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Bad Girls on Stage: Spectacles of Deviance and Rehabilitation in Early Modern Spain

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An abstract of
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of
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Abstract

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Margaret E. Boyle

Bad Girls on Stage explores the interdependent relationships among public theater, custodial institutions and women in early modern Spain. I argue that the bad girl is not merely a stock figure but rather that she dramatizes significant and controversial issues for the period: the rapidly changing role of women and the increased bureaucracy of the new urban centers.

This study begins by asking how custodial institutions were shaped by their interdependent economic relationship with public theater. To address this question, Chapter 1 focuses on Madrid's *la casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* (founded 1587) and *la galera* (founded 1604). Through the study of institutional manuals and legal documents, the chapter compares the spectacular rehabilitation strategies employed by these institutions. Subsequent chapters move the project from the historical to the theatrical realm: concentrating on the popular staging of the early modern widow, female community and the murderess, supplementing institutional accounts of women's rehabilitation with popular accounts from the public theater.

Chapter 2 focuses on the widowed protagonist of Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende* (1629) and her escapade through two important settings: the enclosure of the domestic sphere and Madrid's burgeoning city streets. Chapter 3 addresses the interplay between female community, a heroine's betrayal, and the *comedia* as an instructive tool in María de Zayas' *La traición en la amistad* (1630). Chapter 4 examines Luis Vélez de Guevara's *La serrana de la Vera* (1613), exploring the ways in which moralizing effects are achieved through the display of the protagonist's violence, enacted, not insignificantly, by one of the most prominent actresses of his generation, Jusepa Vaca.

Bad Girls on Stage puts into dialogue scenes of rehabilitation crafted by early modern Spanish dramatists with those enacted by contemporary custodial institutions. Although historical evidence shows these two spheres were likely already informed by one another throughout the early modern period, this project takes significant steps to document their interrelationship, especially as it illuminates the obscured history of gender-specific rehabilitation.

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I have been fortunate at Emory University to be surrounded by a strong team of professors and colleagues who have supported me throughout this process. In particular, I thank my advisor María M. Carrión for blazing an ever more fascinating trail into the world of early modern Spanish theater. I am captivated by her innovative displays as a teacher and scholar. I am grateful too for the members of my dissertation committee. Karen Stolley, Sharon T. Strocchia, and Hazel Gold have gone to great lengths to invest in this project and me. Their scholarly rigor and collaborative spirit position them as exemplary mentors. I also wish to thank Elizabeth Drumm, Ariadna García-Bryce, Ana Isabel Montero, Dierdra Reber, José Quiroga, Sherry Velasco and Lisa Vollendorf for their insightful questions and feedback on this project at its various stages.

I dedicate this project to my family. To my parents, for their unwavering support. And to Andrew, for making every day an adventure. I can't thank you enough.

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INTRODUCTION

"We regularly punish those who fail to do their gender right."
Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (178)

At a moment in time when the very presence of women on stage provoked a series of philosophical, theological, political, and legal debates, audiences of the early modern Spanish *comedia* witnessed the triumph of its most outspoken heroines. In both popular and minor comedies, bad girls—wily widows, backstabbing girlfriends and female murderesses—took center stage with the often contradictory intention of both educating (*enseñar*) and entertaining (*deleitar)*. As the Counter Reformation in Spain was mobilized by means of royal decrees designed to cleanse and order urban spaces, an emerging focus of the Crown was housing and rehabilitating women. While moralists argued that public theater, particularly its flagrant display of the actress's body, produced social deviance and disease, they could not escape the fact that it also was a chief source of revenue for custodial institutions, increasingly used to contain and rehabilitate wayward women and often designed and protected by these same critics.[1] For twenty-first century readers, this complex intersection between early modern theater and custodial institutions is illuminating for its enactment of the anxieties related to the

[1] Moralists, as a general term, refers to a variety of early modern Spanish scholars who were educated in the humanist tradition. These scholars espoused a particularly conservative view (often Church informed) of the role of women in Spain. They commonly wrote in conduct manuals on the proper education of individuals (as well as the perils of entertainment, like public theater, that would distract from this education). The category of the early modern Spanish moralist would include, for example, the paradigmatic authors, Juan Luis Vives's *De institutione feminae christianae* and Luis de León's *La perfecta casada*, as well as the less commonly studied Gaspar de Astete's *Tratado del gobierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y doncellas* and Pedro Malón de Chaide's *La conversión de la Magdalena*. For a introduction to this topic in a sixteenth-century context, see Domingo Ynduráin's *Humanismo y renacimiento en España* (1994) and Charles Garfield Nauert's *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (2006). See Steven Hutchinson's "Arbitrating the national *oikos*" for the role of the *arbitristas* in seventeenth-century Spain.

relationship between sexuality and entertainment, women's wellness (such as the regulation of prostitution and the gendering of illness), as well as issues of gender equality (single-sex jails, gendering of violence and punishment).[2]

This project analyzes the interconnected relationships among public theater, custodial institutions and women in early modern Spain. By examining the figure of the bad girl, I argue that she is not merely a stock figure but rather that she dramatizes controversial issues for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain: the rapidly changing role of women and the increased bureaucracy of the new urban centers, which was manifested in the creation of custodial institutions for women. The rehabilitation exerted by these institutions acted as a contradictory practice of disciplinary containment and charitable protection. Accordingly, the performance of the bad girl and the staging of her rehabilitation negotiate with the dominant desire of the patriarchal system in which women are constructed at once as defective and valuable subjects.[3] The performance also reveals the interconnected relationship between women's rehabilitation and spectacularity in the early modern period, while opening a space to imagine conflicting representations of women's increasing authority, on-stage and off. In turn, the staging of women's power is asserted in a variety of forms vis-*à*-vis the display of the bad woman.[4] The bad woman on stage at once fulfills and challenges the patriarchal desire of

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[2] A custodial or social welfare institution is a generic term that refers to institutions designed to remediate persons often considered to be either sickly or defective members of society. For an excellent introduction to the topic of custodial institutions for women across Europe, see Sherill Cohen's *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500* (1992). The relationship between developing urban centers, gender and early modern literature (in particular the *novella*) has been explored most recently by Nieves Romero Díaz, Shifra Armon and Lisa Vollendorf; their methodological frame informs this present study.

[3] The ability to read "the bad girl" as a non-static and contradictory figure benefits greatly from George Mariscal's *Contradictory Subjects* (1991). Especially vital is his idea that the early modern Spanish subject was constructed through a variety of competing discourses (3).

[4] I alternate between using the terms "bad girl" and "bad woman" to highlight the layers of meaning associated with these iconic literary and historical figures. I, of course, resist an essentialist construction of "girl" or "woman" as a singular, static or all-inclusive entity; rather I engage these two points of nomenclature in order to display their plurality as signifiers.

rehabilitation predicated on female submission and exposes the fear of women's changing public roles.

