of his preaching, which terrified the wicked."<sup>82</sup> Apparitions of James were also witnessed at Santiago, where he was seen brandishing a sword (often flaming) while his horse tramples the Moorish enemy. James partnered with the "martial Mary" figure that appears frequently in the CSM in assisting Christian forces in battles against

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<sup>81</sup> Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 87; 104. Saint James's feast day is July 25.

<sup>82</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3. According to passages from the bible, the apostle James was a zealous evangelizer of the new faith, and his work to spread Christianity in Spain was part of his legendary vita.

Muslims on the Peninsula and northern Africa, and in the sixteenth-century wars against the Aztec and Inca empires of the New World.<sup>83</sup>

Although far from Seville, Santiago de Compostela was an endpoint for a network of pilgrimage routes that spanned the Peninsula (to shrines at Coruña, El Ferrol, Oviedo, Alba, Ávila, Toledo, Montserrat, and San Lorenzo de El Escorial), one of the most important being an old Roman road that ran from Seville to Galicia called the *Vía de la Plata* (“Silver Road,” from a corruption of *bal’lata*, the Arabic word for “wide road”). Like the *Camino Francés* (the most active route, which facilitated the journeys of great numbers of French and other European pilgrims to Compostela), the *Vía de la Plata* had its own infrastructure of pilgrim hospitals and churches. The road was in use throughout the Middle Ages, but especially from the tenth century, when Galicia was annexed to the northern Christian territory of Spain and the shrine of Santiago was established at Compostela. Christians living in Muslim territories used the road for pilgrimages to Santiago prior to the most active period of Reconquista in the thirteenth century; the road at that time was often referred to as the *Camino Mozárabe* (Mozarab Road). The *Vía de la Plata* was used not only by Sevillians and Christians from the southern part of the Peninsula, but also by Christian pilgrims from around the Mediterranean and northern Africa who entered the river port of Seville by boat on their way to Compostela.<sup>84</sup>

By the early modern period, the *Vía de la Plata* had accrued powerful symbolic associations with Christian conquest, not the least due to the militant nature of Saint James’s *vita*. The processional highway was used to translate the holy remains of Saint Isidore (b. 560-d.

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<sup>83</sup> Amy Remensnyder’s scholarship on the symbolic uses of Mary in battles against Muslim forces is central: see, for instance, “Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary,” *Speculum* 82, no. 3 (July 2007): 642-77. Hernán Cortés’s banner in the field included an image of the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe. Francisco Pizarro was deeply dedicated to the Virgin and quickly dedicated a church in her honor in Cuzco after taking the city. Linda Biesele Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 75.

<sup>84</sup> Alison Raju, *Vía de la Plata* (London: Cicerone Press Limited, 2006), 8-19.

636) from Seville in the eleventh century, remains that were yielded to Fernando I by Abbad II, al-Mutadid (Taifa ruler of the Kingdom of Seville, 1042-1069). Saint Isidore's remains were interred at the eleventh-century basilica of San Isidoro in León; some of his important bones were also translated to Murcia after the thirteenth-century Christian conquest of the city. After Fernando III captured Córdoba in 1236, he compelled Muslim prisoners to transport the bells of the Cathedral of Santiago—first captured by the Muslim vizier Muhammad ibn Abu 'Amir (de facto ruler of al-Andalus, 981-1002) at the sacking of Compostela in 997—back to Santiago de Compostela by way of the Vía de la Plata.<sup>85</sup> Finally, the circuits of roads and places through which the celebrations of Saint James's legendary work were carried extended beyond the Iberian Peninsula. During the period of Atlantic colonialism, the pope invoked the warrior saint's name in Hispaniola, making him the patron saint of the island. Into the eighteenth century, images of James were used for didactic purposes by Catholic priests in slave communities, and belief in his cult eventually helped to inspire the slave revolt of 1791.<sup>86</sup>

Symbolically, the Vía de la Plata took part in the spiritual, political, and commercial coupling of the northern and southern kingdoms of Spain, resignifying the Iberian history of Roman occupation, Visigothic domination, and Reconquista, while effectively obscuring significant past history that included Muslim culture and rule over much of the Peninsula. If the road functioned effectively as social performance—one that constructed an ideological community—it was due to the fact that pilgrims and other processional actors experienced the historicization and sacralization of space at the level of the body. In the peregrinations of treasured, holy bodies from the La Catedral and its relic shrines, and across the expanding

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<sup>85</sup> Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975), 32; 129-30; 196; 339, and E. Michael Gerli, *Medieval Iberia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 350-51; 733-36.

<sup>86</sup> Allen F. Roberts, "Tempering 'the tyranny of already': Re-signification and the Migration of Images," in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (New York: Routledge, 2010), 120-21.

Spanish domain, ideological space was affirmed along the compass lines inscribed on the maps of cartographers. Anchoring this complex of roads and shrines at the southwestern corner of the Peninsula resided the relics of three of Spain's important saints: Fernando III and the martyred sisters Justa and Rufina, titular saints and protectors of Seville.

The canonized martyrs Justa and Rufina were an important part of Seville's identity as a force against the infidel at the periphery of the Christian empire. According to their legend, in the third century the sisters were tortured and killed by Diogenian, the Roman governor of the province; their bodies were later recovered and buried by the bishop of Seville in a meadow, subsequently named *Prado de Justa y Rufina*.<sup>87</sup> An early miracle at the site was one of the sister saints' best known: earth from the Prado was said to have shed blood when held in the hands of the pope. Interestingly, when Fernando I had sought to retrieve the earthly remains of Saint Justa from the Muslim caliphate of Seville in the eleventh century, they could not be found and the body of Saint Isidore was given to the Christian king in their place.<sup>88</sup> An active cult grew up around Justa and Rufina, and in the sixteenth century the devout placed wooden crosses on the site of "great celestial marvels."<sup>89</sup> Their relics inspired Christian warriors during the Reconquista, and during the thirteenth century, "legends of Justa and Rufina transformed the campaign under Ferdinand III from a secular power struggle into a holy crusade against the infidel."<sup>90</sup> As discussed in earlier chapters, Fernando III dedicated a church on the site where

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<sup>87</sup> Catholic Church, *The Roman Martyrology: In which are to be found the eulogies of the saints and blessed approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites up to 1961*, ed. John Berthram O'Connell, an English translation from the 4th ed. (1922) (London: Burns & Oates, 1962), 150.

<sup>88</sup> According to legend, Saint Isidore appeared to Bishop Alvito in a dream declaring that God had decided that Seville was not to be deprived of its venerated children. F. Santos Coco, ed., 'Actas de la Translación,' *Historia Silense* (Madrid, 1921), 93-99.

<sup>89</sup> Manuel Chaves Nogales, *La ciudad* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1991), 18-19.

<sup>90</sup> Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 36. The sixteenth-century Sevillian poet Feliciano Enríquez de Guzmán described the achievement of Fernando III as liberating the city from Muslim rule as he sought the holy bodies of Justa and Rufina. Feliciano

Justa and Rufina were scourged. The church marked the fourth station of the Vía Crucis penitential procession, and a confraternity dedicated to the cult of Justa and Rufina carried their images in the festival of Corpus Christi.<sup>91</sup> In his sixteenth-century history of the city, Alonso Morgado relates the story of Justa and Rufina's martyrdom in order that "we can bring attention to the little friendship, to Christians of this city, as those of all Spain, they would make them part of the Empire."<sup>92</sup> The vitae and festivals of Justa and Rufina situate Seville within European Christendom while reiterating a discourse of periphery.

Processions and pilgrimages partook in the Christianization of space, moving to outline, occupy, and orient the surrounding natural world with centrifugal force and pulling the world towards a center (Jerusalem, a cathedral, a shrine) centripetally.<sup>93</sup> In this way, imagined space of the horizon-less empire was concretized. In the economy of religious pilgrimage on the Peninsula, Seville served as both a *hub* through which pilgrims made their way to sites like Compostela and a *destination* for devotees of saints Fernando, Justa, and Rufina, whose relics were displayed at the cathedral and at the church of the sister saints. Not coincidentally, these two sites were also highly significant for major religious and municipal processional events, the Vía Crucis and other Holy Week processions, the Corpus Christi procession, the auto da fé, and saints' day festivities.

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Enríquez de Guzmán, "Censura de las antiguas comedias españolas," in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1855), 545.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>92</sup> "...ya podemos echar de ver la poca amistad, cuáles Cristianos así de esta ciudad, como a los de toda España, se les haría por parte del Imperio." Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla. En la qual se contienen sus antigüedades, grandezas y cosas memorables en ella acontecidas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros tiempos* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Juan de León, 1587), 9.

<sup>93</sup> David Wiles, *A Short History of Performance Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64.

Pilgrimage and procession belonged to the same genre of social performance, bound together corporally, spatially, and narratively.<sup>94</sup> On the level of the body, devotional walking across the urban landscape is a mechanical practice of *ars memoria* for the recollection and restitution of the critically significant experience of a major pilgrimage. Spatially, both pilgrimage and religious procession have a sacred destination, articulating spatial boundaries and axes, and designating ownership through occupancy. Like the pilgrimage, “[t]he route of the procession is bequeathed by tradition and understood as a ‘sacred way,’” where bodies inscribe a symbolic map of devotion and contrition. Narratively, as ritual actors parade before the static spectator, “an arrangement in space becomes an arrangement in time.”<sup>95</sup> The sequence of spaces—many of which are shared by multiple performance events—pronounces the “bones of a story,” pieces of sacred history that are rearticulated at each station, shrine, or holy place.<sup>96</sup> When these paths cross, additional story lines are referenced and time is compressed at the experiential intersection of past and present. The discursive underpinnings that brought together these various activities are yet another way in which the ideological space of Seville extended well beyond the walls of the city.

In the early sixteenth century, a number of “Amerindian pilgrimages” entered into this economy of saints and mercantilism. In 1519, six Totonac Amerindians (four men and two women from the Yucatan) arrived in Seville with a letter from Hernán Cortés (now lost) and treasures obtained from Moctezuma. The Totonacs were the first American people to walk on

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<sup>94</sup> Victor and Edith Turner write that group walking produces a sense of “*communitas*” among participants, i.e., a “quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities, which arises spontaneously in all kinds of groups, situations, and circumstances. It is a liminal phenomenon which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship... [C]ommunitas is an essential and generic human bond.” Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 251.

<sup>95</sup> Wiles, *Short History of Performance Space*, 64.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

European soil. One of the Totonacs died in Seville, and the rest were decorated with jewels and fashionably attired at Carlos V's expense, then processed to the court at Valladolid (by way of the Vía de la Plata) where they were presented before the emperor. The five surviving Yucatan Amerindians eventually returned to the Americas, settling in Cuba.<sup>97</sup> The treasures that were sent with the Amerindians and given to Carlos were presented at a full exhibition at the imperial court in Brussels the following year.

In 1527, Hernán Cortés made the trip to Spain himself, accompanied by a delegation of Tlaxcalans and Aztecs.<sup>98</sup> More than one historian has noted Cortés's "natural bent for pomp,"<sup>99</sup> and during his return to Spain from the New World in 1528, he "arranged that his arrival at the Spanish Court should be of the nature of a veritable pageant."<sup>100</sup> This particular trip to Spain—which included stops in Seville, his home in Extremadura, the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and the Spanish court in Valladolid—was of great personal importance to the conquistador, and he appears to have prepared accordingly. Arriving at Palos de la Frontera in early May 1528, Cortés's retinue disembarked from two ships and visited *El Monasterio de La Rábida*.<sup>101</sup> Included in the group of 50 to 80 people were a son of Moctezuma and a son of the Aztec lord Maxixca (baptized in Spain as Don Lorenzo), a number of other Amerindian gentlemen and lords, a variety of entertainers (tumblers, jugglers, etc.), and "certain very white Indian men and

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<sup>97</sup> F. M. Carey, "Translation of a Letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 9 (1929): 361-63. Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 174-75.

<sup>98</sup> For more information, Cline has assembled most of the archival information on Cortés's 1527-1528 trip to Spain with performing Amerindians in a single article: Howard F. Cline, "Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain," *Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 26 (1969): 70-90.

<sup>99</sup> Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Central America*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: 1881), 539.

<sup>100</sup> Hernán Cortés, *Fernando Cortés: His Five Letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles V*, ed. Francis Augustus MacNutt (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1908), 52.

<sup>101</sup> Federico Gómez de Orozco, "El exvoto de Hernán Cortés," *Ethnos* 1 (1920): 219-22. According to this account, Cortés stopped at the monastery of La Rábida, where he met the future conqueror of Peru, Francisco Pizarro. In 1485 Columbus stayed at the monastery and received the support of the Franciscans. Scientific and spiritual men like Fray Juan Perez and Fray Antonio de Marchena were interested in exploration and helped Columbus make contacts with the crown and establish a crew for the expedition in 1492.

women, and others dwarfs, and others deformed.”<sup>102</sup> Of the treasures carried in his flotilla (estimated in value at two hundred thousand pesos), thirty thousand pesos of fine gold, fifteen hundred marks of silver, and many valuable jewels were unloaded. In addition, Cortés brought albatrosses, an *aiotochtli* (armadillo), and a *tlacuaci* (opossum) for exhibit, and as gifts he brought large quantities of jewelry, fans, shields, stone mirrors, feather head mantles, and Amerindian codices.<sup>103</sup> Cortés hired teams of pack animals and wagons to portage this collection of people, animals, and treasures across western Andalusia and Castile. The emperor sent orders to cities and villages in advance of Cortés, insuring that the conquistador was received with honors along the route.