As the humanist Juan Luis Vives pointedly observes in his 1523 *Institutio Foeminae Christianae* [*Instruction of the Christian Woman*], "La mujer que toma, a sí misma se vende; la mujer que da, a sí misma se da. Por tanto, la mujer honesta ni dará ni recibirá" [The woman who takes sells herself in the process; the woman who gives, gives herself away] (1040).[5] Although it is well known that a conduct manual such as Vives' does not perfectly represent the social reality for women in the early modern period, as Emilia Navarro has made clear, this kind of prescriptive literature exerted a substantial impact on the cultural climate of the period, asserting what she has termed "manual control" on the female body. In a similar vein, Vives's advice to "mujeres vanas y deseosas de ver y de ser vistas" [vain women who desire to see and be seen] (1037) serves as an example of what Valerie Traub has named the "monumentalizing" of women, where "female erotic energy is disciplined and denied" (28).

Despite the rhetorical force of this prescriptive literature for women, deviance from the social "norm" was widespread.[6] Counter Reformation in Spain was mobilized and implemented in no small part by means of a new legal code, the *Nueva Recopilación de las leyes de estos reynos*, supplemented by the publication of endless *Edictos* and *Pragmáticas* [royal decrees] designed to cleanse and order urban spaces.[7] At the same

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[5] Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

[6] Richard Pym's recent anthology *Rhetoric and Reality in Early Modern Spain* (2006) acts as a model for this present study. As the prologue clearly explains, "this volume explores the extent to which these rhetorical instances and the ideology they helped to construct or underpin reflected, or just as commonly, failed to reflect, the realities of social, economic and cultural practice in early modern Spain. It sets against their typically exorbitant claims the lived, messy and sometimes contradictory experience of Spaniards across a broad social spectrum, both at the centre and at the margins" (ix).

[7] For an introduction to the topic of urban development in early modern Madrid, see Enrique Villalba Pérez's work on female delinquency and urban spaces, Ellen Friedman's article on the legal status of early

time, Spanish society saw the emergence of various custodial institutions designed to house and rehabilitate wayward women. These institutions gained popularity beginning in the early sixteenth century as part of Counter Reformation projects and include locations as varied as widows' asylums, refuges for battered wives, orphanages, magdalen houses, hospitals and jails.[8]

What is fascinating about these institutions is the complex and interdependent economic and social relationship they shared with public theaters, to date most fully explored by Charles Davis and J.E. Varey's two-volume study on the relationship between Madrid's public theaters and hospitals.[9] Although moralists chastised popular playwrights for their outward display of public sin, at the same time the revenue generated from the popularity of the *comedias* and their celebrated actresses funded custodial institutions designed to cure the ailing.[10] Perhaps Georgina Dopico Black puts it best when she describes "the *comedia* as the unrepentant *puta* whose profits […] benefit repentant ones" ("Public" 6). Thus early modern Madrid's fallen women appear to stand at the center of a complex spiritual and sexual economy where the wages of sin,

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modern Spanish women, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás's treatment of the relationship between the *Comedia* and urban spaces, as well as the previously cited work by Romero Díaz.

[8] Magdalen houses (also known as a *casa de recogidas* in Spain*)* are convents that opened their doors to repentant prostitutes. They operated on the transformative potential of the figure of Mary Magdalene with the goal of converting prostitutes to either religious or married life and gained popularity during the Counter Reformation across Southern Europe. See Gabriel Lance Lazar for a detailed study of the magdalen house and other religious reform projects in sixteenth-century Italy.

[9] An additional source of information on this topic is Emilio Cotarelo y Mori's *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, a monumental tome which considers not only the publication, presentation, and funding of various *comedias*, but also the advice and protests of its contemporary moralists.

[10] Thomas Austin O'Connor explains, "in this clash between the obligation of Christians to perform corporal works of mercy and the drive on the part of some civil and religious elites to impose on all elements of society and to enforce, with the powers of the state, a more strict interpretation of what Christian living entailed, the appeal to charity frequently overrode the demand for a stricter practice of moral and sexual purity" (150).

or outward display of public power, are used to pay for the rehabilitation and/ or containment of women.[11]

Although as Michel Foucault makes clear, this rise in institutional projects exposes the way in which a nation is disciplining itself and its subjects in new ways (and Spain was no exception to this rule), at the same time close study of these custodial institutions lends scholars a productive sphere for the study of female agency. Foucault's observation that the spectacle of punishment served concrete social and political goals allows this study to most fully witness the ways in which spectacularity and rehabilitation were interconnected practices. However, it is also necessary to avoid overemphasizing the utility of his work, especially because it would eliminate the possibility of viewing women as disobedient agents. By resisting Foucault, this project takes into account the preponderance of defiant and rebellious heroines imagined by the early modern theater and housed in contemporary custodial institutions. It also invests in the complexities of early modern rehabilitation projects by reading them not exclusively as projects of control, but also as social institutions designed to benefit women.

Our ability to read this topic is highly indebted to a boom of scholarship that has taken significant steps to reflect women's multifaceted roles in early modern Spanish society and to draw attention to the importance of their cultural production. Recent critical work by, for example, Isabel Barbeito, Jodi Bilinkoff, María M. Carrión, Anne J. Cruz, Richard L. Kagan, Elizabeth Lehfeldt, Mary Elizabeth Perry, Magdalena S. Sánchez, Lisa Vollendorf, and Barbara F. Weissberger, among many others, assists

[11] It is important to make clear that theater is the newest player in this long-standing spiritual and sexual economy. Across southern Europe, funds generated for custodial institutions such as the magdalen house were collected from such "sinful" arenas as civic brothels and even fines for homosexuality. In this context, it is worthwhile to consider the ways in which social capital in the form of honor circulated among these institutions.

readers with the task of contextualizing such writing within Spain and persuasively illustrates the ways in which women battled to come into contact with both public and political attention, correcting the long-standing belief that women led starkly isolated or domestic lives. Thanks to this scholarship, we have illuminated the numerous ways in which women took active roles in their particular contexts.

It is necessary to recognize the figure of the bad woman first as a social construct. According to the prescriptive literature of the time, as well as legal and medical discourse, women without adequate moral and behavioral guidance were constructed as threatening to the social order.[12] And yet, the category of the bad woman was remarkably capacious. It could be easily applied to a surprisingly broad-ranging and uneven cast of characters in the period, including, for example, the adulteress, the prostitute, the concubine, the infertile woman, the widow, the murderess, the "loose" woman, the orphan, the seductress, the rival, the matchmaker, the "dirty" woman, the sorceress, and the traitor. Of particular concern to this dissertation is the way in which bad girls can remain bad for reasons that are ambiguous or difficult to classify as well as the way badness is associated with women's ability to speak.

Perhaps the ubiquitous presence of this talkative historical and literary figure prompted Vives to write the following peculiar request: "no quiero que sea parlera mi doncella" [I do not want my lady to be talkative] (1040). His advice acted as a call to contain women's speech and expression. As he was especially concerned with women's

[12] For a concise overview of the ways in which early modern Spanish women were constructed as threatening to the social order, see María Helena Sánchez Ortega. For a broader overview of the way classification systems impacted life in early modern Spain see three influential anthologies: *Culture and Control in Counter Reformation Spain*, edited by Cruz and Perry; *Cultural Authority in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Marina Brownlee and Hans Gumbrecht, and *Sexo barroco y otras transgresiones premodernas*, edited by Francisco Tomás y Valiente et al. These works are significant because they highlight historical subjects that have been previously neglected because of their transgressive and/or marginal qualities.

presence in public arenas, his advice naturally adhered to the rhetorical containment of women's bodies. Vives's request, which follows a long-standing tradition of curtailing the *dama parlera*, is important because it highlights the way in which women during the period were often effectively silenced—an ideological and political stance that had an everlasting impact on Spain's literature and society.[13] In order to uncover the otherwise easily obscured history of women's rehabilitation, this project follows an interdisciplinary model of inquiry, relying heavily on historical narratives and archival records to approach the study of the bad woman on stage.[14]

When, in the face of moral and social convention, women were permitted to set foot on the Spanish stage, the question of public theater's legitimacy ceased being a simple moral issue involving dramatic content. On November 18, 1587 the Council of Castile granted permission for women to act under the following conditions: they had to be married, were not to dress as men (the latter ruling was consistently ignored), and boys were no longer to play female roles.[15] In order to contextualize the unique situation of early modern Spain, it is helpful to note that in England and France women weren't able to act until the second half of the seventeenth century, while in Italy boys continued to play female roles until the 1630s. McKendrick also describes how actors were also

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[13] In the following chapters, I explore the connections between the deviant protagonists of the *comedias* with their status as *damas parleras*. Dana C. Jack and Alisha Ali's 2010 cross-cultural approach to women's "self-silencing" strategies is a provocative read in this context.

[14] Since the 1960s, the project of women's history has rallied against these silencing strategies, aiming instead to uncover and "listen" to the stories of women. Gerda Lerner's call for a "woman-centered" history (1987) or Joan F. Scott's naming of gender as a "useful category of analysis" (1986), prompted generations of scholars to follow suit and raid the archive in search for more complete accounts of women's lives. See Laura Lee Down's *Writing Gender History* (2004) for a concise introduction to this topic.

[15] In a future project, it is worth considering the moral connotation implicit in this final piece of information: were actresses considered to be more morally acceptable than crossed-dressed boys?

required to be married; this may help to explain the number of acting dynasties ("Representing" 72, 84).[16]

As Carrión has highlighted, actresses' roles in the *comedia*—like the wifely character stipulated by the Tridentine Decree of Tametsi—"were expected to engage performances of prominence, eloquence, and spectacular possibilities that, by definition, threatened the canonized *perfección* of the *casada* as a silent, ordinary and pure object" (*Subject* 62). While actresses were often criticized for setting a bad example, as McKendrick explains they were more frequently criticized because they possessed a significant advantage over other women as a result of the education and opportunities afforded them by their profession. Most actresses traveled often with their troupes, had some reading knowledge and a forum for discussing their ideas ("Representing" 73).[17]

Public theater was already a hotly criticized affair in early modern Spain. Rife with raunchy dramatic content, these plays were believed to incite bad behavior and even illness among their impressionable audiences. As O'Connor summarizes, "If such plays constituted the routine fare of theatergoers, so the traditionalists argued, the lessons to be learned from them would surely include rebellion against parental authority, rejection of time-honored church teachings on sexual morality, and an affective liberation of young people" (33). Repeated calls for the reformation of plays' content speak to the exemplary function of public theater and the social anxieties of the time. The prohibitions of the

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[16] John Jay Allen, Joseph Oehrlein, José Ruano de la Haza, N.D. Shergold, and Teresa Ferrer Valls, among others, have made substantial contributions to the study of *corrales* as a place of early modern Spanish performance.

[17] McKendrick compiles her information on early modern Spanish actresses from N.D. Shergold and J.E. Varey's comprehensive volume, *Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España*, II (London: Tamesis, 1985). This second part of the *Genealogía, origen y noticias de los comediantes de España* offers 954 entries on actresses (1631-1703). Particularly interesting in the context of this project is the case of María de Heredia. The limited information provided by the *Genealogía* indicates that she spent time in prison before becoming a writer.

Reformación de comedias, for example, stated "that lascivious and lewd things, dances, songs and swaying (*meneos)*, and of bad example shall not be performed" (Cotarelo y Mori 626b). The idea of public theater as an exemplary realm is further reinforced in debates that suggest that *entremeses* instructed people in dangers to be avoided at all costs, and were therefore useful to spectators, whereas the *bailes* and *músicas* were considered frivolous and irresponsible.

When women were legally permitted to perform in this already contested forum, moralists were all the more outraged. The actress took the brunt of the attack, and was criticized both for her on- and off-stage performances. In 1623, for example, Padre Pedro Fomperosa y Quintana critiqued the indecency of the rehearsal process:

> A las mujeres muchas veces se los leen los hombres, unas por no saber leer, otras por abreviar en este ejercicio con lo que han de tomar por memoria. Ensayan luego juntos, siéntanse promiscuamente, míranse y háblanse cara a cara sin reparo, ni nota, ni miedo. A estos ensayos, como son de cada día, es preciso estar las mujeres como de casa y medio desnudas.[18]
>
> [Often men will read to women, some because they can't read, others to shorten the exercise of what they must memorize. After they rehearse together, they promiscuously sit together, looking at each other, and talking face to face without objection, or note or fear. At

[18] Cotarelo y Mori's monumental *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España* provides the most in-depth overview of this topic (p. 267).

> these rehearsals, as they take place daily, women must be as if they are at home and half-nude]

With their behavior in egregious violation of the social norm set by early modern Spanish society, it is easy to understand why the actresses and their expanding freedoms so enraged the moralists of the time.[19] As Fomperosa y Quintana describes, theater resembles an alternate and perilous universe where actresses and actors freely intermingled in close quarters and in scanty dress, reading aloud and looking unashamed into each others' eyes. O'Connor has gone so far to suggest that the moral debate concerning the legitimacy of actresses on stage was at least partially responsible for "the complete decline of a once glorious national theatre" (29), thus directly tying the presence of women on stage to the success of early modern theater.

Speculation on the moral authority of the early modern Spanish actress extended well outside of her performance on stage. As we can see in the following example, actresses were also critiqued for their potential to exert their dramatic power outside of the theater, as this example from Cotarelo y Mori makes clear:

> Un titulado deste reino se enredó de tal manera de los amores de una mugercilla representante que no solamente le daba su hacienda, pero públicamente con notable escándalo de la República le tenía puesta casa y vajilla de plata, le bordaban vestidos y la servían y respetaban sus criados como si fuera muger legítima, y aun la que lo era

[19] Dopico Black offers yet another example when she highlights the 1600 *Dictamen de Fray Agustín Dávila, electo de Santo Domingo y otros teólogos de Madrid sobre la permisión de comedias*. It advises: "Que no representasen mujeres en ninguna manera, porque en actos tan *públicos* provoca notablemente una mujer desenvuelta, en quien todos tienen puestos los ojos" [Women should not perform in any way, because in such public acts everyone is provoked to look at the unwrapped woman] ("Public Bodies" 86).