In Seville, the Duke of Medina Sidonia gave Cortés’s group a great ceremonial reception. During the two days spent at the Duke’s Seville palace, Cortés and his companions prayed and attended Mass at the cathedral, gave alms to the poor, and distributed gifts from the New World to the women of the Guzmán family: jewelry made of gold, pearls, and emeralds, creatures from New Spain, a balsam-wood incense burner, and whole gold ingots. After these presents were distributed, Cortés called forth his Amerindian entertainers and the Duke and his family were presented with a performance of Amerindian log juggling “that contented them and they were even amazed to see it” (Figure 4.6).<sup>104</sup>

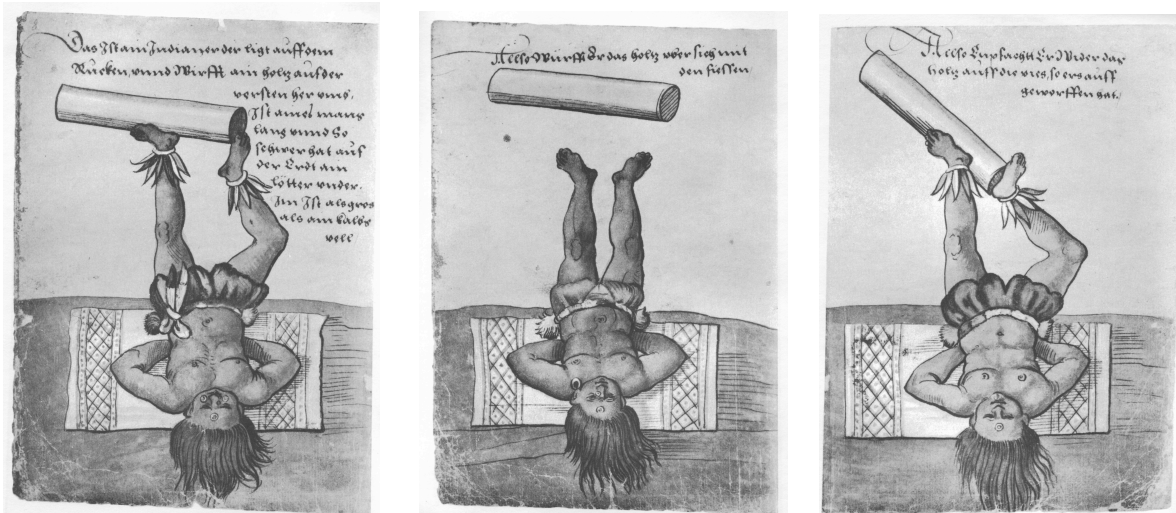
From Seville, the group made their way north through Extremadura. Although the precise route Cortés travelled from Seville to Valladolid with his entourage of Amerindians and treasure is unknown, it is most probable that the group followed the Vía de la Plata since this

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<sup>102</sup> “...ciertos indios e indias muy blancos, y otros enanos, y otros contrahechos.” Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, ed. Jorge Gurría Lacroix (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), 302.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 302.

<sup>104</sup> “...que se contentaron y aun se admiraron de lo ver.” Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1632); *Facsimil de Manuel Porrúa* (S.A., Librería, Mexico, 1977), 545.



**Figure 4.6**  
Christoph Weiditz, Indian log juggling, three stages (1529)

offered the most direct route and strongest roads.<sup>105</sup> Cortés guided the expedition through his hometown of Medellín, where he prayed at his father's tomb, visited with his mother and friends, and conducted some small business regarding his properties. He then proceeded to the Monastery of Guadalupe. There he gave thanks to the Virgin of Guadalupe and placed a gold scorpion on her shrine. The cortege waited at Guadalupe for the itinerant Spanish court (in Toledo at the time) to return to Valladolid.<sup>106</sup> Although the exact nature of the creation of the cult image of the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe is not known, scholars have argued that the fact that identical names were given to Marian cults on either side of the Atlantic is more than coincidental.<sup>107</sup> Like the Romanesque Virgin of Guadalupe (a so-called "black Madonna") of Extremadura, who, like the Mary used on banners during Reconquista, was emblazoned on the banner of Cortés, the Mexican Guadalupe took on a hawkish aspect throughout the colonial and post-colonial period in Mexico.<sup>108</sup> In the sixteenth century, the shrines of the "Conquistadora," as Linda Curcio-Nagy has called Mexican and Spanish Guadalupes, marked crucial nodes of ritual performance by linking transatlantic movement of religious imagery and saints' legends.<sup>109</sup> This is especially true of those who made transatlantic "pilgrimages" between the holy sites of Mexico and Spain: the many conquistadores who prayed to Guadalupe for protection in battle

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<sup>105</sup> Cortés stopped at his home town, Medellín, during his 1527-1528 trip to Valladolid, which lies less than 40 kilometers to the east of the pilgrimage route. Because of their durability and reliability, Roman roads were used whenever possible throughout the Middle Ages. Michael Moïsey Postan and Edward Miller, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 193.

<sup>106</sup> Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista*, 545.

<sup>107</sup> Jeanette Favros Peterson, "Creating the Virgin of Guadalupe: The Cloth, Artist, and Sources in Sixteenth-Century New Spain," *The Americas* 61, no. 4 (April 2005): 571-610. Several parallels exist between the two foundational apparitions of Guadalupe Marian cults: both took place on a hill and both involved a poor peasant who had a family member cured. The shrine at Tepeyac was built over the ruins of a temple dedicated to Tonantzin, the Aztec mother goddess. The shrine had at one time contained a statue of Mary made of silver and gold, and this statue was later replaced with an image of Guadalupe on cloth. Jacques LaFaye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of National Consciousness* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1976), 241-92.

<sup>108</sup> Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior*, 186-94.

<sup>109</sup> Linda Curcio-Nagy, "Native Icon to City Protectress to Royal Patroness: Ritual, Political Symbolism and the Virgin of Remedies," *The Americas* 52, no. 3 (1996): 389-90.

and Cortés's performing Amerindians who may have had the opportunity of visiting shrines on either side of the Atlantic. At Valladolid, the large delegation of Mexican jugglers, ballplayers, prestidigitators, and dancers were presented to Carlos V and his courtiers. Following the performances at court, processional celebrations were carried out in the streets of Valladolid.<sup>110</sup>

Cortés's high profile convoy from Seville to Valladolid, underscored with ritual, spectacle, and performance along the entire route, might be called a form of auto-translation. The founder of New Spain exercised a theatre of divine will in Spain with displays of exotic wealth and performance culture. As his secretary wrote, "[i]n short, he traveled as a great lord."<sup>111</sup> This was done, of course, outside the bounds of an ecclesiastic jurisdiction. However, in imitating the mobility of saintly translation along the *Vía de la Plata*, and imbuing the pilgrimage with a golden aura, Cortés engaged his audiences with the dramaturgy of relic devotion, performatively accruing the symbolic markers of state and religious power that would eventually elevate him. But he could not have done it without the help of his Amerindian entourage. Draped with the mineral riches of the New World—"fashionably dressed and bejeweled...masked, head dressed, and shod very naturally as Indians"—the men and women entertainers and lords animated the imaginations of Spanish audiences.<sup>112</sup> As I demonstrate in the following section, the touring company amassed Christian imperial values not merely because they walked along sacred passages of the Corpus Christi and pilgrimage routes. The costumes and props that belonged to the mimetic displays further associated the Amerindians with sacred and imperial power.

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<sup>110</sup> Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista*, 549.

<sup>111</sup> Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by his Secretary*, trans. and ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 139.

<sup>112</sup> Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 174, 176.

***Body/object***

Reconquista and sacramental ideology intersect at the *capilla real* of La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, in the thirteenth-century relic of Fernando III. Just as the gilded chapel that housed Fernando's remains showcased New World gold carved and twisted by Seville's artisans, other relics commoditized the treasures of the empire: the re-ritualized bodies of New World peoples. The staging of relics of conquest was the means by which empire began to take form in the imagination of Seville's audiences. Similar to the medieval tradition of the devotion to saints and their relics, the bodies at the center of this discussion were provided with social meanings from without: the materials and symbols of reliquary statues and public celebrations of the saints.<sup>113</sup>

It was often the case that the power of relics rose to meet the demands of a particular need or crisis in a medieval community, and thus the quality of a relic's supernatural powers and its social history were in a constant state of development and change. The history of medieval relic devotion is characterized by "the astonishing flexibility in the way in which cults could be manipulated to respond to new challenges."<sup>114</sup> Relics shared signification with the spaces that contain them: reliquaries, shrines, chapels, churches, and cities. As a noted scholar of medieval reliquaries has shown, the construction of the spiritual and communal meaning of a relic was bound up in its use and proximity to the containers and spaces that held it:

Notably, rather than using primarily iconographic or programmatic means, the rhetoric of the holy was put forward discursively, using architecture and space, ornament of all kinds, the visual spectacle of ritual and liturgy, and even such visual ephemera as souvenirs. Everything and every medium came into play, from minutiae such as

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<sup>113</sup> Cynthia Hahn points out that the "compelling interest of the hand or the arm of the saint [relic] is its status as an active 'limb' of the saintly body and its potential for touch and gesture in the form of the arm reliquary." "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 22. Patrick Geary plainly states that as a "physical object, divorced from a specific milieu, a relic is entirely without significance." Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 5.

<sup>114</sup> Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 81.

“authentic” written in recognizably ancient scripts on bits of parchment labeling bones and fragments, to larger incised inscriptions, to the markedly luxurious quality of fine stone sarcophagi and finely built stone vaults.<sup>115</sup>

The spatial arrangements and proximal relationships between celebrants, clergy, and most sacred objects of the church contained powerful symbolic and experiential meanings—dynamics that were under constant change throughout the medieval period.<sup>116</sup> Romanesque church design established levels and relations of status according to proximity to the central altar and Eucharist, which itself belonged to the genus of relic from the ninth century.<sup>117</sup> Relics, having been divided by the Roman Catholic Church into primary and secondary categories, also took part in this economy of sacred approximation. First class relics were given their own commemorative annual celebrations and had greater miraculous powers, while secondary objects did not.<sup>118</sup>

From the eleventh century, body parts of saints were encased in dazzling, ornate reliquaries of a variety of shapes and sizes, including forms of body parts—arms, heads, torsos, feet, etc. The experience of holiness in the presence of a relic benefited from the sensory apprehension of glimmering, valuable materials that carried the holy remains of saints. Although religious paraphernalia found in medieval cathedrals (sepulchers, chalices, monstrances, statuary, clerical vestments, tabernacles, etc.) were often gilded or encrusted with gems, ornamentation of

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<sup>115</sup> Cynthia Hahn, “Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints’ Shrines,” *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (October 1, 1997): 1081.

<sup>116</sup> Michael Kunzler, *Church’s Liturgy* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2001), 148-50. Some of the most common examples include the alienation of parishioners from the Eucharistic rite with the implementation of rood screens and changes in church architecture from the twelfth century, the construction of side reliquary chapels to steer pilgrims away from the central nave, and social statuses of individuals reaffirmed in religious processions according to relative distances to the Host.

<sup>117</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 25.

<sup>118</sup> “Primary relics are the actual bodily remains of a saint while secondary relics are those objects, such as clothing or personal possessions, that were sanctified by close contact with a saint’s body.... Almost all primary relics were at first preserved as whole, entire bodies. As the old prohibitions vanished and the odd bone was separated from the remains, so a distinction arose between these separated and isolated relics and what remained. Even if relics still resting in their tomb or shrine were only disarticulated fragments of the original corpse, they were still collectively considered to be the ‘body’ of the saint, a classification that imbued them with special importance.” Ben Nilson. *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, U.K., and Rochester, N.Y., 1998), 3-4.

shrines and reliquaries was particularly lavish.<sup>119</sup> For a medieval devotee of a saint's cult, to be in the sanctuary of a relic meant to perceive it first through the sense of sight. The visual sparkle and ornamental spectacle of shrines and reliquaries attracted the gaze of pilgrims, which contributed to the experience of being in the company of something otherworldly and precious.<sup>120</sup> The most prevalent biblical metaphor for God is light, and light was a key to the understanding of God in medieval scholasticism and mysticism.<sup>121</sup> And as discussed in the first chapter, medieval people understood sensorial apprehension as an embodied act.<sup>122</sup> Inside the holy precinct a fully somatic experience was available: the animation of light and color on the surfaces of gold, silver, and gems, the swirling aroma of burning incense, the sensation of dust from the pilgrimage road on clothing, and the taste of sacramental bread and wine.

Shines of saints were imbued with value “not only through the accumulation of gold and silver, but also through the miraculous holy radiance that was believed to emanate from the saint's body.”<sup>123</sup> The celebrant need not touch the preserved body in order for a miracle to occur. Aquinas makes this clear when he states, “God fittingly does honour to such relics by performing miracles in their *presence* [in earum praesentia].”<sup>124</sup> The perceived extent of a saint's sphere of influence could be determined by a number of theatrical elements: how the object was lit, the size of the reliquary and its proximity to the viewer/experiencer, its ornamental design, the size of the chapel, the mobility of the relic during translation and saint's day

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 33. “[B]ishops wore jeweled gloves during liturgical ceremonies to designate this otherworldliness of their hands.” Hahn, “Voices of the Saints,” 26.

<sup>120</sup> Hahn, “Seeing and Believing,” 1083.

<sup>121</sup> Philip Sheldrake, ed., *The New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 227, 566-67.

<sup>122</sup> For the medieval viewer, images and representations entered and were held in the “Ark” or storehouse of the mind. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 51-54; 91.

<sup>123</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 1.

<sup>124</sup> Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1920); Online Edition, ed. Kevin Knight (2008), III.25.6, [www.newadvent/summa.com](http://www.newadvent/summa.com).

procession, and the popularity of the saint's cult. The mind of a devout Christian may be especially capable of building emotional links between horizons of expectation, memory, and imagination to lay the groundwork for an experience of a "counterintuitive assertion," i.e., a supernatural explanation for a worldly phenomenon:

The highly adaptive capacity of the mind to attribute, in emotionally charged ways, intentional agency to unseen forces provides fertile ground for the reception of religious beliefs that satisfy other adaptive features. If these beliefs include counterintuitive assertions that minimally contradict the basic domain-level categories of living things (person or animal), manufactured thing, or natural thing, they will be highly memorable.<sup>125</sup>

It is important to recognize that the expectation of a transcendental moment in the presence of a relic—formed over a period of often months of walking—primed the pilgrim for an experience of the sacred.

Art historian Cynthia Hahn has called the arm reliquary a "speaking reliquary" since it "was specifically conceived as a stage prop for the liturgy" and was used to make gestures of healing and blessing. "In effect, the transfigured golden and gemmed hand of the saint reaches out directly from an alternate and glorious residence in heaven. It does not so much speak as make an authoritative gesture at God's behest, sending a message of succor and joyous consolation, manipulating a powerful language of signs."<sup>126</sup> Encased in decorative programs of gold, silver, and precious stones, and designed to provoke devotional participation, the body of the saint was, quite simply, vital. As protagonists in a series of medieval performance events, medieval relics—stand-ins for the historical body of saints—maintained a presence and thaumaturgical power that extended beyond reliquaries, shrines, churches, and other spaces that contained the sacred remains.

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<sup>125</sup> Anne L. Clark, "What's all the fuss about the mind? A Medievalist's Perspective on Cognitive Theory," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce W. Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 172.

<sup>126</sup> Hahn, "Voices of the Saints," 22; 29.

As with the Eucharist, the medieval relic was apprehended as doubly representational; the bodily remains of saints were both symbolic (memorial) and agentive (present). The status of sainthood prevented the decomposition or destruction of relics, and in this way the relic was an everlasting, living body. Carlo Ginzburg writes that the “crystallization of that extraordinary object” produced “the effigy of the kind called *representation*,” that is, an object that is a sign for something absent *and* an operation that can institute affective life.<sup>127</sup> In his 2003 monograph, theatre scholar Andrew Sofer discusses the Eucharist as a performance object. He argues that the meaning of the unconsecrated wafer for lay audiences oscillated between sacred object and theatrical property: the more the Church insisted on the material fact of Christ’s presence—by allegorizing the Mass and displaying the Host during Corpus Christ processions—the more the lay audience was reminded of the “bread-ness” and prop-like quality, of the Host.<sup>128</sup> Although Sofer does not mention body-part reliquaries in his study, these containers had similar command to signify an absence while theatrically bringing forth the actual body of a saint.

There was perhaps no greater moment of vitality than in the translation of the remains to the saint’s new home, and the subsequent annual memorial celebration of the event. In addition to vivid associations with other forms of liturgical and secular processions, “*translationes* were more intimately connected with the physical remains of the saints than with their lives or virtues...*translationes* were connected with the *testimonia* of relics’ powers.”<sup>129</sup> The common dramaturgical progress of *translatio* began with the discovery of a misplaced body (or body part) of a saint, which was then recovered and brought to its rightful home. The movement of a saint’s remains was often due to purchase, theft, or as part of the construction of a larger shrine to

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<sup>127</sup> Carlo Ginzburg, “Représentation,” quoted in Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 321.

<sup>128</sup> Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 36-42.

<sup>129</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 11.

accommodate a growing cult, as was the case of the translations of Fernando III's body in Seville on a number of occasions between 1279 and 1671.<sup>130</sup> Each stage of the translation (exhumation, transfer, and reburial) was "accompanied by extreme degrees of ceremony and pageantry," and clergy wore their best vestments, musicians and hired minstrels supplied entertainment, and incense perfumed the air.<sup>131</sup> The *translatio* then became an annual celebration, strengthening the symbolic bonds between the State and the Church, while providing the community time to develop the historical and legendary *vita* of the saint. The "old community" of the saint, from which the remains were taken, was no longer recognized, or even remembered; the new community (including hagiographers, ecclesiastics, confraternities, and municipal planners) provided a "cultural and social context that gave the relic its symbolic function."<sup>132</sup> In other words, the imbrications of relic cult into a community occurred by way of mass theatre events, the relic playing the central role in the unfolding drama of miracles. The presence of a saint was produced through a series of highly visible ceremonies, as well as private encounters made between the relic and its devotees.

The presence of the saint in the community was not always easily contained, as Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn have shown in their scholarship on the relic of Saint Foy at Conques.<sup>133</sup> Ashley and Sheingorn argue that the movement of Foy from her monastic home to external locations across the countryside established a "liminal zone where many alternative possibilities for action were opened up by the statue's passage," which included the production

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<sup>130</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 19.

<sup>131</sup> The period between the exhumation ceremony and the processional translation was occupied with a vigil. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 15; 26. Other dates of celebration were often attached to the life of a saint, including original burial or death (often the saint's feast day in the Christian calendar), canonization, construction of the saint's shrine, and in the case of Fernando III in Seville, the date the city fell to the Christian conqueror.

<sup>132</sup> Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 8.

<sup>133</sup> In his *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* of the early eleventh century, Bernard of Angers recorded his impressions of the processional movements of Saint Foy. See Sheingorn's translation, introduction, and notes: Pamela Sheingorn and Robert L. A. Clark, *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

of miracles and fund-raising activities for a parish church.<sup>134</sup> What the processional history of Saint Foy makes clear is that the palpable presence of a relic in the community was established when it was moved about and put on display, engaging with admirers and antagonizers alike. From the eleventh century, reliquaries were constructed to be easily portable in processional events; even the feretra (chests that carried the saintly bodies) were sometimes portable and could be moved temporarily from their bases.<sup>135</sup> Miraculous powers, discoverable in the sacred emanations of the gilded, elaborately decorated relic, extended beyond the shrine in itinerant, environmental theatres.

To speak of Christian empire and relic devotion in the same breath may seem anachronous. Within the historiographic scope from the Castilian Reconquista through Atlantic empire, however, *not* to mention the adoration of saints would be to miss half the story. Indeed, in Seville and other Andalusia cities, the historical narrative of Reconquista was tightly knit into the ongoing construction of Christian history through courtly and municipal performance. All genres of Spanish political spectacle in the early modern period were opportunities for city leaders and nobility to proclaim as one the power of the king and primacy of the Catholic faith. These included viceregal and regal entrances, royal births and marriages, royal funerals and coronations, patron saint's days, and celebrations of military victories. In all cases, especially during the post-Tridentine period, the display of a city's resources reflected positively on the performative powers of kings, saints, and the Eucharist.

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<sup>134</sup> Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose, or, the Possibilities of Procession," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 53. From the eleventh century, the *Via Podensis* pilgrimage route to the shrine of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela passed through Conques, where pilgrims were instructed to visit the relic of Saint Foy. Sheingorn and Clark, *The Book of Sainte Foy*, 12.

<sup>135</sup> Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 87, and Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*, 16.

In particular, early modern monarchs employed art objects, relics, sacred images and treasures in court proceedings in order to enhance their dynastic and tutelary power. “Such charismatic objects not only served to protect the palace and its inhabitants; they also acted...as ‘holy fixatives,’ conferring an aura of divinity on their earthly possessors.... Since kings could be represented as quasi-priests, so clergy could be turned into courtiers.”<sup>136</sup> According to a number of scholars, ritual behavior of early modern European courts intentionally recalled images, gestures, and themes from the liturgy of the Christian Mass and the Corpus Christi procession, the most popular festival form in the early modern Catholic kingdoms of Europe. These included the precise duplication of the processional routes, repetitions of motifs in metalwork, costumes, and jewelry, triumphal arches, the presence of the *tarasca* (dragon), hierarchical arrangements of participants, the ringing of church bells, and gestures of humility.<sup>137</sup> Courtiers and monarchs employed sacral gestures because they worked: their potency derived from “a symbolic language that was reassuringly familiar.”<sup>138</sup> The symbolic flexibility of sacred objects and liturgical *mise-en-scène* would allow for their use in a range of associative practices, some of which were—in name—purely profane. The entry of Amerindian body into this semantic system of performative and ritual gesture and procession at court was deeply rooted in the values and structures of Spanish society.

The translation of relics was often facilitated by collection and distribution of relics by medieval and early modern monarchs. Fernando I (Count of Castile 1029-1065, King of León,

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<sup>136</sup> John Adamson, “The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court: 1500-1700,” in *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Regime 1500-1750*, ed. John Adamson (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), 25-26.

<sup>137</sup> Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tension in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 120-21, 136. Teofilo Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 276-81.

<sup>138</sup> Adamson, “Making of the Ancien-Régime,” 30.

1037-1065) was an enthusiastic collector of relics, and he procured and translated the remains of Saints Vincent, Christeta, and Sabina to the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza in Burgos.<sup>139</sup> Under Felipe II, Spain reached a zenith of religious and colonial power, represented in El Escorial, the monastery/palace where the king tirelessly pursued the medieval tradition of relic collecting.<sup>140</sup> As objects that established domain over large territories—especially in procession—journeying relics and pilgrimages metonymically impute the performative styles and goals of royal itinerancy. The continued presence of a royal personage in cities and towns across their realm was, of course, a crucial component of effective governance. In fact, Emperor Carlos V's frequent absence from Castile weakened the power of the court—a situation that Felipe II sought to remedy with a more constant presence in Spain during his reign.<sup>141</sup> Likewise, the presence of an important relic elevated the spiritual and economic status of a community. Royal entries and translations of the bodies of saints were auric blessings, whose topographical peregrinations were mirrored by Amerindians “dressed in velvet and brocade...gold and silver...with pins and jewels of consummate value,” some with “gilded faces,” carrying trinkets and bells in hand and wearing “masks encrusted with precious gems” as they were ceremonially processed from the Old World, through Seville, and out across the Peninsula.<sup>142</sup>

Grounded in evidence provided by portraits, inventories, and jewelry collections, Priscilla Muller has shown that Spanish royalty wore a broad range jewelry styles, and although the Hispanic jewelry that has survived in existing treasuries is predominantly religious, the monarchs wore many other secular styles, including Moorish style jewels. Kings and queens occasionally

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<sup>139</sup> Gerli, *Medieval Iberia*, 288.

<sup>140</sup> Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 260. Felipe II purchased most of the approximately 7,500 relics held in the Escorial during his sixteenth-century reign. Guy Lazure, “Possessing the Sacred: Monarchy and Identity in Philip II's Relic Collection at the Escorial,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 58-93.

<sup>141</sup> Knecht, “Court Festivals as Political Spectacle,” 22.

<sup>142</sup> Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 231-32.

carried specially made silver and gold boxes and often wore richly embellished crucifixes and crosses. Decorative and art objects made of silver, gold and jewels were more valuable at court than paintings and statuary: “In most courts, expenditure on jewelry and plate had a far higher priority in the claims on monarchs’ and courtiers’ purses than did the acquisition of pictures. Jeweled reliquaries... could easily act as the security for loans, or be exchanged for cash.”<sup>143</sup> Apparently, Cortés made Moctezuma aware of his monarch’s penchant for gilded religious items: golden crucifixes were some of the first items crafted by the Mexica as gifts to the Emperor, in 1520, and these were sent back to Spain a few years later.<sup>144</sup> Amerindian gold and exotica stolen from Cortés by French pirates were also exhibited at a private masque in Varengeville, France.<sup>145</sup> The royal treasury was paraded before the subjects of the state during royal entrances, many of which were embellished with theatrical entertainments. Fernando the Catholic’s extravagant 1508 entrance into the city of Seville was adorned with triumphal arches and celebrated with jousts, games of canes, running of the bulls, and naumachia.<sup>146</sup> Seville hosted the entrance and a number of “magnificent representations” for Carlos V on the occasion of his marriage to Isabel of Portugal (Holy Roman Empress, 1526-1539) at La Catedral.<sup>147</sup>

More and more, as mineral riches poured in from the New World, the bodies of saints and monarchs were decorated and framed with objects made of precious metals, and shared in the performance of treasured bodies. Like the bejeweled Virgen de los Reyes, whose hair was made of hundreds of strands of gold thread, kings and saints belonged to a genus of political-sacred

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<sup>143</sup> Adamson, “The Making of the Ancien-Régime,” 38.

<sup>144</sup> Priscilla Muller, “Spanish and Spanish Colonial Jewelry,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 25, no. 2 (2000): 35-36.

<sup>145</sup> Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 174.

<sup>146</sup> Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla. La ciudad del Quinientos*, Tercera Edición Revisada (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1983), 130.

<sup>147</sup> Hugo Albert Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega* (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1909), 23. A list of additional visits to Seville by royal personages is available in Appendix A.

performance whose efficacy and power was sourced in metallurgy. Walter Benjamin's concept of "aura" may be a productive way of thinking about the transformative and performative presence of treasured saints and kings, both living and dead, presented in their finely crafted litters and feretra:

We know that the earliest art works originated in the service of a ritual—first the magical, then the religious kind. It is significant that the existence of the work of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function. In other words, the unique value of the "authentic" work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value. This ritualistic basis, however remote, is still recognizable as secularized ritual even in the most profane forms of the cult of beauty.<sup>148</sup>

Although Benjamin's concept of aura arises out of his exegesis of twentieth-century Marxism and Fascism, mass production of culture is not a feature of the modern era alone. As Arne Flaten observes, in Renaissance Europe the "abundance of new [media] types similarly concerned with replication, many of which appeared almost simultaneously, is remarkable: Plaquettes, portrait medals, engravings, printed books, and type design, cartapesta and terracotta Madonna and Child sculptures," etc.<sup>149</sup> Late medieval plaquettes (Figure 4.7) were mass produced in the manner of casting, and were used as paxes—finely-decorated tablets presented at Mass for the kiss of peace.<sup>150</sup> As devotional objects that were touched by the hands and faces of the faithful, paxes accommodated a vital sensory experience of the sacred. Religious figures were not the only subjects of mass produced art objects. Because of their propagandistic value, portrait medals of

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<sup>148</sup> Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, trans. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 225-26.

<sup>149</sup> Arne R. Flaten, "Reproducible Media(s) in the Early Fifteenth Century, Mostly Italia," *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 3, no. 1 (2012), accessed June 1, 2011, <http://postmedievalcrowdreview.wordpress.com/papers/flaten/>. Many of the objects examined by Flaten are Italian in source, however because of the close political, religious and cultural connections between Italian and Spanish states, these objects likely found their way into Spanish devotional culture.

<sup>150</sup> "Plaquettes are usually small, single-sided reliefs, generally produced in series in bronze or lead. As a rule, they are not independent creations but castings from originals in gold or silver, stone or ivory, or taken from impressions of antique gems. Renaissance collectors in particular stimulated the production of plaquettes in order that they could acquire small-scale, portable reproductions of rare and costly originals." *Cast gilt bronze pax*, 1486, The British Museum, accessed July 10, 2011, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_mla/c/cast\\_gilt\\_bronze\\_pax.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/c/cast_gilt_bronze_pax.aspx)



**Figure 4.7**  
Cast gilt bronze pax (1486)

kings and princes were often cast and distributed in great numbers, and like the plaquette of the Virgin and Child, partook in the economy of sacred aura citationally by referencing a precious original. Because the materials that comprised plaquettes, printed books, and terracotta sculptures were relatively inexpensive, these devotional objects were available to the growing middle class of the era. Copies of ancient Roman medallions were also manufactured and distributed; “[a]nyone with sufficient funds might annex the exclusive privilege of the glorious Roman emperors.”<sup>151</sup> Finally, whether reproduced mechanically or manually, paintings, statues, and other objects of cults of the Virgin Mary and saints were often carried by explorers to the New World, where they were copied. Duplicates of devotional objects from the *Templo de Madre de Dios* in Seville, for instance, can be found today dispersed across Latin America, in Patagonia, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil.<sup>152</sup>

Luminescent vessels insisted upon the intrinsic worth and memorial value of the bodies contained within: kings and saints. In early modern Spanish political and religious festivals, the cult of profane beauty (mineral enrichment) and ritual magic (relic devotion) joined forces in the creation of universal Christian space, and the court and Church benefited from associations made with one another. This would have been especially true in the first half of the sixteenth century, when royal entries did not employ grand decorative programs based on ancient mythology (as was the case in the Netherlands, Germany, and Italy), and therefore associations with sacred figures from Christian history figured more prominently.<sup>153</sup>

A 1497 letter from Columbus to the Catholic Monarchs is devoted in great detail to issues of collecting, smelting, distribution, accounting, and transportation of the gold of Hispaniola.

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<sup>151</sup> Flaten, “Reproducible Media(s),” accessed June 1, 2011, <http://postmedievalcrowdreview.wordpress.com/papers/flaten/>.

<sup>152</sup> Celestino López Martínez and José Muñoz San Román, *El templo de Madre de Dios de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Giménez, 1930), 41.

<sup>153</sup> Knecht, “Court Festivals as Political Spectacle,” 22.