> pasaba a esta causa muchas descomodidades. Y llegó a tanta miseria este caballero que sufría otros rivales infames … que trataban con la mugercilla, solamente por tenerla contenta. (*Bibliografía* 66)
>
> [A titled man from this kingdom became so entangled with the love of this lady actress that he not only gave her his estate, but to the considerable scandal of the Republic, he publicly gave her his home and silverware, embroidered her dresses, and had her served and respected by maids as if she were a legitimate woman, and even she who was [legitimate – i.e. his wife] suffered many calamities because of this. And this gentleman came to such misery that he put up with other infamous rivals who had relations with his lady, just to keep her content.]

In this case, the story reflects the widespread rumor that actresses were better positioned than other women to deceive men, especially men of a higher social class. Even worse, this story warns readers of how the actress is allowed by her lovesick nobleman to pass for a reputable woman. Decidedly bad women, actresses were characterized by their purposeful disregard of rank and class, and were notorious for their propensity for extra-marital affairs. Not only did actresses shun the guidance of moral and behavioral norms off-stage, they were regarded with both admiration and suspicion for their chameleon-like ability to play both saint and sinner on stage.

Looking beyond these prevalent attitudes and perceptions, it is revealing to point out a handful of cases in which actresses were recognized for their capacity to be rehabilitated from the evils of the stage. See, for example, the stories collected by McKendrick of actresses turned religious women in early modern Spain: Isabel Hernández, María Agueda, Josefa Lobaco, Mariana Romero, Teresa Escudo, and Francisca "La Baltasara" ("Representing," 77). Each case is significant as it illuminates a less recognized side of actresses' transformative power, as well as their formative relationship to the early modern Church.[20] The case of "La Baltasara" is especially interesting as Vélez de Guevara co-wrote a play in her honor (with Antonio Coello and Rojas Zorilla), celebrating her dramatic conversion from immoral actress to saintly woman.[21]

As O'Connor describes, in a 1672 letter to Queen Mariana, don Pedro Núñez de Guzmán explained that, after the 1646 prohibition of public theater, four arguments were advanced to reauthorize it: firstly, the needs of the hospitals; secondly, the policy of entertaining the populace; thirdly, the requirements of staging the Corpus Christi celebrations; and lastly, dynastic interests, due to the celebration of the marriage of Felipe IV and Mariana de Austria (150). These four arguments succinctly convey the complex position of public theater in early modern Spain and its intersections with the interests of church, court and public welfare. Its celebrated heroines acted at once as the powerhouse behind charitable, Christian institutions of healing as well as the common well of diversion, laughter and decadence. The bad woman on stage thus stood at a complex

[20] In this context it is also interesting to examine Christopher D. Gascón's 2006 analysis of women saints featured in the *comedias*.

[21] As I continue to expand this project, La Baltasara's story will certainly take a central role, as it highlights the spectacularity of rehabilitation processes.

intersection of pressing social preoccupations: the moral and pragmatic debates concerning the proper place and exemplary status of women; the regulation and staging of women's speech and bodies; and the economic and social interdependence between custodial institutions and public theater as dramatic sites of rehabilitation.

This study begins by asking how custodial institutions were shaped by their interdependent economic relationship with public theater. To address this question, Chapter 1 ("Spectacular Rehabilitation: The Theatrics of *Recogimiento* in Early Modern Madrid") focuses on two of Madrid's most well known yet understudied institutions: a magdalen house, *la casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* (founded 1587), and a harsher jail for women*, la galera* (founded 1604).[22] Through the study of institutional manuals and legal documents, this chapter compares the distinct rehabilitative strategies employed by these two institutions and considers the ways in which these strategies, particularly the practice of *recogimiento*, rely on conventions of the stage. The magdalen house, for example, often staged the rehabilitation of repentant prostitutes, and offered women the option of beginning life anew by entering either religious life or marriage. Alternatively, the *galera* aimed to offer deviant women

[22] As Concepción Yagüe Olmos makes clear: "Son pocos y muy recientes los estudios de investigación sobre el mundo penitenciario femenino, pues a la ardua tarea de recopilación de la documentación histórica, se une una dificultad insoslayable, la casi total ausencia de referencias al mundo carcelario femenino en los manuales y resúmenes penitenciarios más célebres" [Studies on the world of women's penitentiary are few and very recent, for the arduous task of collecting historical documents joins an unavoidable difficulty: the almost total absence of references to women's prisons in the most famous manuals and articles] (5). Key works on the presence of women in the prison system of early modern Spain include, among others, Elisabet Almeda's "Las primeras cárceles de mujeres"; Isabel Barbeito's *Cárceles y mujeres en el siglo XVII*, Georgina Dopico Black's "Public Bodies, Private Parts…,"; María Dolores Pérez Baltasar's "El castigo del delito...,"; Sherill Cohen's *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500;* Gema Martínez Galindo's *Galerianas, corrigendas y presas*; María Luisa Meijide Pardo's *La mujer de la orilla*; Mary Elizabeth Perry's "With Brave Vigilance and a Hundred Eyes…,"; Ruth Pike's *Penal Servitude in Early Modern Spain*; and Yagüe Olmos's *Madres en prisión*. For work on Spain's magdalen house, see Pérez Baltasar's *Mujeres marginadas*; Perry's *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* or "Magdalens and Jezebels in Counter Reformation Spain"; and María Helena Sánchez Ortega's *Pecadoras de verano, arrepentidas de invierno*.

"equality" through the staging of harsh corporeal and concealed punishments identical in severity to those experienced by their male counterparts. Through a comparative study of these institutions, the chapter aims to shed light on the figure of the bad woman as either concealed or spectacularized, examining the way in which female deviance and rehabilitation are staged, directed and exploited.[23]

The first chapter provides an overview of institutional responses to deviant female behavior in early modern Spain; subsequent chapters move the project from the historical to the theatrical realm, concentrating on the popular staging of the early modern widow, female community and the female murderess. As will become evident, each of these dramatic scenes provocatively stages women behaving badly by casting its heroine in direct opposition to the social norms of the period. Likewise, each play offers a distinct rehabilitative solution in response to its protagonist's bad behavior, ranging in severity from marriage to social exclusion or even death. A consideration of these models and the popular responses they elicit will inform the discussion of women's rehabilitation in early modern Spain, and will contextualize the staging of these concerns in the *comedia*. Although it would appear that this project favors the dramatic staging of rehabilitation over institutional truths or realities, one central concern of this project is to demonstrate the ways is which this is a false methodological separation. An advantage of this study's comparative nature is to demonstrate how dramatic texts engaged with real acts and historical concerns and how *la casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Pentiencia* and Sor Magdalena's *galera* were also deeply invested in the performative aspects of

[23] It is also worth noting that Sor Magdalena's *Galera* was located only four blocks away from its predecessor the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena* in Madrid.

rehabilitation.[24]

Chapter 2 ("Stage Widow in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende*") focuses on the theatrical escapades of its widowed protagonist, Ángela. As unofficial playwright, stage architect, prop master and actress, Ángela uses her own theatrical strategies to enable a romantic escapade with her love interest Don Manuel. Her innate dramatic prowess allows the young widow to pass between two important settings: the strict enclosure of the domestic sphere and the risks of Madrid's burgeoning city streets. Calderón's play thus offers readers an extended meditation on widows' evolving relationship to the urban landscape, a concern that compels the play's action as well as its contemporary audiences. Although the theater provides Ángela with fantastic freedoms, the play offers its own rehabilitative strategy when she is silenced and married at the conclusion. Wrapping up a narrative largely driven by Ángela's dramatic expertise, this moral and celebratory end is hardly the resolution it seems. By situating the analysis of the play in the context of historical records on widows and rehabilitation, this chapter explores how the comedy might also provide significant information about these important social topics.