Columbus commits twelve separate items to the subject of gold, followed by a statement on religious matters: "...there shall be a church, and parish priest or friars to administer the sacraments, to perform divine worship, and for the conversion of the Indians."<sup>154</sup> The appreciation of gold evident in Columbus's writing is not merely a valorization of wealth and the sacred objects of the church, "but rather a tribute to *gold* both as *a means* for religious purposes and as *a sign bearing a religious value in itself*."<sup>155</sup> The elaboration of devotional spirituality in medieval Franciscanism was compatible with Columbus's beliefs, and was shared by a great number of Spanish who travelled across the Atlantic Ocean. The display of the riches of the New World benefited from thematic associations with Christian ritual objects and relic devotion of the early modern period, which in no way decreased in popular interest in the sixteenth century and certainly increased at the Hapsburg court. Metallurgy became thaumaturgy at a time when gold and silver flooded the European markets after collection and processing at the Casa de Contratación.

Ritual objects from the New World entered into this courtly elaboration and display of mineral wealth, interpolating exotic otherness into an unexpected field of imagination and desire. Contemporary narratives of the 1528 Amerindian entertainments at Valladolid, discussed earlier, follow a consistent pattern: each presentation of Amerindian games and entertainments was preceded, and often bookended, by the exhibition and gifting of gold and other riches from the New Spain. In the account of Díaz del Castillo, this particular ritual progression (performances

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<sup>154</sup> William Eleroy Curtis, *The Relics of Columbus: An Illustrated Description of the Historical Collection in the Monastery of La Rábida* (Washington, D.C.: The William H. Lowdermilk Company, 1893), 201-02.

<sup>155</sup> "...sino un elogio del *oro* a la vez como *medio* para fines religiosos y como *signo* teniendo un valor religioso en sí" (emphasis in Milhou). Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, 125; 129.

by Amerindians immediately following the presentation of gold) occurred four times: once in Seville, once in the village of Guadalupe, and twice at the court at Valladolid.<sup>156</sup>

Christian dialogue with exotic others at the edges of the Iberian Peninsula was nothing new to the experience of Renaissance Castilians. The thirteenth-century illumination to Alfonso X's cantiga 29 from the *codice rico* manuscript contains a rich assortment of African animals (a camel, a lion, a zebra, an elephant, and a giraffe) bowing down to the figure of the Virgin Mary, and John Keller concludes that the artist based his rendition on the exotic animals in the king's zoo.<sup>157</sup> There is also a passage from Alfonso's *Crónica General* that describes a visit of ambassadors from the King of Egypt to the Castilian court, who put on display a catalogue of fantastic objects and animals, among them expensive jewels, precious clothing and natural objects, ivory carvings, and a zebra.<sup>158</sup> These encounters with the peripheral world reoriented fetishized objects in the direction of the Christian political and spiritual realms, the pantheon of Virgin Marys and saints seated at their shrines. Displays of national difference also appeared in the *danzas del sarao*, a sixteenth-century courtly dance form loosely organized around themes of nationality and pastoral ideals (pagan, ancient, and foreign). The most prominent feature of the *danzas del sarao* (which were incorporated into Seville's religious processions) was brilliant costuming that corporally and visually sharpened definitions of national custom and culture. Gypsies, Moors, Africans, Amerindians, and Spaniards from other provinces would present

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<sup>156</sup> Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista*, 544-51.

<sup>157</sup> John Esten Keller and Annette Grant Cash, "Foreword," *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), ix.

<sup>158</sup> Alfonso X, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, and Sancho IV, *Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), 293.

songs, music, and dance, dressed in a way that sufficiently contrasted with aspects of the dominant native Seville culture.<sup>159</sup>

Interpreting a picture of the New World through European eyes, Hernán Cortés wrote to Emperor Carlos V about Tenochtitlán, “[t]he city is as big as Seville or Córdoba. The main streets are very wide and straight; some of these are on land, but the rest and all the smaller ones are half on land, half canals where they paddle their canoes.... The city has many squares where trading is done and markets are held continuously. There is also one square twice as big as that of Salamanca, with arcades all around.”<sup>160</sup> Like Cortés’s description of the Aztec city, performances of exotic wealth along arteries of importation and in imperial spaces of sixteenth-century Seville were means of translating an unintelligible culture by inserting the artifacts, bodies, and gestures of that culture into familiar structures of early modern procession and spectacle. Without any prior connotative context to understand these performances, Cortés, the performers, and audiences attempted to translate their experience with what Thomas Cummins calls “ekphrasis of crosscultural translation”:

...if ekphrasis, as a European poetic concept, is the “illusionary representation of the unrepresentable,” then this inherent paradox, when it becomes apparent in the relation of text and image in the New World, reveals the absurd nature of this unproblematic acceptance of the truth content of the image and thereby the translation which is attached to it, because it masks the act of translation itself as being both cultural and verbal.... If then there is a common thread to what I have called the ekphrasis of crosscultural translation, it is the act of invention/discovery that carries in it the desire for completeness and closure: the existence of something prior that allows for the telling, often in spite of the lying nature of the teller.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 155-56.

<sup>160</sup> Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. and trans. by Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 102-03.

<sup>161</sup> Thomas Cummins, “From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 172.

For all those present at the spectacle of New World wares and peoples, the desire for closure precipitated scenes of invention and discovery.

From where, exactly, did this need for knowledge and invention derive? For Hernán Cortés, there were personal goals: to convince Carlos V to grant him titles that would give him greater administrative and military control over New Spain. During Cortés's travels across Spain in 1528 and 1529, theatricalizing and distributing the riches collected from Amerindian societies was especially important because Cortés's political enemies had charged him with deferring payments of gold to the crown. An auric spectacle was the way in which he responded to his accusers' charges. In the end, Cortés was received by the imperial court with distinction: decorated with knighthood and granted the title of Marquis of the Oaxaca Valley (one of the richest regions of New Spain)—short of what Cortés was seeking (reinstatement of his governorship of New Spain) but still impressive. During this period, Cortés married the daughter of a nobleman—Doña Juana de Zuñiga—facilitating his entrance into the aristocratic class. The gifts given to his betrothed included five massive emeralds carved by Aztec craftsmen into the shapes of a rose, a bell, a fish, a trumpet, and a cup.<sup>162</sup> The marriage arrangement gave Cortés direct access to societies of wealthy landowners and merchants in Spain who financed not only ongoing exploration and trade in the New World but also the processions, receptions, and other ceremonies that disseminated New World culture and riches in Europe.<sup>163</sup>

It is clear that, for a number of Amerindian displays, the goal was to elevate and redefine the status of the “savage” body in spiritual and commercial terms through associations with

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<sup>162</sup> Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 598.

<sup>163</sup> The Guzmán family (the Dukes of Medina Sidonia) was one of the oldest in Seville, dating back to the thirteenth century. They held the titles of dukes of Medina Sidonia and counts of Niebla, and their estates included 30 settlements in an area of 6,000 square kilometers in southwestern Andalusia. The head of the dynasty resided in his palace in Seville (*casas principales*), in the parish of San Miguel. Ruiz Jiménez, “Power and Musical Exchange,” 402-03.

reliquary, imperial decoration, and auric blessings. There are other entertainments, however, that incurred expressions of anxiety, erotic fascination, and disgust. In many of these games and entertainments the performers were barely clothed, as in the traditional Amerindian ball game of striking a lightweight wooden ball “not with their hands or feet, but with their sides” (buttocks) (Figure 4.8).<sup>164</sup> As mentioned above, Francisco López de Gómara documented “certain very white Indian men and women, and others dwarfs, and others deformed”<sup>165</sup> among the group of entertainers at the Seville palace of Medina Sidonia, and about the group of Totonacs that visited the court of Carlos V in 1519, the Archbishop of Cosenza commented that the women were “short of stature and of disagreeable...appearance,” and he was repulsed by the labrets in their lower lips.<sup>166</sup> These reactions seem to fit into the theatrical economy of savages and freaks that dominated Western representations of aborigines in the ensuing centuries, stereotypes that fetishized otherness and stressed “authenticity as an aesthetic value.”<sup>167</sup> Diana Taylor observes that confirmation of authentic identities of difference required the documentation of Amerindians by specialists: “[i]nsofar as native bodies are invariably presented as not speaking (or not making themselves understood to the defining subject), they give rise to an industry of ‘experts’ needed to approach and interpret them—language experts, scientists, ethicists, ethnographers, and cartographers.”<sup>168</sup>

One of the many experts enlisted to interpret the Amerindian body was the German artist Christoph Weiditz. At some point during his visit to Spain in 1528, Weiditz attended a

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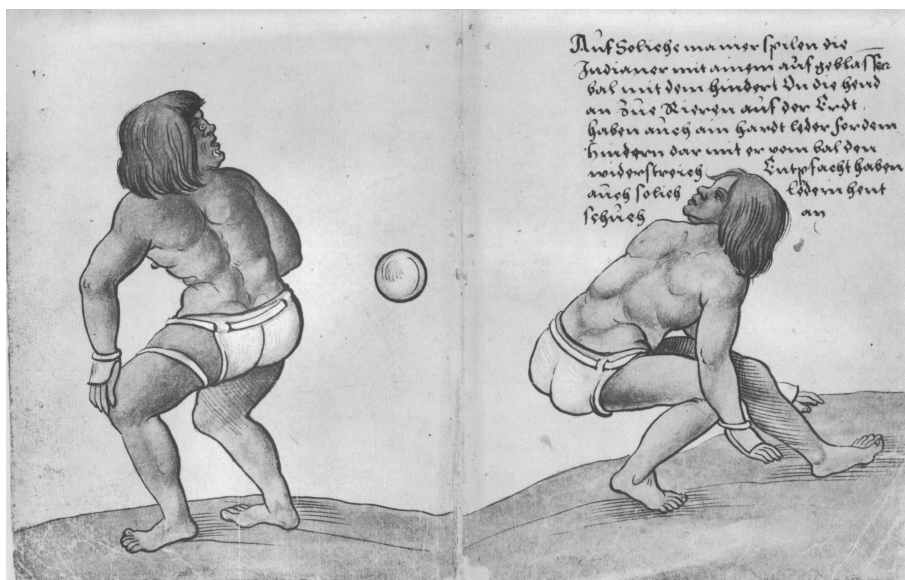
<sup>164</sup> Andrés Navagero, “Viaje por España del magnífico Micer Andrés Navagero, y Cartas de Micer Andrés Navagero a M. Juan Bautista Ramusio,” in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal. Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XVI*, ed. José García Mercadal, vol. 1 (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 851-52.

<sup>165</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista*, 302.

<sup>166</sup> Carey, “Letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza,” 162.

<sup>167</sup> Fusco, “Other History of Intercultural Performance,” 209.

<sup>168</sup> Diana Taylor, “A Savage Performance: Guillermo Gómez-Peña and Coco Fusco’s ‘Couple in the Cage,’” *TDR* 42, no. 2 (Summer 1998): 161.



**Figure 4.8**  
 Christoph Weiditz, Indians playing ball (1529)

performance of Cortés's Amerindians and drew a number of images based on what he saw (Figures 4.6 and 4.8).<sup>169</sup> As Theodor Hampe observes in his introduction to the 1927 publication of Weiditz' drawings and woodcuts, Weiditz' work can be situated within a growing, Europe-wide interest in costuming and appreciation of the "outward appearance of mankind" in the sixteenth century.<sup>170</sup> Weiditz traveled across the Peninsula and drew portraits of other subjects that he believed typified specific Peninsular cultures: a Sevillian noble lady, a penitent from Saragossa, punishment of a female prisoner, street dress of a morisca woman, a negro slave with a wine-skin, and Amerindians playing *mora* (a game of stones). The figures are drawn in full-frontal arrangement, without backgrounds and in neutral settings. There is a noticeable contrast between his portraits of Moors, Africans, and Amerindians (which are regularly portrayed in a behavior endemic to their culture) and Christians (who are rarely engaged in an activity of any kind). The non-Christians are also noticeably more corporal and robustly illustrated than the Christian subjects. Weiditz' written descriptions of cultural styles and customs along the borders of the drawings attempt a kind of factual unconcern; however, value judgments occasionally slip in: "This is also a policeman, one of the pious lads who deserve all honour"; "Thus the Moors who have been sold carry wine in goatskins in Castile—if they run away from their masters, they have to work thus and wear chains"; "This is the Morisco dance music they make noises also like calves" [sic]; and "Thus the women in Castile wail and also violently cry out wherefore he died, for they certainly were beautiful and rich and pious."<sup>171</sup> Weiditz' brand of anthropological prose expresses Christian self-assurance, while anxieties that arise in the confrontation with difference occasionally seep through his visual encyclopedia of culture. Weiditz' documentary style

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<sup>169</sup> Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, plates XIII, XIV (Indians playing ball), plates XV, XVI, and XVII (Indian Performance with a wooden block, phase 1-3), plate XXI (Indian with a wooden drinking jug), plate XXII (Indian chief ("Noble")).

<sup>170</sup> Theodor Hampe, "First Part: The Artist and the Work," in Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, 11.

<sup>171</sup> Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, 33-36; 43. Translations by Theodor Hampe.

operates under a guise of objectivity, while juxtaposing the other against Christian, European norms.

In these textual, aesthetic, and performative displays of fleshy indigenous peoples, bodies were explored as the grotesque against which Europeans self-identified. Other times, the opposite was true. Jewels and precious metals cloaked corporal signs, creating personhoods with spiritual/regal power and aura. Costuming, then, became the dramatic art that authenticated New World material culture (aulic and auric), positing “peopleness” and presence. Like reliquaries of saints’ bodies, costumes from the Old and New Worlds aestheticized and masked bodiliness, a burlesque that produced a sense of mystery and enticement. On colonial stages, “a scenography of recycled and tentative materials, a half-designed intercultural stage in which the past was still too close and the future was not close enough” helped motivate the process of incorporating Amerindians into a medieval structure of feeling.<sup>172</sup>

### ***Bodies in space***

Although Fernando III was not formally canonized until 1671, veneration of the king in Seville was well underway centuries earlier.<sup>173</sup> Royal “recibimientos” (triumphal entrances) for the king were conducted annually from 1248, and the feast of the king was celebrated with processions, military displays, and dances as early as the mid-thirteenth century on the Day of Saint Clement.<sup>174</sup> As discussed above, Fernando’s relics have occupied the royal chapel of La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede since 1279, when his son, King Alfonso X, had them translated. The organization of the brilliant *mise-en-scène* of the chapel, which remained intact until the destruction of the mosque/cathedral in 1401, included three life-sized cenotaphs,

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<sup>172</sup> Leo Cabranes-Grant, “From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico,” *Theatre Journal* 63 (2011), 502.

<sup>173</sup> In the 1330s the Franciscan writer Alvarus Pelagius included Fernando in his list of *reges sacratissimi*. Peter Linehan, *Past and Present in Medieval Spain* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), 178.

<sup>174</sup> Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 52-53; 77.

sarcophagi, playing spaces around the altar, and the Virgen de los Reyes puppet. Fernando's magnificent sepulcher was inscribed with an epitaph in Latin, Castilian, Arabic, and Hebrew, praising the one "who conquered all of Spain" as "the most loyal, true, generous, energetic, elegant, illustrious, patient, and humble; who most of all feared God and rendered to Him the greatest service; who broke and destroyed all his enemies, and exalted all his friends. He conquered the city of Seville, the head of all Spain, where he died on the last day of May, in the era of 1290 (1252)."<sup>175</sup>

Each of the next three translations of Fernando III were conducted in response to structural modifications made to his resting place, and the unveiling of the newly ornamented chapel to celebrants became part of the dramaturgy of the event. After the mosque/cathedral was demolished in 1401, and during reconstruction of the new Gothic structure, Fernando's body was conserved in the section of the cathedral known today as the *Biblioteca Columbina* (the cathedral archive), at the east side of the *Patio de los Naranjos*. The commissioning of a huge collection of artworks was funded in large part through papal donations and streams of money funneled from parish churches.<sup>176</sup> Fernando's body was ceremonially returned to the new royal chapel in 1432. We have more information about the conditions of the sixteenth-century translation than earlier rituals; however, it is certain that the processions of the translation traveled through the main thoroughfares of Seville shared by other religious and political ceremonies. Processional

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<sup>175</sup> "Aquí yaze el miu ondrado Hernando, señor de Castiella, e de Toledo, e de León, e de Galicia, de Seuilla, de Córdoba, de Murcia, e Iahén; el que conquistó toda España; el más leal, el más verdadero, el más franco, el más esforzado, el más apuesto, el más granado, el más zofrido, el más homildoso, el que más temie a Dios, el que más le facie servicio, el que quebrantó e destruyó a todos sus enemigos, el que alzó e ondró todos sus amigos, e conquistó la ciudad de Seuilla, que es cabeça de toda España, e passó en el postrimero día de mayo en la era del mil e cc. e noventa." Loaysa y González de León, *Memorias sepulcrales de la Catedral de Sevilla. Los manuscritos de Loaysa y González de León*, ed. Juan José Antequera Luengo (Sevilla: Facediciones, 2008), 51. This edition includes a large collection of manuscripts and rewritten church records from the late Middle Ages through the early modern period, originally compiled in the late seventeenth century by the cathedral's canon, librarian, and archivist. Translation by Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 55.

<sup>176</sup> Álvaro Recio Mir, "Sacrum Senatium." *Las estancias capitulares de la Catedral de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 37-38.

routes remained mostly unchanged until the Baroque period when the infrastructure of the city was transformed on a large scale.

In 1543, Fernando was moved a third time to the chapel of San Clemente (designed in the mudéjar style) while a *retablo* for the new royal chapel was built.<sup>177</sup> The tabernacle of the royal chapel was created to complement the *retablo mayor*, when the Church of Spain adopted the dispositions of the Council of Trent by using the archdiocese's considerable resources to forge new altars, crosses, reliquaries, and *retablos* from precious metal and stone. The massive *retablo* of the *capilla mayor*, unprecedented in size and expense for its time (and still the largest in the world), was made in large part from silver cut from the earth by Amerindian slaves in Mexico and Peru (Figure 4.9).<sup>178</sup> The *retablo mayor*, largely paid for by wealthy patrons of the archdiocese, was completed in 1564 after eighty years in the making.<sup>179</sup> Upon completion of the *capilla real* in 1579, Fernando's body was returned to the chapel, along with the bones of his son and queen. A number of extraordinary processions were arranged to celebrate the inauguration of the new royal chapel, and the cathedral's relics, royal *feretra*, the *Virgen de los Reyes*, and other statues of saints were carried through the city. The translation celebrations lasted a number of days and followed the form of the feast of Corpus Christi; clergy, military personnel, and

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<sup>177</sup> López Martínez and San Román, *El templo de Madre de Dios de Sevilla*, 15.

<sup>178</sup> The *retablo* is 20 meters high and 13.20 meters wide. Reliefs show the life of Christ, the Virgin Mary and Sevillian martyrs Isidore and Justa and Rufina. The gates surrounding the *capilla mayor*, built between 1518 and 1533, are profusely ornamented and built of gold. The *Virgen de la Sede* statue, holding a globe in her free hand, occupies a central position in front of the *retablo*. José Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla* (Carretera León-La Coruña: Editorial Everest, S.A., 1981), 112. The *retablo* was constructed at a time when a new amalgamation process for extracting silver was employed in Mexico and Potosí, Peru, and the flow of silver from the New World to Europe increased greatly after 1550. Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature*, 31-32.

<sup>179</sup> Recio Mir, "Sacrum Senatum," 38.



**Figure 4.9**

*Retablo (sixteenth century) and “La Danza de los Seises”  
Capilla Mayor, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*

officers of the Inquisition all participated. The unique traditional music and dance of *Los Seises* was performed as well (Figure 4.9).<sup>180</sup>

As a “sacred frontier object” King Fernando’s sword, named *Lobera*, played a significant role in the rituals of translation, and in other spectacles as well.<sup>181</sup> In the medieval chapel, the stone effigy of the conqueror king grasped the sword in its hand, and *Lobera* has remained on display ever since.<sup>182</sup> Fernando is consistently depicted in statues, paintings, and illuminations carrying his sword, and sometimes also carrying a globe of the world in his other hand, symbolically linking the Reconquista with the conquest of the New World. Various aspects of the fourteenth-century cult of Fernando incorporated the symbol of the sword into their devotional practices. The illumination to cantiga 292 of the F manuscript, painted in a markedly different style than the other illuminations of MS T.I.1, was likely added to the collection after Alfonso X’s death, perhaps in the fourteenth century (Figure 2.2). Scholars have also suggested that the image of Fernando in cantiga 292 represents the stone effigy of the king (now lost) in the programme of figures in the capilla royal. The sword is executed with particular attention to detail and its oversized appearance dominates the illumination, suggesting that the artist was interested in conveying a sense of power rather than representational accuracy. In 1407 Fernando I of Aragón (Regent of Castile, 1406-1416, King of Aragón, 1412-1416) arrived in Seville to prepare for his own campaigns against the Muslim kingdom of Granada. Because the sword was thought to have special powers in battles against the infidel, the fifteenth-century Fernando followed the advice of a local count and lifted the sword from the prone body of the

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<sup>180</sup> Francisco de Sigüenza, *Relación de la traslación de la imagen* (Sevilla, 1579), 85-4-13, in *Casos raros y particulares sucedidos en Sevilla*, BCC 85-4-11, no. 30.

<sup>181</sup> I am borrowing the phrase from Ian Richard Macpherson and Angus MacKay, eds., *Love, Religion, and Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 169. Medieval chronicles make it clear that his sword was carried in procession on his feast day. Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 53.

<sup>182</sup> Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 93.

relic, processed it around the church and through the city, and carried it on his person during the military campaign.<sup>183</sup>

The collection of relics of the cathedral, displayed in various locations throughout the massive building, framed the liturgical processions of the church and visually contributed to the sixteenth-century structure of feeling distinguished by treasured bodies. Many of the processional crosses, monstrances, and other properties of the Mass and public festivals that are held in the cathedral treasury today were created during the Baroque period. However, some important objects were on display in earlier times: *Las Tablas Alfonsíes*, an ancient and important piece of metalwork made in Toledo in 1280 for Alfonso X, honors his muse, the Virgin Mary; the pendant worn by Fernando during Reconquista (thirteenth century); reliquary urns of Saints Servando and Germán (sixteenth century), patrons of Cádiz (the port from which Christopher Columbus launched his second and fourth voyages); a fragment of the True Cross in a reliquary cross made of gold and precious stones (sixteenth century); a processional cross made of crystal, agate, gold and silver (1530); a group of Gothic Virgin and Child statues made of precious stones, enamel, and gold (fifteenth century); and a gold plate carrying a pax for kissing (*portapaz*) with an image of Saint Anne, the Mother of Mary (fifteenth century).<sup>184</sup> These final three devotional objects would have entered the affective life of the celebrant through the sense of touch as well as sight. The key to the city—traditionally thought to have been given to Fernando III at the capitulation of Seville—is almohade in design and construction. The Arabic inscription on the key reads “With the city: Allah is the whole empire and power.” And near the

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<sup>183</sup> Fernando I returned the sword at the end of the campaign. Juan de Mata Carriazo, ed., *Cronica de Juan II de Castilla*, vol. 1, 1406-1411 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, s. a., 1982), 129-31, 189-91.

<sup>184</sup> Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 82; 92.

shrine of San Blas and San Leandro was displayed an ivory crucifix and paten that Cortés used to officiate at the first Mass held in Mexico in 1519.<sup>185</sup>

Fernando's final translation occurred in 1671, in the year of his canonization.<sup>186</sup> In 1710, his preserved body was placed in the silver-gilt glass sepulcher through which visitors of the cathedral can view the body to this day, on special occasions (Figure 4.10).<sup>187</sup> Behind the casket of Fernando in a small niche are the relics of other royal persons protected in mahogany boxes.<sup>188</sup> And, of course, the Virgen de Los Reyes, framed by a magnificent silver retablo, sits above the entire tableau. Each translation presented an opportunity for the most cherished relic of Seville to be carried from the church and processed through the streets, his well-preserved body surveying the city he conquered, his gaze returned by the Sevillians experiencing the retelling of history in the presence of their first king. The symbolic figurehead of Reconquista was performatively and repeatedly resurrected in the sacred spaces and streets of Seville, contributing to the city's identity as an imperial center.

While the spectacle of the conquering saint and his Mary automaton drew the attention of Seville's general public, another martial dramatization was staged for a more exclusive audience. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera—who wrote one of the first (and frequently imitated) European histories of the conquest of the New World—provided an amazingly detailed description of Amerindian performances he witnessed in Seville.<sup>189</sup> In 1522, a flotilla carrying a delegation of

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>186</sup> At the time of the last translation of Fernando III's relics, the "effigies of Fernando III, Beatriz, and Alfonso X, and the tabernacle which surrounded them were discarded and the bodies were placed in new urns." O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 55. O'Callaghan also notes that "when the body of Fernando III was examined in 1668 the crowd that pushed into the royal chapel seized as relics the king's shoes and pieces of clothing and someone tore skin from one of the feet." Ibid., 55, fn. 51.

<sup>187</sup> The casket is the work of Juan Loreano de Pina and took forty-five years to complete.

<sup>188</sup> Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 109.

<sup>189</sup> Appendix B contains the full text of his eyewitness account of an Aztec mock ritual and comic scenes, some of which are excerpted here.



**Figure 4.10**

Sarcophagus (seventeenth century) and relic of San Fernando III  
*Capilla Real, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*

Totonacs and loaded with gold, silver, emeralds, and precious Amerindian art objects arrived in Spain. Cortés's representative from New Spain, Juan Ribera, arranged a theatrical presentation of the treasures and Amerindians for Martire d'Anghiera and a private audience in Seville, which included a papal legate (Marino Caracciolo), an envoy of the Duke of Milan (Jason Maino), and the Venetian ambassador to Spain (Gaspar Contarini). Amerindian codices and art objects filled Martire d'Anghiera with enthusiasm: "[i]t is not so much the gold or the precious stones I admire, as the cleverness of the artist and the workmanship, which much exceed the value of the material and excite my amazement."<sup>190</sup> Describing the golden jewelry worn by the Amerindians, including a pendant piercing the extremity of the underlip of the men in the group, Martire d'Anghiera wrote: "Just as we wear precious stones mounted in gold upon our fingers, so do they insert pieces of gold the size of a ring into the lips.... I cannot remember ever to have seen anything more hideous." All the men admired the spoils of war collected from Moctezuma and his chiefs: 32,000 ducats of gold in the form of smelted bars, and other objects coated with precious metals and stones: masks, mirrors, pearls, shields, helmets, vases, rings, necklaces, and jewelry in the forms of shells and birds.

The prose of Martire d'Anghiera's chronicle is structured in scientific and unemotional terms, occasionally revealing expressions of desire, excitement, and shock. The account of the unfamiliar and exotic animals, plants, costumes, and sacred objects—recorded like a botanist's survey—reminds us that for medieval Christians, gilded sacred and natural objects testified to God's power on earth. "[T]he use of exotic treasures from nature as sacred containers in ecclesiastical contexts—chalices, reliquaries, and monstrances composed from ostrich eggs and coconut shells—and as objects of wonder which testify to the marvels of God's creation,

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<sup>190</sup> Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, vol. 2 (New York; London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), decade 5, bk. 10, 46.

[attracted] a public into the church and [induced] reverent awe.”<sup>191</sup> On the one hand, naming the habits and appearances of Totonacs in the manner of an early modern naturalist helped relieve the sense of danger, corruption, and irreconcilable strangeness of Amerindians.<sup>192</sup> On the other hand, the intensity of interest and desire to know the other in corporal and sensual terms embellished the prose and artworks of early modern specialists and observers, and suggested the affective life of a Christian devotee.

After the exotic articles and treasures were exhibited, Ribera summoned a “young native slave” to the open terrace where they sat. The Totonac had changed out of his jewel-studded clothing and now wore a “robe of woven feathers, half blue and half red,” held a wooden sword “without the stones which ordinarily decorate this weapon,” and a shield decorated with tiger skin, feathers, and gold. The imitation wooden sword was used as a prop in an “exhibition of a battle” that Ribera’s slave performed by “hurling himself upon his enemies, then retreating.”<sup>193</sup> I quote the remainder of the account of the extraordinary scene here:

...then he engaged another slave who served with him and was trained to these exercises. He seized him by the hair, as they do their enemies whom they capture with weapons in their hands, dragging them off to be sacrificed. After throwing the slave on the ground, he feigned to cut open his breast above the heart, with a knife. After tearing out the heart, he wrung from his hands the blood flowing from the wound, and then besprinkled the sword and shield. This is the treatment they show prisoners. Rubbing two sticks together he lighted a new fire, in which he burnt the heart; for the sacrificial fire must never have served any other purpose, as they believe the smoke of this sacrifice pleases the tutelary gods of their country. The rest of the body is cut into pieces, as the gestures of the slave showed, but the belly and entrails are untouched; no doubt for fear of corruption. The head of the enemy sacrificed in this wise is stripped of its flesh and set in gold, after which the victor keeps it as a trophy. They are even accustomed to make as many little

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<sup>191</sup> Martin Kemp, “‘Wrought by No Artist’s Hand’: The Natural, the Artificial, the Exotic, and the Scientific in Some Artifacts from the Renaissance,” in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 181-82.

<sup>192</sup> “Colonial botany—the study, naming, cultivation, and marketing of plants in colonial contexts—was born of and supported European voyages, conquests, global trade, and scientific exploration.” Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 2.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 39; 195-96; 202.

golden heads with half-opened mouths as it is proven each has killed or sacrificed enemies, and these they wear round their neck. It is believed the members are eaten.<sup>194</sup>

This is the only account of a re-represented, mock Aztec sacrifice that I have been able to locate in sixteenth-century literature. It is not known if the Totonac used props to theatrically suggest fire, or representational objects for the blood, heart, and head of the vanquished enemy, but Martire d'Anghiera makes it clear that the ritual was "feigned" using gestures and suggestions of physical action.