Chapter 3 ("Odd Woman Out in María de Zayas's *La traición en la amistad*") addresses the interplay between the protagonist's bad behavior, female community and the *comedia* as an instructive tool. Most scholarship on this play has insisted on dismissive readings of the play's heroine, Fenisa, who is banished at the close of the play for her bad behavior: abandoning her female friend and disturbing an otherwise idyllic

[24] In her study on marriage, theater and the law, Carrión has highlighted the importance of the "methodological flexibility" on which this present study rests. Although it is tempting to read "the truth and purity of the law [as] separate … from the falseness and speciousness of comedy," instead readers should be advised to recognize "the correspondence of theatre and the law [as] a primal scene in which the possibilities of the legal and the comic inform the development of the institution" (7, *Subject*).

female community through her indiscreet romantic exploits. In contrast, I offer a reading that puts this bad woman back into the center of the text. Instead of concealing Fenisa's deviant behavior, I argue that critical attention needs to be paid to this protagonist in order to illuminate the norms of female community and the exemplary function of the *comedia*. By examining the ways in which the play both condemns and celebrates Fenisa as a figure in need of rehabilitation, the chapter explores an alternative representation of women's community and its norms. Because controlled circulation and containment of women's bodies was central to social order, as the example of the *galera* reveals, a complete account of women's relations can only be assembled when aberrance and deviation are embraced.

While Chapter 3 outlines the status of an exemplary model of women's community, Chapter 4 ("Women's Exemplary Violence in Luis Vélez de Guevara's *La serrana de la Vera*") examines the exemplarity of a violent protagonist, Gila, who embodies at once both model and villain. For Vélez de Guevara's audience this figure was doubly significant because the role of Gila was written for and played by one of the generation's most prominent actresses, Jusepa Vaca. By reading *La serrana de la Vera* through the lens of exemplarity, this chapter explores the ways in which the author achieves a moralizing effect through the display of Gila's violence, enacted by Vaca. Although early modern norms demanded the containment of the female body, Vélez de Guevara's *comedia* takes the display of the actress to a new extreme. Gila is grotesquely spectacularized as murderess, slaying 2000 men in the course of the play and, in a final display, her body is brutally murdered at the order of Fernando and Isabel in order to serve as an example to other women. Pushing the limits of the bad woman on stage,

where rehabilitation is no longer a viable solution, this chapter explores the play's relationship to contemporary concerns and the implicit moral lessons it offers.

Bad Girls on Stage puts into dialogue scenes of rehabilitation crafted by early modern Spanish dramatists alongside those staged by contemporary custodial institutions. Although historical evidence shows the two spheres were likely already informed by one another throughout the early modern period and beyond, this project takes significant steps to document their interrelationship, especially as it illuminates the obscured history of women's rehabilitation and the anxious relationship between sexuality and entertainment. By the same token, the project explores the glamorization and vilification of the bad woman as they relate to the controversy over the public role of women and gender-specific rehabilitation in early modern Spain.

CHAPTER ONE

Spectacular Rehabilitation:

The Theatrics of *Recogimiento* in Early Modern Madrid

One of the earliest and most prominent examples of a spectacular scene of rehabilitation occurred in 1623, when the magdalen house, the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* (est. 1619) relocated to a larger space and marched its charges in a solemn procession through the streets of Madrid.[25]

> Llevároslas en Procesión, y pasároslas por el Monasterio de las Señoras Descalzas Reales, donde estaban los Reyes para verlas: allí cantaron todas una Salve, y al decir la Oración se postraron en tierra; cuyo acto causó mucha devoción. Iban de dos en dos, vestidas con un saco de sayal blanquecino ceñido, y un paño blanco, ó antifaz por encima del rostro, y con este orden llegaron al nuevo Recogimiento. (Recio 8-9)
>
> [They brought them in procession and passed them by the *Monasterio de las Señoras Descalzas Reales*, where the Kings waited to see them; there they all sang a prayer while prostrating themselves on the ground; an act which inspired

[25] Rehabilitation in the early modern period took many forms including prayer, marriage, work and corporeal punishment.

> much devotion. They went two by two, dressed in a robe of fitted white, and a white wool cloth, or mask covering their faces, and in this way they arrived to the new *Recogimiento*]

Like a troupe of actors enacting street theater, the repentant prostitutes were paraded before crowds throughout the streets of the city, even granted audience by the King and Queen. With prayerful prostration and public singing, the simple act of moving from one building to another offered this magdalen house the opportunity for an exemplary performance, both pious and shameful. Dressed in white with covered faces, these figures inevitably evoke parallel exemplary scenes well known from the Spanish *comedias.* When Lope de Vega, for example, describes the punishment levied on the unfaithful wife in *El castigo sin venganza* (1631), he writes: "La infame Casandra dejo/ de pies y manos atada,/ con un *tafetán* cubierta" [He left the infamous Casandra with tied hands and feet, and a taffeta cover] (2858-60). While the two scenes vary significantly in their tone – the first a pious celebration, the second a moralizing tragedy – both utilize parallel material references in order to create their exemplary scene, in which private acts of penance are meticulously staged in public settings. As the mission statement of *La casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* makes clear:

> vivan las Hermanas en este retiro con grande *recogimiento*, en continuo ejercicio de oración, penitencia, y mortificación, de suerte que si con la vida pasada escandalizaron la República, después la edifican con su *ejemplo*. (Recio 13, emphasis mine)

> [The Sisters lived in this *Retiro* with great *recogimiento*, in continual practice of prayer, penitence and mortification, such that their past life, which had scandalized, later becomes an example to follow.]

Through a highly regimented combination of daily acts of work and prayer, this magdalen house insisted on the exemplary potential of *recogimiento*.

Recogimiento, the idea of gathering up or gathering within, can be viewed as a theological concept, a virtue and an institutional practice.[26] First developed in the late fifteenth century as a practice of physical isolation or enclosure, or a meditation on "nothing", the word *recogimiento* can be used in nominal, adjectival and verb form. *Recogmiento* can also be understood as a gendered practice of modesty and controlled behavior, most frequently applied to women's bodies and sexuality.[27] As Sebastián de Covarrubias's 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* clearly indicates, during the early modern period the word *recogimiento* was linked to a constellation of interrelated terms including the noun *retiramiento* as well as to the verbs *recoger*, *ayuntar*, *retirarse,* and *coger*.

According to Covarrubias, *recogimiento* implies a solitary, meditative experience— "recoger es recibir en sí alguna cosa" [*recoger* is to receive something in

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[26] *Recogimiento* as a spiritual practice was developed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by Castilian mystics and focused on the practice of physical isolation or enclosure or a meditation on "nothing" in order to deny self and unite with God. The earliest writings on this topic can be credited to Francisco de Osuna (1492?-1540?), Teresa de Ávila (1515-82) and Luis de Granada (1504-88). The most comprehensive introductions to the topic of *recogimiento* in colonial Latin America can be found in the work of Josefina Muriel, Nancy E. van Deusen and Susan Socolow. See Pérez Baltasar and Barbeito for a focus on early modern Spain. For models of work based on the intersection between early modern Spanish history and literature, see, for example, Dopico Black (*Perfect*), Sherry Velasco (*Lesbians*) and Vollendorf (*Lives*).

[27] *Recogimiento* is frequently used in conduct manuals and humanist treatises in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See, for example, the works of Pedro de Luján, Diego Pérez de Valdivia, Luis de León, Cristóbal Acosta Africano, Juan de la Cerda, and Vives.

one's self] — as well as the following divergent definitions: "Decimos: 1. coger los frutos de la tierra 2. coger al ladrón, prenderle" [We say: 1) gather the fruits of the earth 2) catch the thief, arrest him] (329). How is it possible for one word to signify so many contradictory practices: receiving, punishing and harvesting?

In the context of this project it is important to highlight how these multiple definitions of *recogimiento* seamlessly link women's spiritual needs (interiority, meditation, recollection) with contemporary social and political concerns (detaining, ordering and confining). And as the case of the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* makes clear, *recogimiento* also has an exemplary function, especially as it relates to social and political goals. As an institutional practice, numerous girls and women participated in *recogimiento*, willingly or unwillingly, in a variety of custodial institutions. These institutions, which include places as varied as magdalen houses, *beaterios*, orphanages, hospitals and jails, gained popularity starting in the early sixteenth century, and were later revitalized as part of Counter Reformation projects designed to remediate persons considered to be either sickly or defective members of society.[28] As Vollendorf attests, "conversion houses offered a legitimate space for controlling women" (*Lives of Women* 93). These multiple definitions of *recogimiento* thus allowed for the creation of institutional spaces with complex and sometimes contradictory functions. Institutions designed in the name of spiritual and/or physical wellness (conversion) would

[28] *Beaterios* were congregations of unordained women pursuing private religious devotions. See Perry's chapter on "Beatas and the Inquisition in Early Modern Seville" for a fascinating overview of their precarious social status (*Gender*, 1990). For an interesting overview of the relationships between charity and gender in orphanages, see Sharon Strocchia, Nicolas Terpstra and Valentina K. Tikoff. Finally, it is important to point out that the early modern hospital had a much less defined function than it does today. Although its aim was broadly curative, it sought to heal physical, mental and moral ailments, often poorly separated from one another. In Italy, for example, *Incurabili* hospitals often housed reformed prostitutes in the first half of the sixteenth century, especially in Venice and Genoa.

often thus fulfill a variety of other social and political concerns, especially the control of women's bodies and sexuality.

In her important study on the discourse of poverty and its relief through social reform in early modern Spain, Anne Cruz cites sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain's economic crisis and such interrelated factors as the lack of employment, heavy taxation, devaluation of money and rise in prices as chiefly responsible for the rise in these kinds of reform projects.[29] She explains, the "economic crisis…had been dealt with principally as a moral problem, and its accepted solution, charity, was religiously inspired" (*Discourses*, 40). In other words, the troubles produced by the economic crisis were redressed and dealt with as moral concerns. This was true in Spain and across Europe throughout the early modern period, as Gabriel Lance Lazar explains, new models were created for the roles and responsibilities of the individual, church and state, where "cultural and institutional identity [was] based on new practices of faith" (3).

The Spanish Inquisition and the decline of the Spanish empire produced a particularly stringent moral and social "norm," regulated by questions of "honor" and "purity of blood" [all-Christian blood], and enforced through expulsion from Spain or even death.[30] While Jews and Muslims were the most conspicuous symbols of the need for conversion, women too, especially "fallen women," ambiguously defined, stood out

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[29] Although Spain has been characterized for its steady economic decline across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, R. A. Stradling points to 1627 as the peak of the economic crisis: "Beginning in 1627, serious harvest failures struck some of the kingdom's most fertile areas, and quickly developed into the most intense subsistence crisis for over thirty years. (By 1630, the towns of central Castile, including Madrid itself, were to be in the grip of starvation)" (69).

[30] For a broad introduction to the relationship between early modern Spanish politics and cultural production, it is useful to begin with Mariscal's aforementioned notion of "contradictory subjects" and Alberto Moreiras's "subjects in mourning," which underscore the impact of social expectations on the construction of individual identity. These more recent critics supplement some of the traditional conceptions of the relationship between empire and culture set by Américo Castro, Norbert Elias, and Antonio Maravall.

as visible figures in need of rehabilitation. Not surprisingly, abandoned, disabled or abused wives and daughters, as well as unwed mothers, were among those most affected by Spain's economic crisis. As the Counter Reformation in Spain was mobilized by means of royal decrees designed to cleanse and order urban spaces, an emerging focus was housing and rehabilitating women.[31]

Madrid in particular experienced the bulk of its growth as a new capital during the reigns of Felipe II and Felipe III. As David Ringrose explains, because it was a city that offered several economic opportunities, the population nearly doubled between the years 1560-1625 and nearly ¾ of its inhabitants were immigrants (196).[32] Also during this period, the city's internal system of plazas and adjoining streets was established. This division between plaza and street created several central spaces for public performance, often used to reaffirm the social and political order established by the Court.[33] As Ringrose explains, the *Monasterio de San Jerónimo*, the *Puerta del Sol*, the *Plaza Mayor* and the *Real Alcázar* were the most important spaces of urban traffic during this period (180). Under Felipe IV, the new city map was even more firmly established:

> ese espacio urbano así absorbido fue entonces transformado
> con afirmaciones monumentales… sobre la autoridad y la

[31] As Ruth Pike makes clear, between 1592 and 1598 the Castilian Cortes repeatedly complained about the vagrant and licentious women who filled the streets of Spain (4).

[32] When Felipe II named Madrid the capital and home of the Court, its population was between 20,000-30,000 people. At the end of Felipe II's reign in 1598, Madrid housed nearly 100,000 residents. By 1600, it was the most populated city in Spain; by 1630 it housed nearly 150,000 people (Ringrose 197).

[33] It is also interesting to consider how public spectacles reinforced traditional values. For example, starting in 1623 Felipe IV would visit yearly the hermitage chapel of San Blas near the church of Atocha, to celebrate the saint who had aided in his recovery from a throat ailment (Brown and Elliott, 38). At the same time the Court sought to revive these traditional virtues, however, it was also clear that a society with a system of traditional values needed to respond to threats of encroachment from neighboring countries by also modernizing. Although, for instance, J.H. Elliott writes that the agrarian kingdom of Castile is said to have despised the values of the marketplace, it was Olivares's intention to "turn Spaniards into merchants" ("Power and Propaganda" 147) and tie the attempt to develop a new merchant class to fiscal responsibility. At the same time, the promotion of a fiscally responsible economy was incompatible with the elaborate productions the court supported.