Certainly, in a bellicose society that produced mock battles and reverential processions for conquering saints (while real campaigns were fought on a number of fronts), the audience for the mimed Aztec drama had available to them a frame of reference through which to interpret the performance. However, a narrow interpretation of the battle scene would be put into question by what followed. After a second costume change, the slave reappeared dancing and singing native songs while holding in his left hand "a golden toy with a thousand different ornaments, and in his right hand a circle of bells, which he shook, gaily raising and lowering his golden toy." A third costume change and the slave played the role of a drunk, to which Martire d'Anghiera commented, "never was the role more faithfully sustained." Martire d'Anghiera reported that, in the New World, Amerindians "rush naked through the streets, and squares of the town, clutching at the walls, to sustain themselves and asking their way home of those whom they meet. Some spit, others puke, and oftener still they fall to the ground." It is presumed that the Amerindian slave performing on Martire d'Anghiera's patio imitated some of these behaviors. The particular language used to describe the comic performance is striking: "never was the *role* more *faithfully sustained*."<sup>195</sup> Although in 1522 the Golden Age of written drama was in its infant stages, one of

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 202-03.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 204 (emphasis mine).

the most beloved and common prototypical characters of the early Spanish stage (from late medieval and Renaissance periods) were *pastorales* (pastorals), which frequented the plays of Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, Juan del Encina, and Bartolomé Torres Naharro. The rustic character (often a shepherd named *Mingo*) has a long history in medieval Spanish jongleuresque entertainment, festivals, profane ceremonies at court (*momos*) and in public, fifteenth-century *cancioneros*, representations at Corpus Christi, and notably in vernacular Nativity dramas.<sup>196</sup> Late medieval *pastorales* in Spain were multi-talented; they were excellent acrobats and dazzled audiences with feats of physical prowess. Not unlike shepherd characters from other medieval performance traditions, they were obsessed with food and drink. No doubt, this was another association European audiences may have made while witnessing Amerindian foot-jugglers, tumblers, ball players, comic drunks, and other prestidigitators.

Determining a predictable subject, in this case, proved a difficult task. A compelling aspect of Martire d'Anghiera's account of sacrifice and war—one that could easily go unnoticed—is his repeated use of the pronoun “they.” It is unclear in his narration if “they” refers to Totonacs or their imperial Aztec enemies. It is possible that Martire d'Anghiera's expressed ambiguity was due to the fact that he did not know. Prior to Spanish discovery and conquest in Mesoamerica, the Totonacs had been enemies of the Aztecs since the Mexica Empire came to power in the thirteenth century. Aztec warriors had decimated the Totonac population by capturing and sacrificing many of their children, also keeping Totonac children as slaves.<sup>197</sup> Martire d'Anghiera apparently did not possess the important contextual information with which to interpret the mock sacrifice. In assuming the role of an Aztec in the reenactment, the principal

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<sup>196</sup> Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1996), 186-89; 207; 218-19.

<sup>197</sup> Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista*, 31.

Totonac “slave” had the opportunity to color the mock sacrifice with performative commentary. Perhaps the actor projected a sense of alienation from the role he was playing, or displayed anger and disgust at the behaviors of the Aztecs as he imitated them.

This crucial layer of meaning was a transcript that remained hidden in performance, and was never documented by the Italian chronicler. James Scott defines “hidden transcripts” as the “practices and claims of [the disempowered] that cannot be openly avowed... a backstage discourse consisting of what cannot be spoken in the face of power.”<sup>198</sup> Although the performative transcript of the Totonac was, in this case, hidden from the European audience, I do not interpret the act as a form of resistance to hegemonic powers (Aztec or Spanish). Rather, I believe the performance was (mis)read within a dynamic crosscultural ekphrasis, an “invention/discovery that carries in it the desire for completeness and closure: the existence of something prior that allows for the telling, often in spite of the lying nature of the teller.”<sup>199</sup> Martire d’Anghiera also erred in assigning the status of “slave” to the Totonac actor, perhaps assuming that any non-European of dark complexion in the company of a Christian was his slave. But in fact, Totonacs were important allies of the Spanish in their war against the Aztecs, providing crucial support in the ultimate defeat of the empire. Martire d’Anghiera’s account documents a commitment to identity invention and desire for colonial closure. Nowhere does he consider that the cultural and political history of the Amerindian performer may have been any different from that of other Mesoamerican cultures.

As a musician, dancer, imitator of Aztecs and drunks, marketer of New World treasures, and “slave,” the Totonac in Ribera’s company had to delicately negotiate a number of conflicting social dynamics. Like Tlaxcalans in Mexico—who consciously utilized a variety of theatrical

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<sup>198</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), xii.

<sup>199</sup> Cummins, “From Lies to Truth,” 172.

communications in order to maintain parts of their preconquest identities—the Totonac was simultaneously “performing conquest and playing by the rules.”<sup>200</sup> For instance, the Totonac performer would have been surprised, and indeed deeply disappointed, to discover that he was “slave.” But perhaps a sense of bondage was beginning to enter his affective life, as the commodities of his culture hung about his neck and he danced, stumbled, and spit for laughs. His physical being was transformed into commodity machine; it was no more or less special than the inventory of booty he carried. It is impossible, and perhaps unwise, to propose a theory of the Totonac’s emotional state. The written archive, of course, reveals little about Amerindian consciousness. However, there is a suggestion that itinerant Amerindian performers experienced profound grief. The voyage across the ocean was arduous, and living conditions in Europe were neither comfortable nor safe. Throughout the decade, a number of Amerindians perished in Seville before they could return to the New World. An Arawak brought to Spain by Columbus in 1493 died two years later while on display at the Spanish court, “of sadness, apparently.”<sup>201</sup>

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At the very moment the central ritual act of the Aztec civilization was disappearing from the high plateau of Mexico, a bare outline of that same ritual was transposed onto a domesticated European space that stripped the act of its cosmological meanings. Like relics stolen from monastic houses that were ritually revived in new communities and sacred spaces, the translated (transatlantic) bodies of Amerindians abandoned the identities born out of the communities from which they were removed. It was the hope of the Spanish architects of these performances that on the patio of Martire d’Anghiera’s residence, in the castle of the Duke Medina Sidonia, and in

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<sup>200</sup> Patricia Ybarra, *Performing Conquest: Five Centuries of Theater, History, and Identity in Tlaxcala, Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 23.

<sup>201</sup> Taylor, “Couple in the Cage,” 161.

the court of Carlos V, the souls of Amerindians would be severed from an idolatrous past and join a cosmic domain patrolled by Christian saints.

The performative lens that sustained this belief in transformation was based on a covenant: the faith of the hubristic Spanish in divinely sanctioned Christian conversion. Against a manifest horizon of expectation, Sevillians constructed multiple use values for Amerindian bodies through performance. First, Amerindian bodies served a practical purpose by serving as mobile shrines upon which colonial treasures were displayed. Second, the presence of Amerindians on the Peninsula authenticated the riches of the New World for potential benefactors and financiers. Third, the containment of Amerindian bodies in encasements of gold and exotica disguised their perceived “unnatural” corporality, and reinscribed them with sacred aura. Ritual performances in and around Seville galvanized this process of resignification by entering “found objects” of the New World into the space of medieval *mise-en-scène*: processions, pilgrimages, court masques and games, and ritual acts of exchange.

The degree to which these spectacles were successful is unknown. Ambivalence resided at the center of New World performance art: how could a body be a *tabula rasa* *and* a site of anxiety and revulsion? It may be that this paradox was never resolved. “One of the effects of intercultural exchange is to foster the apparition of subjectivities and discourses that traumatize normative narratives of ethnic closure.... [intercultural scenarios] tend to incite a scanning effect that discloses how identities are construed and parsed out in unexpected ways.”<sup>202</sup> In these cases, commodification was troubled by the presence of an embodied history that gave the lie to medieval discourses of sainthood.

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<sup>202</sup> Leo Cabranes-Grant, “Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico,” *Theatre Journal* 63 (2011): 501.

***Coda: modern translations***

A strong sense of religious certainty filled the hearts of the Spanish explorers and conquistadores in the sixteenth century; so it is ironic that the frequent translations and multiple funereal rites afforded Hernán Cortés and Christopher Columbus have created uncertainty about the whereabouts of their bodies. Like Santiago, Cortés's and Columbus's relics traveled across bodies of water in search of a final resting place, but ambiguities in the historical records (rivaling accounts emerging from the colony and the metropole) have shrouded their relics with mystery.

After his death in 1506, Columbus's body continued its restless movement across the Atlantic and Iberian Peninsula, as if its search for patrons and believers never ended. In stark contrast to his life—where he was greeted unceremoniously by the indigenous peoples of Hispaniola and ignored in Spain later in his life—Columbus's post-mortem circum-Atlantic tour was full of pomp and ritual. His remains were ceremonially moved on no fewer than seven occasions, and at one point funeral rites were administered on the ship that bore his body across the ocean. Columbus was first given funereal rites in 1506 in the parish church of *Santa María de la Antigua*, in Valladolid, and buried at the Franciscan cemetery. This was according to his wishes to be near Santa María de la Antigua through eternity, which is one of the reasons his remains were eventually situated near her statue in the cathedral of Seville. In 1509 his body was moved to the Carthusian Monastery in Seville. Then in 1523, at the behest of his son Diego, Columbus's body was moved to the Las Cuevas monastery in Spain. In 1541 Columbus's remains were disinterred again, this time crossing the ocean to Santo Domingo, where they were buried in the city's cathedral. After France took control of Hispaniola in 1795, Spanish authorities moved Columbus to Havana. This set of bones was then returned to Seville in 1899

and interred in La Catedral.<sup>203</sup> The sepulcher of Christopher Columbus is located on the south side of La Catedral near the *Puerta de San Cristóbal*, and can be seen clearly from the nave of the capilla mayor. The massive bronze mausoleum, designed by the architect, sculptor, and painter Arturo Mélida Alinari, is comprised of a coffin carried on the shoulders of four oversized heralds.<sup>204</sup> An inscription on the floor of La Catedral reads “Here lies the magnificent S. D. Hernando Colon.... first to discover the Indies and the new world during the life of the Catholics R. D. Fernando and D. Isabel of glorious memory on the 11th of October of 1492 with three galleys and ninety persons.”<sup>205</sup>

Controversy entered the narrative in 1877, when the oldest cathedral in the New World, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, was being refurbished and workers found a wooden box engraved with the name “Admiral Christopher Columbus” and containing an incomplete collection of bones. DNA testing in 2003 and 2004 did not settle the dispute that arose between the archdioceses of Seville and Santo Domingo. Results from comparisons of bone chips borrowed from the sepulchers of both cathedrals and remains of Columbus’s relatives in 2003 and 2004 were inconclusive.

The history of Cortés’s post-mortem adventures is even more confused, partly because Cortés stipulated in his will that his body remain in Spain for ten years, and then be moved to a monastery he founded in Coyohuacan, Mexico. His body was first laid to rest in 1547 in the family chapel of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, at the church of San Isidro in Seville. It was moved in 1550 to a location in the same church in order to make room for another member of the

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<sup>203</sup> Kirkpatrick Sale, *Christopher Columbus and the Conquest of Paradise* (London and New York: Tauris Parke, 2006), xv-xvi.

<sup>204</sup> Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 58.

<sup>205</sup> “Aquí yaze el M. Magnifico S. D. Hernando Colon.... primero que descubrió las Yndias y nuevo mundo en vida de los Cat. R. D. Fernando y D. Ysabel de gloriosa memoria a 11 de Oct. de 1492 con tres galeras y 90 personas.” Martire d’Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, vol. 1, fn. 2.

Sidonia family. In 1566, his body was sent to Mexico and buried near his mother at a church in Texcoco because the monastery at Coyohuacan had never been completed. His body continued its procession across a network of sacred sites in Mexico—in 1629, 1716, and 1794. After independence, Cortés's body was at risk of desecration, so his coat of arms and mausoleum were moved to Palermo, Sicily. For a number of decades it was unclear if his remains had been moved with his funereal objects, or were hidden in a hospital in Mexico City, or had been lost.<sup>206</sup> In the twentieth century, his body was “rediscovered” in Mexico City, authenticated, and laid in the Church of Jesus of Nazareth.

The rather haphazard and distorted record of the translations of the bodies of these European colonizers speaks to the ultimate failure of the dream of transforming the Atlantic world in the image of Spain. Theatres of sacred, golden objects and ritualized bodies, produced according to a medieval history of Reconquista and Christian hegemony, may have succeeded in selling the idea of religious conquest to Spanish monarchs and investors, but the life of these performances took new form and adopted unexpected meanings during the colonial period in the western Spanish empire. Unlike the medieval relics of saints, the distribution of the relics of Cortés and Columbus across Atlantic territories had little power in uniting the Christian community.

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<sup>206</sup> Luis González Obregón, *Los restos de Hernán Cortés. Disertación histórica y documentada* (Mexico: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1906), 6-9, 12-14, 16-23.

## Conclusion

In the process of researching and writing this dissertation I was confronted with a daunting absence: there was no single, authoritative conceptual model of “theatre” that would guide me through an incredibly rich and perplexing medieval Iberian archive. While working at the borders of a number of intersecting disciplines, I often found myself having to make decisions about what constituted theatrical evidence in uncharted territories; at other times the challenge was to reframe social acts that had never before been considered performatively. Because Seville’s archives have resisted concrete definitions of theatre, I labored, at times, thinking about usages and delineations of concepts like theatre, spectacle, entertainment, social performance, liturgy, procession, and ritual; to put it another way, I wondered about the use of pursuing definitions. New parameters for the study of performance history—and medieval theatre research especially—helped me navigate some of these conundrums, and, as I hope the present work demonstrates, the explication of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, penitential rituals, and Amerindian performances greatly benefited from interdisciplinarity and rigorous readings of textual and material archives. Medieval theatre history has challenged me to rethink generic categories, while maintaining a healthy skepticism towards historiographic certitude. My goal has been to write a dissertation within the bounds of my home discipline, sharing with theatre scholars the reasons why I believe medieval theatre matters. In this occupation, I realized how much medieval studies, in general, matters to the discipline of theatre.

There are a number of ways of explaining the values of medieval studies: its emphasis on cross-disciplinary work, its productive ways of engaging with material culture, and the heterogeneity of performance forms offered to students, practitioners, and historians of theatre. One of the most important ways medieval culture contributes to our understanding of performance studies—and I think Iberian theatre culture does this especially well—is to

challenge assumptions about how people and objects produce meaning. For instance, the unifying concept of this dissertation—phenomenology of coexistence—interjects new questions (sometimes answering them) into the syllogism of human presence. My examination of the borders between living and dead matter (animated statues, agentic relics) and between bodies laden with symbols of difference (Jewish and Muslim converts, Amerindian auric displays, converted mosques, processional byways) turns our attention towards phenomenological transformation as a function of theatre. Are borders between humans and objects ontologically determined or historically configured? How much automaton was “in” the *Virgen de los Reyes* and how much of the spiritual presence of Mary was “in” the puppet? Might we profitably consider this question from the perspective of an audience member or a puppeteer? A performative reading of the manuscripts of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* may incite an affective experience of sacred presence more vivid than that of witnessing the performance of the songs in a chapel. Which of those theatrical spaces better explains the quality of medieval devotion, or, for that matter, the quality of theatre? As I have argued in chapter three, the experience of religious conversion through rituals of baptism and penance may successfully reinscribe the surface of a body while the sense of difference and the memory of an absented practice still live inside the *converso*. But since we cannot, ultimately, know the soul of the *converso* (or the incommensurable variety of *converso* experiences), are the corporal inscriptions all we have to rely on to tell the story? The same could be asked of early modern Amerindian performances. Was the mortification of flesh necessary for the presence of saints, and if so, what does this say about the metonymic citation of relics on the Amerindian body?

Although (officially) a conclusion should give the reader a sense of certitude, I believe that, along with claims, questions that arise out of my analyses of these subjects are worth

carrying away from the reading. The essential ephemerality of performance—a trope whose presence in theatre scholarship is indeed very strong—is part of a historical genealogy, and because the “whys” of medieval Iberian theatre can never be exactly the same twice, it is often most practical to acknowledge that questions are as valuable as answers. Writing about a late-fifteenth-century Carthusian miscellany, Jessica Brantley speaks to the value of this impulse: “Though [the manuscript] engages the performative in a range of senses so wide that it might threaten to escape the bounds of any category, medieval or modern, all of its offerings reflect that fundamental ‘consciousness of consciousness’ that Richard Bauman has seen as constitutive.”<sup>1</sup> In other words, conclusions made about medieval performances of books rest on the supposition that theatre is a method as much as it is a historical type.

Affective *convivencia* offers a portal into the methods of 750-year-old performance subjects. Because phenomenology of coexistence is structured around a historiographic trope specific to the Iberian Middle Ages, it helped me elucidate the particularity of peninsular performance, while disclosing the dynamics of theatrical coexistence with theories of material culture and postcolonialism. I also discussed the emotional lives of devotional actors in hybrid spaces in this dissertation, and it is my hope that phenomenology and critical theories of affect and social cognition have produced a coherent and meaningful explanation of the performance archive. By connecting the macro-histories of colonial activity with the micro-histories of human interaction and religious practice, this dissertation explained the ways in which theatre in late medieval Seville was constitutive of social identities.

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* bears this idea out fully. Introducing the collection of Alfonso X’s troubadour songs into a discussion of theatre releases the illuminations, lyrics,

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<sup>1</sup> Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 21.

performance spaces, and sacred objects into an ambivalent double space, a “consciousness of consciousness” that permits variously differentiated ethnic and religious people to enter and cohabitate. Despite the bellicose force with which Mary intervenes into the lives Muslims and Jews for the protection of the Christian community, the songs of the CSM are profoundly intercultural performance artifacts. The sounds of Islamic instruments and voices echoing in the chambers of the converted mosque resurrected the culture of the vanquished Muslim society. And the spectacular entrance of the Mary automaton into these concerts in the *capilla real* provided occasions for people of multiple faiths to appreciate the transformational abilities of the Christian saint as well as the shared culture of mechanical science.

Rehearsals of Christ’s torments under the lash were practices shared by penitent Christians and “lapsed” conversos, especially in processional avenues and plazas outlined by hybrid architectures and the material histories of coexistence. The large-scale conversions of Jews and Muslims in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the inauguration of the Inquisition in Seville in 1480, coincided with a burgeoning culture of demonstrative penitence and sorrow. *Imitatio Christi*, a general European structure of feeling, intersected with the specific sense of loss that was prevalent in late medieval Seville, documented by the exceptional preoccupation of Sevillians with processional enactments. The proliferation and redundancy of humiliations, the emphatic fetishization of profane and excessive bodies—so emblematic of the anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim discourses of the period—profoundly articulated a need for Sevillians to come to terms with cataclysms measured in contrition and punishment.

Amerindian artifacts, Christian reliquaries, and monarchical decoration functioned in double-spaces as well. In the course of marketing exotica and treasures from the New World, the presence of saints and kings were resurrected. Medieval systems of saint worship and royal

itinerancy allowed Spanish Christians to imagine imperial space in unknown territories, as the reflection of Totonacs, dukes, kings, and conquistadores were projected back at audiences in shimmering costumes and encasements of gold. Despite the putative “dawning of a modern colonial age,” Amerindian performance in sixteenth-century Europe shows us that not only were medieval devotional practices quite active in the early modern period, but also that the affective relationships convened in medieval ritual acts were employed to accomplish the goals of Atlantic colonization.

Medieval culture has often been constructed as a historical rupture, a gap that deprives us access to the affective lives of medieval people. About those most central performance objects of the Christian Middle Ages, the Eucharist and saints’ relics, Paul Ricoeur writes:

the opposition remains strong between forbidden idols, to which Christian polemics reduced the images of the ancient gods and deified persons, and the relics proposed to the faithful for devotion.... A distinct place must be reserved for the practice and theology of the Eucharist, where presence, that major component of representation, is charged with signifying not only something absent, the Jesus of history, but the real presence of the body of the dead and resurrected Christ, beyond its memorial function as regards a unique sacrificial event.<sup>2</sup>

This phantasmagoric image of medieval representation, radically strange and nearly inconceivable, is nothing new. But is the presence of the dead in a signifying object unique only to the Middle Ages? Performance theory challenges narratives of an exceptional “real presence” in medieval culture. Certainly, along with Joseph Roach and Marvin Carlson, Andrew Sofer has demonstrated otherwise: “[a]s concrete synecdoches of performance, all properties are embodied symbols, felt absences. Stage properties not only impersonate other objects but perform *as*

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<sup>2</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 231.

objects.”<sup>3</sup> Medieval theatre is good for the discipline of performance studies precisely because “synecdoches of performance” that made themselves apparent in pre-modern Europe (sacred spaces, transformational objects, real presence, affective devotion) encourage us to think about affect, presence, social power, and devotional theatre in the convening centuries in new ways. In the present work, I have tried to convey the importance of conceiving the “ambient poetics” of performance, an experience of theatrical coexistence that denotes a sense of the surrounding world, “something material and physical, though somewhat intangible, as if space itself had a material aspect.”<sup>4</sup> It is my claim that, at times, this sense of the surrounding world had the power to eclipse discourses of difference and orthodoxy in medieval Seville.

This dissertation has argued that alterity and history were explored theatrically in Seville from the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. I have shown that a brand of late medieval *convivencia* persisted in performance events well past the enlightened period of Umayyad rule on the Peninsula, often in subdued or sublimated ways, and other times in ways that were fully embodied. Against strident discourses of Visigothic and religious triumphalism, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, penitential and disciplinary processions, and the imperial displays of Amerindians gave expression to heterogeneous culture and ambivalent identities, the very source of social provocation upon which political and religious orthodoxy found its purchase. The medieval borderlands of al-Andalus and Castile offer an alternative chronicle of negotiated diversity and affective cohabitation of difference. Late medieval processional and courtly performances also mapped the disintegration of peaceful *convivencia* through periods when

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<sup>3</sup> Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001); Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2003), 60.

<sup>4</sup> Timothy Morton, *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 33-34.

intimate ironies were violently rent by messianic invocations and deeds. Queer Iberian stages document bartered multiculturalism and the representational institution of antithesis.

Occasionally, these double discourses met in a single body. Performances of the dead and theatres of erasure were simultaneously destructive and procreative. Perhaps what best describes the presence of a medieval colonial performer is a corpse that does not remain dead and is “allowed to return and with it the dream of the lost object.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Jacques Derrida, “Fors: The English Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok,” quoted in Katherine Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 13.

### Afterword

In contemporary Seville, baroque artifacts hang like weights on the medieval thoroughfares and churches. *La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede* is obese, an outsized vision of imperial confidence that no longer fits a diminished Catholic community. The sense of carnival (or profound penance, as the case may be) has been sapped from contemporary religious festivals. The Corpus Christi festival lacks any feeling of post-Lenten release. Courtly and popular dances and *autos sacramentales* were excised from processions long ago. Today, the greatest civic value of *Semana Santa* appears to be the economic boost from tourism; the number of outside observers far outweighs the local community. Traditional penitential garb is still worn, but expressions of contrition are strangely absent from the ritual (other than the suffering experienced by walking all day under a hood in the hottest city in Europe). The trumpets produce mournful notes, but the trumpeters themselves look detached, stopping to smoke cigarettes, and chatting with friends in the crowd. Based on my own observation, the general emotional state of the participants in the Corpus Christi procession is either boredom or impatience, while the spectators appear only modestly interested. It's as if the intense material and social forces of medieval and early modern processions effectively fossilized the traditions under the weight of historical sediment. The formal structures of Seville's rituals—repeated over centuries—became entrenched; restored behavior lost its meaning through overuse.

One can walk through the *capilla real* of the Seville cathedral today, as I did in 2009, in a stop-and-go procession under close observation of the *Policía Nacional*: first past the tomb of Queen Beatriz (Figure Y.1) and then before the main altar to peer through a glass sarcophagus at the preserved remains of Fernando III (Figures X.1 and 4.10). There is something thrilling about looking into the face of a 750-year-old relic of a saint; one need not be a medievalist to feel one's sensory mechanisms expand and tune in, responding with fascination and horror to an object that



**Figure Y.1**  
Sarcophagus of Queen Beatriz  
*Capilla Real, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*



**Figure Y.2**  
Sarcophagus of Alfonso X  
*Capilla Real, Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, Seville*

has drawn the attention of millions of devotees across centuries. Above the relic of the thirteenth-century king sits the Virgen de los Reyes set against a Plateresque backdrop (Figure X.1). Like Fernando III, the Virgin of the Kings was once “alive” and moving, and is now immobile and anchored to the altarpiece. Still, both the relic and the automaton maintain auras of potential energy. In their presence, one expects at any moment Fernando will lift his sword, or the Virgin will turn her head to look at you. Circumnavigating the room (and the chronology of the past) one continues in a counter-clockwise direction to the unornamented tomb of Fernando’s son, Alfonso X (Figure Y.2), who plays only a supporting role in this particular tableau. Back on the street again, even an avowed agnostic simply *feels* profoundly different, reoriented.

I was also surprised on a few occasions walking through the streets (the narrow, circuitous byways impose the medieval past onto the behaviors of modern motorists and pedestrians) by smaller political and religious processions, such as a protest against the gendered hierarchy of the Church and Marian festivals organized by local parish churches. These performances were filled with affective life and invited participation, establishing moments of *communitas* among strangers and friends alike. These vital street scenes responded reflexively to the jostling of the crowd and local expressions of faith. I was unexpectedly moved by the appearance of the statue of the Virgin Mary *Esperanza de Triana* at dusk on a Saturday night (Figures Y.3 and Y.4). I submit as evidence an unedited excerpt of my freely written response to the event:

Procession of Ntr. Sra. Esperanza de Triana in front of the *Ayuntamiento* (town hall): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p3IaRbqlvJo> (compilation of her greatest hits). Slow turns (anticipation of seeing her tearful face is dramatic, as she is revealed from behind her canopy)...the crowd cheers and clapping at the revelation of her face—shouting “¡guapa!” “¡bonita!” After stillness (a hush after a song, she sits), a call and response: the lead *costalero* (float carrier) shouts “hup!” from under the carriage, the spectators



**Figure Y.3**

*Ntra. Sra. Esperanza de Triana* in her float, Seville (June 6, 2009)



**Figure Y.4**

*Costaleros* beneath the float of *Ntra. Sra. Esperanza de Triana*  
Seville (June 6, 2009)

respond with “¡viva!” and suddenly the carriage jumps 5 feet upward, jostles and shakes, and lurches forward, continuing its methodical movement down the street. The structure and ornaments of the cart produce animation—the costaleros move the carriage rhythmically with the music (in step, following the beat). The carriage and canopy move side to side, in a contrapuntal dance (the poles holding up the canopy sway to the left as the base of the carriage moves to the right). The long ornamental frock extends at a 45-degree angle in her wake, as if the wind had lifted it. She comes to life as the abundant tassels, flowers, and candle flames shake and animate...she resurrects...“energy” is released and felt in the crowd and they respond with an audible gasp. There is something intrinsically dramatic about the event that exceeds the religious frame: anticipation, choreographed movements, actions and intervals, the tears on Mary’s cheeks, a musical score. The Virgin Mary was made present.<sup>1</sup>

In this scene, ritual actors and spectators enter into a centuries-long tradition of performance, attaining a sense of timelessness. Historico-memorial modes synthesized with present time, while bodies and voices of contemporaries reformed the past. This may be as close as we can come to a definition of ritual performance; a process where “taking the role of the other and looking back at oneself from that perspective” constitutes the self.<sup>2</sup> In a few thrilling processions every year, Sevillians still assume the guise of ancestors, conquerors, and kings to confront, and construct, the image of their present devotional identities.

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Swift, *Photographic Diary, Seville* (unpublished, 6 June, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Bauman, *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments: A Communications-centered Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 48.

## Appendix A A Chronology of Performance in Seville

**711-1248:** Iberian Muslim instruments (cithern, *pandore*, reed-pipe, *qithara*, *rabeb*, lute, tambor), singing, and celebration of religious, royal and social festivals (Imamuddin, 33, 204-05).

Muslims freely participate in Christian festivals during Muslim rule on the Peninsula (Dozy, 483).

Likely that the word troubadour (*trovador* in Castilian) derives from the Arabic word *tarraba* (to sing) (Imamuddin, 205; J. A. Carpentier de Gourdon and Cosme Carpentier de Gourdon, 76).

Ibrahim ibn al-Hajjaj of Seville, patron of the arts, invites singing girls from Baghdad (Imamuddin, 185).

**1000s:** Mu'tamid's satirical poem recalls al-Mu'tasim, Tujibi prince of Almeria, and his subservient act of wearing a Berber style "burnus" for the Almoravid ruler Yusuf ibn Tashufin, which suggests a period of "extreme cultural flux" (Glick, 183-84).

**1068-1091:** King Abbad III, al-Mu'tamid 'ala Allah, ruler of Seville, a great singer and lute player. His son, 'Ubayd Allah al-Rashid, is also known as a good musician. In the eleventh century, Seville surpasses Baghdad as the center of the musical industry of the Muslim kingdoms, and is a prolific exporter of instruments (Imammuddin, 185).