> sociedad. Aquellas reconstrucciones pasajeras objetivaban a su vez el mundo imaginario de la ideología dominante, sirviéndose del escenario urbano y las rutas ceremoniales. (184)
>
> [Thus absorbed, the urban space was transformed with monumental affirmations …on authority and society. These transient reconstructions in turn objectified the imaginary world of the dominant ideology, making use of the urban landscape and ceremonial routes]

It is no wonder that this dramatic reconstruction of Madrid as urban capital had a significant impact on the lives of this city's residents. If public spaces were designed primarily to reflect the power and order of the Court, it becomes more logical why such "street cleaning" projects flourished throughout the early modern period.[34]

Paradoxically, dominant practices of *recogimiento,* as exemplary punishment, containment and rehabilitation, produced at least for a time what Cruz describes as "a division of external and internal space for women along behavioral lines – the 'good' women were literally locked indoors, while the 'bad' had the run of the outdoors" (*Discourses* 140). This bad woman on the street calls to mind, of course, one of the most notorious figures of the period: the female prostitute. Although prostitution was a legal profession in early modern Spain, as it was believed that institutionalized brothels protected the health of marriage, these women were perceived as outlaws not only for

[34] Gary B. Cohen and Franz A.J. Szabo read the Baroque European city as an "embodiment of power": "New open and straight spaces, plazas and monumental buildings expressed not only the increased power of states and rulers, but also the emotional theatricality of the other arts in this period…Design, architecture, and cultural life in the baroque cities did express visibly the constellations of power, which were created and expressed by state and ecclesiastical institutions, nobility, and influential burghers" (2-3).

their sexual deviance but also for their supposed economic independence. For instance, as Almeda notes, impoverished young prostitutes received much less protection from attack than did the more wealthy *cortesanas* (32).

As Perry explains, with syphilis on the rise throughout the Iberian Peninsula, moralists began to question the idea that legalized prostitution was a necessary evil. She writes, "They found in prostitution a commercial prop, an agency to reinforce lines of authority, and a symbol of evil. They pointed to prostitutes as diseased, disgusting, and parasitical. Prostitution became a symbol that united the community and justified the extension of governmental powers" (*Crime and Society* 212). As ideas about the utility of prostitution began to change, so too did ideas concerning the proper place of prostitutes, both active and no longer working. If they were to leave the brothel by choice or by force, most agreed they should be placed "in another form of enclosure" (*Culture* 131).

Throughout the early modern period, the prevalence of accusations and legible penalization of women relating to their moral and sexual character (*irreverencia*, *moral sexual*, *fautoría, impureza*, *excesos, bigamia*, *adulterio)* was second only to that relating to the practice of, or association with, a prohibited religion (*islamismo*, *judaísmo, irreligiosidad)*.[35] Women were also punished for crimes of excessive spirituality or supernatural qualities (*conducta sospechosa, hechicería, superstición, visionaria),* as well as abandonment, theft, and murder (*infanticidio, secuestro, robo, los castigos por fugas*).[36] Those who were not closely allied with a family unit, that is, under the care of a father, brother, or husband, were especially suspect. Although it is debatable whether

[35] Until 1978 in Spain, the crime of adultery was always attributed to women exclusively (Pérez Baltasar, "El castigo" 62).
[36] See María Isabel Perez de Colosia ("La mujer y el Santo Oficio", 59) and Meijide Pardo (151-166).

custodial institutions, like the magdalen house, should be characterized as vehicles for social control or as agencies of humanitarian reform, it is clear that these institutions catered to a broad range of women who might otherwise be overlooked.[37]

This chapter will focus on the institutional and spiritual practices of *recogimiento* as central to two of Madrid's best known, yet understudied, custodial institutions. The first is a traditional magdalen house, the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* (est. 1619), an institution founded on the cult of Mary Magdalene and dedicated to the reform of prostitutes.[38] The second is Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo's *galera* (founded c. 1608), a harsher jail designed as a model of penal reform that responded directly to deficiencies perceived in the magdalen house model.[39] Both the magdalen house and the *galera* have a complex institutional history. Their organization, mission and even their name changed repeatedly throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Although the *galera* was founded about a decade early earlier than the penitentiary, in this chapter I examine how it re-works the magdalen house model, and thus discuss it as a later adaptation.

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[37] Perry explains how prostitution became a viable profession for women in Spain, especially among poor and/ or orphaned children. A woman could not realistically support herself on her own; she typically could earn only one *real* a day, when a loaf of bread cost five *reales*. Perry writes, "Unemployment, underemployment, and inadequate wages pushed many women into prostitution, which for them could be a part-time occupation that would supplement their meager incomes" (*Crime* 217). See Ellen G. Friedman's "El status jurídico de la mujer castellana durante el Antiguo Régimen" for a detailed overview of these economic and social inequalities.

[38] There were numerous magdalen houses in existence during this time throughout Spain and Italy.

[39] Sor Magdalena's *galera* project can be read as a direct response to the treatise written by Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, the reformer, physician and economist. In his *Del amparo y reformacion de los fingidos vagabundos* (1598), Pérez de Herrera proposed a centralized program of response to rising concerns about the problem of delinquency in Madrid, especially among "false beggars" (Cruz *Discourses* 63). While addressing the problem of the delinquent woman, broadly defined, he highlighted various spiritual and moral arguments on the topic of women's (uncontained) sexuality, as well as the economic and political costs of delinquency, crime, illness and poverty to established social order. In the treatise he petitioned Felipe III to create workhouses to punish and contain women, arguing that existing custodial institutions were not adequately addressing these concerns. He especially stressed the idea that existing institutions contributed to the professionalization of criminals.

The primary point of interest in this chapter is the way these two institutions employ spectacle in order to display and promote their rehabilitative practices. As the scene of *recogimiento* enacted by magdalen house at the start of the chapter reminds us, there are a number of related issues to be explored: the exemplarity of public spectacle as both an instructive and perilous strategy, the gendering of spirituality and punishment, questions of authorship and audience, as well as the intersection of moral and economic concerns, especially as they relate to the control of women. Although Foucault has firmly situated the early modern practice of spectacular punishment or rehabilitation as a deterrent to criminality, these custodial institutions are distinctive because of their gender segregation, the rehabilitation and punishment of moral infractions, not just criminal acts, as well as their explicit braiding of religious, judicial, and penal discourses.

Dependence on public spectacle as an exemplary technique was not unique to *La casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia*, but rather was a common practice by most contemporary magdalen houses, and popularized especially by the Inquisitional *Auto de fe*. As Leslie Levin has argued, "Similarities between the performances in the theatre and the church were striking in rhetorical style, showmanship and use of props" (1). For example, as Perry describes, clerics frequently partnered with the administrators of brothels to deliver special public sermons to groups of prostitutes on the feast day of Mary Magdalene (*Culture and Control* 132). The goal of the sermon was to elicit public conversion, often celebrated by a group processional from the brothel to the cathedral. Public corporeal disciplining of prostitutes was also typical; as Perry explains, "Traditional regulations required these Jezebels to be punished through public humiliation, whippings, having their nostrils slit, and exile" (*Culture and Control* 141).