**1176:** Almohad *masjid jami'* (central mosque) completed.

**1198:** *La Giralda* (minaret) completed.

**1200s:** Courtly performances of the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'escarño e maldizer* (satiric-obscene songs) are spontaneous events intended to provoke laughter by exposing courtier's bodies and inappropriate behaviors (Filios, 2). The Seville court of Alfonso X is a major center of lyric production.

**December 22, 1248:** Fernando III consecrates the mosque on the day of his triumphal entrance into the city, dedicating the new cathedral to the *Virgen de la Sede* (O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 116).

**1256:** (Toledo) Herman the German's Latin translation of the *Poetics* of Aristotle from Arabic gloss (Dox, 101-15).

**1265:** *Las Siete Partidas (Primera partida, 34)*, compiled under the supervision of Alfonso X, condones certain types of performances and condemns others (Haywood, 563).

**1265:** *Siete Partidas* attests to the movement of a paschal taper as a dragon "*en manera de serpiente*" (Very, fn. 32, 136).

- 1261:** First evidence of *alumnus de coro* (choral singers) at the mosque-cathedral (Very, 97).
- 1264-1277:** Compilation and production of the To manuscript of the *Cantigas*, most likely in Toledo (Jackson and Parkinson, 160-61).
- 1275-1284:** Production of MS T.I.1, *Códice Rico*, which contains directions and musical notations for performance (Prado-Vilar, 67).
- June 1279:** Solemn interment of Queen Beatriz and Fernando III in the newly constructed royal chapel of the mosque-cathedral. Descriptions of the chapel are in cantiga 292 (O’Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 52-54).
- 1279-1280:** Companion volume to *Códice Rico*—*Códice Florencia*—is begun (Jackson and Parkinson, 160-61).
- 1281:** Alfonso X forsakes the T/F project in favor of codex E, the *Códice de los Músicos* (Jackson and Parkinson, 161-62).
- 1282:** First recorded Corpus Christi procession in Seville (Kreitner, 155). Very is more precise, stating that the feast may have been celebrated without a procession (Very, 4-6).
- 1284:** Death of Alfonso X and funeral procession.
- 1300s:** The comic songs of the *Libro de buen amor* performed in public places by professional performers. A single *juglar* performed the role of Juan Ruiz, the amorous cleric whose attempts at seduction consistently fail (Filios, 2).
- 1324:** Reception of King Alfonso XI, includes dances and masks, among them “muchos bestiales fechos por manos de omes que parecían vivos” (Very, 67).
- 1362:** Peter I humiliates Muhammad VI in a public performance, mounting him on an ass and delivering a blow of a lance (Harvey, 213-14).
- 1380:** 1,000 *maravedís* left in trust for cathedral *mozos de coro* (Very, 97).
- 1400s:** *cancionero* court poetry (comic obscene, comic erotic) stages events and pastoral adventures of courtiers in mountains, battlefields, and towns (Filios, 2).
- 1401:** Cathedral chapter approves demolition of western bays of the twelfth-century Almohad Friday Mosque. The *sahn* (courtyard) becomes the cloister of the new Gothic cathedral. Completed in 1517.
- 1439:** Six *los niños cantorricos* (the singing boys) sing the responsories and versicles at the offices of Mass at the cathedral, an early manifestation of *Los Seises* (Very, 97).
- 1454:** First detailed description of the procession of Corpus Christi with *rocas* (carts) for tableaux and payments for costume of angels and musicians (Webster, 147; Shergold, 97).

- 1462:** Evidence of representations and costumes of the Corpus Christi from the cathedral (Sanchez-Arjona, 4; Rennert, 6).
- 1481:** Inauguration of Inquisition in Seville (Baer, 325) and first *auto da fé* (Plaidy, 117).
- 1490:** Synod of Oporto (1477) and Chapter 9 of the Constitution (1490) of Cardinal Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Archbishop of Seville, are expressly concerned with secular theatrical activities and entertainments associated with vigils (Verdi, 149).
- 1490:** Alfonso de Palencia defines *theatrum* and *scena* in his *Vocabulario universal en latín y en romance*, published in Seville (Surtz, 26).
- 1492:** Processional rejoicing of the victory of King Fernando III and his army at Granada (Brooks, 46).
- 1493:** (Barcelona) Six Amerindians from Hispaniola traveling with Columbus take part in a triumphal entrance into Barcelona “decorated with tropical feathers, and with their national ornaments of gold” (Harris, 174).
- 1498:** Sword dance in the Corpus Christi procession (Very, 90).
- 1502:** *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* printed in Seville by Jacobo Cromberger. The edition contains 21 acts (5 more than the 1499 version).
- 1508:** First reference of the dance of *Los Seises* in the Corpus Christi procession (Very, 98).
- 1508:** Entrance of Fernando the Catholic with Germana de Foix “adornó de arcos y vibró con las justas, torneos, juegos de cañas, naumaquías y toros que las autoridades brindaron al pueblo” [was adorned with arches and shook with the jousts, tournaments, games of canes, naumachiae and bullfights that the authorities gave to the village] (Padron, 130).
- 1511:** Synod prohibits Easter dramas in churches without special Episcopal dispensation (ACS, “Sinodo de Diego de Deza, 1511”).
- 1518:** Fadrique Henríquez de Ribera begins his three-year pilgrimage to the Holy Land.
- 1519:** Five Totonac Amerindians arrive in Seville, where they are fashionably tailored and bejeweled at Carlos V’s expense and presented at court at Valladolid. One of the Totonacs dies in Seville; the surviving Totonacs return to the Americas and settle in Cuba (Harris 174-75).
- 1520s:** Lope de Rueda born in Seville.
- 1520:** Full exhibition mounted in Brussels of treasures sent to Carlos V from Cortés (Harris, 173-74).
- 1520:** Performances of *toros y juego de cañas* (Padron, 131).
- 1521:** Procession celebrating Spanish King’s victory (Brooks, 46).

- 1521:** Establishment of the *Vía Crucis* processional route, used by penitential confraternities during Holy Week (Webster, 144).
- 1522:** Running of the bulls and raising the “greasy poles” in *Plaza de San Francisco* (Padron, 131).
- 1522:** Totonac Amerindians arrive in Seville with treasure ships. Two of these Amerindians recreate mock scenes of Aztec war and sacrifice before a private audience that included a papal legate, the Venetian ambassador, and Pietro Martire d’Anghiera (Martire d’Anghiera 195, 202-04).
- 1525:** Entrance of Isabel of Portugal and Carlos I (Padron, 130).
- 1526:** Magnificent pageant given in Seville in honor of the marriage of Carlos V and the Princess Isabel of Portugal in the Alcazar (Rennert, 23; Padron, 130).
- 1526:** Venetian ambassador, Andrés Navagero, witnesses the sons of Aztec lords demonstrating the traditional Amerindian ball game, striking the lightweight wooden ball “not with their hands or feet, but with their sides” (Andrés Navagero, 851-52).
- 1527:** Delegation of five Tlaxcalans travel with Cortés to Spain (Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 164-65).
- 1527:** (Varengeville) Private masque displaying many of the American gold, jewels, and feathered cloaks that were stolen from Cortés by French pirates (Harris, 174).
- 1528:** Large delegation of Amerindians includes nearly 30 entertainers: jugglers, dwarfs, ballplayers, prestidigitators, and dancers (Cline, 88; Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch*, plates XI-XXIII).
- 1530:** An effigy *tarasca* is refashioned for the Corpus Christi procession (Very, 68).
- 1532:** *Autos* represented at Corpus Christi, possibly with allegorical figures (Rennert, 23; Ortiz de Zúñiga, 339).
- 1534:** Tlaxcalans travel to Spain and gain audience with Carlos V and win Spanish coat of arms and protection for the city of Tlaxcala (Gibson, *Tlaxcala*, 164-65).
- 1538:** Italian theatre troupe petitions for expenses for producing two *carros* at Corpus Christi (Arjona, 43; Haywood, 611).
- 1538:** Confraternity of the *Vera Cruz* discusses flagellation practices in statutes (Flynn, 127).
- 1540:** Rogation procession, supplication for rain (Brooks, 46).
- 1540:** Corpus Christi dance with seven dancers provided by the Tanners’ Guild (Haywood 610, Martinez, 99).
- 1540:** City-sponsored dance: *The Magi* (Brooks, 365).

- 1542:** Lope de Rueda produces two *carros* for an *auto* of the Assumption (Shergold, 100; Haywood 612).
- 1546:** Procession of translation of holy relics (Brooks, 46).
- 1550s:** Seven confraternities have adopted the Vía Crucis as their processional route (Webster, 144).
- 1554:** Municipal government of Seville undertakes the expense of the Corpus Christi procession from the guilds (Rennert, 7).
- 1559:** Lope de Rueda performs two *autos* at Seville: *El hijo pródigo* and *Navalcarmelo* (Rennert, 10).
- 1560:** City sponsored dance: Abraham and the Coppery Serpent (Brooks, 365).
- 1570s:** (La Catedral) *Representación del nacimiento del Hijo de Dios Humanado, Representación del nacimiento de Cristo Jesús Salvador Nuestro y Representación hecha en la Santa Iglesia de Sevilla* (Ramos).
- 1570:** Entrance of Felipe II (Padron, 130).
- 1570:** *Matachines* dances performed in civic procession in Seville (Brooks, 365; Harris, 227).
- 1575:** Earliest record of the existence of the *Corral de Don Juan* (Ganassa performs there with Italian company on this date) (Rennert, 48; Padron, 133).
- 1575:** Appearance of the giant grotesque *Padre Pando* in the Corpus Christi procession (Very, 82).
- 1579:** Procession celebrating the inauguration of the new Royal Chapel in the cathedral (with remains of Fernando III transferred to new chapel) (Perry, 145).
- 1580:** *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo* performed in Seville to celebrate the inauguration of the new Jesuit *Colegio de San Hermenegildo* (Surtz, 177).

**Appendix B**  
**Excerpt from Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, De Orbe Novo, vol. 2**

I afterwards summoned a young native slave whom Ribera had brought back with him as a servant, into our presence, where we were sitting on an open terrace. He had dressed himself in my room. In his right hand he carried a simple wooden sword, without the stones which ordinarily decorate this weapon, for the battle swords have their two edges hollowed out and filled with sharp stones fastened in with solid bitumen, so that these swords are almost as stout in battle as our own. The stone is that used for the razors, of which I have above spoken. In his other hand he carried a native shield, made of stout reeds covered with gold. The lower extremity of this shield is decorated with a feather fringe, a cubit long. The shield was lined with tiger skin, and the centre of the exterior had coloured feathers resembling our raw silk. Armed with his sword the slave advanced. He wore a robe of woven feathers, half blue and half red, and cotton trousers; a handkerchief was suspended between his hips and his leggings were fastened to his garments like a cuirass which is taken off without undoing the strings that fasten the leggings. He wore beautiful sandals. He then gave an exhibition of a battle; first hurling himself upon his enemies, then retreating; then he engaged another slave who served with him and was trained to these exercises. He seized him by the hair, as they do their enemies whom they capture with weapons in their hands, dragging them off to be sacrificed. After throwing the slave on the ground, he feigned to cut open his breast above the heart, with a knife. After tearing out the heart, he wrung from his hands the blood flowing from the wound, and then besprinkled the sword and shield. This is the treatment they show prisoners. Rubbing two sticks together he lighted a new fire, in which he burnt the heart; for the sacrificial fire must never have served any other purpose, as they believe the smoke of this sacrifice pleases the tutelary gods of their (end 202) country. The rest of the body is cut into pieces, as the gestures of the slave showed, but the

belly and entrails are untouched; no doubt for fear of corruption. The head of the enemy sacrificed in this wise is stripped of its flesh and set in gold, after which the victor keeps it as a trophy. They are even accustomed to make as many little golden heads with half-opened mouths as it is proven each has killed or sacrificed enemies, and these they wear round their neck. It is believed the members are eaten. Ribera affirms that he knows the principal vassals of Muteczuma were accustomed to live on human flesh, and he also suspected that Muteczuma himself did. Nevertheless he always abstained in the presence of the Spaniards, doubtless after they had given him to understand how odious and displeasing it was to the Divinity to kill a man, and much more so to eat him. When this representation was finished, and while we were questioning Ribera concerning the customs and the greatness of these countries, the slave was taken into another room, where he donned his gala costume. He then appeared before us in another dress, holding in his left hand a golden toy with a thousand different ornaments, and in his right hand a circle of bells, which he shook, gaily raising and lowering his golden toy. He accompanied himself by singing a native air, and danced about the room where we were assembled to see him. The most curious thing to see was his representation of the salutations with which they honour their sovereigns when offering gifts. They approach, and with trembling voice and bowed head, never looking at the king and humbly prostrated, they spoke more or less in the following words: "King of Kings, master of the heavens and the earth, we bring you in the name of our city (or our fortress) this pledge of our obedience. Choose what suits you best. Do you wish that we should construct a palace for you, bringing stones, beams, and lumber, or do you prefer that we should cultivate your properties? We are your slaves. We have been very badly treated by our neighbours, who are your enemies, for we defend your interests. But we have endured everything without grumbling, for we desire to become obedient and faithful. This

is the cause of our misfortunes.” While we were still questioning Ribera the slave appeared a third time; he now played the part of a drunkard, and never was the role more faithfully sustained. When the Amerindians hope to obtain what they desire from the gods, they assemble to the number of two or three thousand, and intoxicate themselves with the juice of an herb; after which they rush naked through the streets, and squares of the town, clutching at the walls, to sustain themselves and asking their way home of those whom they meet. Some spit, others puke, and oftener still they fall to the ground. But this is enough concerning that slave. Ribera had vaguely heard of a region amongst the northern mountains exclusively inhabited by women, but nothing could be less positive. What might argue in favour of the truth of this story is that the land is called Yguatlan; for *ygua* in their language means woman, and *Ian* means master. Hence it is believed to be the country of women. While the slave was preparing his several representations, Ribera cited as proof of Mutezuma’s power, the large number of interpreters and envoys from different provinces who resided permanently at court, to represent their master’s interests. It is precisely the same as in Europe where counts, marquesses, and dukes, form the emperor’s court. Though they are frivolous things, it may not be out of place to say something of their games. It is known that they have chess-boards, from the representations of them seen on their draperies, but the most popular game amongst them, as amongst the people of our own islands, is a game of tennis. Their balls are made of the juice’ of a vine that climbs over the trees, as hop vines clamber amongst the hedges. They cook the juice of these plants until it hardens in the fire, after which each one shapes the mass as he pleases, giving it the form he chooses. It is alleged that the roots of this herb when cooked give them their weight; at all events I do not understand how these heavy balls are so elastic that when they touch the ground, even though lightly thrown, they spring into the air with the most incredible leaps. The natives are

most skillful players at this exercise, catching the ball on their shoulders, elbows, heads, rarely their hands, and sometimes their hips, if their opponents throw when their backs are turned.

When playing tennis they strip, as do our wrestlers.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, vol. 2 (New York; London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), dec. 5, bk. 10, 203-05.

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