The examples of public punishment are worth considering, as they make public not only the disciplining process, but also leave visible and indelible marks on the bodies of the punished.

Through close study of these particular scenes of *recogimiento*, my goal is to examine how the figure of the bad woman is staged, directed or exploited in order to further specific institutional goals. Dopico Black's study on the interrelationship between the figures of the saint, the prostitute and the early modern actress serves as a fundamental theoretical frame for the present study, highlighting the multifaceted concerns of these religious, political and social institutions.[40] This chapter will move the discussion from the theoretical to the empirical realm by focusing on the scenes of *recogimiento* practiced and embodied by the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* and Sor Magdalena's *galera*. By examining their unique staging of the bad girl and her rehabilitation, I highlight the ambiguous and often contradictory functions of these hybrid spaces and their potential contributions to the study of women's lives in the early modern period.

I. Reforming Prostitutes: Madrid's Magdalen House

As María Dolores Pérez Baltasar points out, the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* was one of the best-known magdalen houses in Madrid. By 1601, it was popularly referred to as *Las Recogidas de Madrid*, again demonstrating the complexities of *recogimiento* as both a spiritual and punitive practice of rehabilitation. Don Manuel Recio authored its institutional manual in 1777 in Madrid. Titled *Compendio histórico, y*

[40] See "Public Bodies, Private Parts: The Virgins and Magdalens of Magdalena de San Gerónimo" (2001).

manifiesto instructivo del origen, y fundación de la Real Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia, vulgo las Recogidas de Madrid, the work had a double function, as both the first recorded institutional history as well as a guidebook for the current institution.

Recio was the *Oficial* of the General Accounting of the Royal Granery (*Oficial de la Contaduría general de Pósitos del Reyno)* and at the time of writing the manual, he was the archivist of *la Real Hermandad de María Santísima de la Esperanza*, the 18th-century administrators of the magdalen house. As Recio explains in his introduction, his history is the first and most comprehensive of his time: "tiene la recomendación de la primera noticia formal, y cierta, que se ha escrito del origen, fundación y circunstancias de la Real Casa" [it has the recommendation of being the first formal and true work to write on the origin, foundation and circumstances of the *Real Casa*] (3). The fact that Recio writes the manual of the institution well over 100 years after it was founded provides an interesting framework from which to discuss the 18th-century perspective on women's rehabilitation.[41]

Recio clearly specifies that the house only served women who had been labeled as "públicas pecadoras" [public sinners] and would only release them under two conditions: either as "Religiosa" [Religious] or "Casada" [Married] (196). As he describes,

> Como el santo instituto de la casa era dirigido a recoger en ella aquellas mujeres, que habían vivido licenciosamente, y que tocadas de la poderosa mano de Dios, se retiraban allí a

[41] I have recently argued that work on women's rehabilitation in early modern Spain, and especially Recio's manual, also allows us to better contextualize the scenes of women's rehabilitation and deviance depicted in 18th-century Latin American *crónicas*. See my "Chronicling Women's Containment in Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela's *History of Potosí"* (2010).

> hacer seria penitencia de los excesos a que las había conducido su libertad; se las dieron reglas, y estatutos muy prudentes, y apropiadas a este intento, atendiendo también en ellas a las fuerzas, salud, y complexión de las tales mujeres. (6)
>
> [As the mission of the house was designed to *recoger* these women, who had lived immorally, and touched by the powerful hand of God, had retired to this house to do penitence for their excesses which had led to their freedoms; they are given rules and prudent statutes, and appropriate for this purpose, attend also to the health, strength and build of these women]

The use of *recoger* in this fragment is worth noting, as it emphasizes the conflicting institutional mission as a space of both punitive containment and spiritual retreat. Since women could only be released from the magdalen house as religious or married women, it is also interesting to consider the ways in which these institutions were required to invest in their inhabitants. In addition to offering a religious education, these institutions provided women the advantage of a dowry upon marriage, and as Perry explains, it was not uncommon for men to choose their wives from magdalen houses (*Culture* 132). Recio repeatedly emphasizes how *recogimiento* acts as an advantageous practice for women: "uno de los laudables Estatutos de la Hermandad era el recoger, mantener, y sustentar mugeres, que su fragilidad las hubiese hecho incurrir en culpa, dirigiendo a unas para voluntario perpetuo recogimiento, y a otras para conducirlas a sus patrias con sus

padres, o parientes" [one of the laudable statutes of this Hermandad was to *recoger*, maintain, and support women, whose fragility had led them to fault, directing some to voluntary and perpetual *recogimiento,* and others to their homes with their parents or other relatives] (114). Citing their naturally weak moral character, Recio positions women at the center of sexual and spiritual interchange where women are saved from their own defects through placement under the guardianship of either church or family.

Founded by Madrid's *Orden tercera de San Francisco* in partnership with the confraternity of *Nuestra Señora de la Gracia* in 1555, the original space was structured around houses donated by Doña Ana Rodríguez to form the well-known *Hospital de Peregrinos*, which offered lodging and meals to pilgrims and other travelers.[42] The institution focused broadly on charitable works as a pious practice. Later in 1580 the hospital was restructured and incorporated the sponsorship of a second confraternity, *la Cofradía de la Vera-Cruz*, in order to serve a larger population. In 1601, the hospital was redesigned for a third time, this time emphasizing its service to the needs of sinful or fallen women and teach the ways of *recogimiento.* Most of the residents originated from the order of *las religiosas agustinas de la Magdalena*, who, according to Jerónimo de la Quintana, sought out this change in space: "dejando la ocasión de culpa se querían retirar y entregar con veras al servicio de Nuestro Señor" [left the occasion of sinning in order to retire and dedicate themselves to the service of our Lord].[43]

Although at the start of the seventeenth century the *arrepentidas* occupied only a fraction of the complex and were closely supervised by two or three nuns, by the end of

[42] Their name indicates they were likely a Franciscan tertiary.
[43] Pérez Baltasar originally cites Quintana's *Grandezas de Madrid* (Capit. LXXXVII). It is somewhat difficult to explain why nuns left their convent in order to move into the magdalen house, although we might speculate that the move was motivated by lack of economic resources and/or shifting institutional or religious purpose.

the century, the casa revolved around its *recogimiento* practices and served close to 40 women. As Lazar notes, "As voluntary organizations, confraternities relied on the consent of the members and often the larger community for economic support" (4). The case to fund magdalen houses was easily made as a charitable enterprise, designed not only to protect women from their naturally defective status (rooted in the story of Eve) but also to preserve the health of the larger community. As Recio explains, under the *Real Patronato* of 1618, the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* was protected under the name of don Francisco de Contreras, a member of the council of Castile, the supernumerary representative (*Diputado supernumerario)* of the Confraternity of the Soledad, and general Protector of the Hospitals (5). It is important to stress the protection of Contreras because, as Varey and Davis's records make clear, institutions under his patronage were funded, at least in part, by revenue generated from public theaters and their celebrated actresses (22, 38, 154, 159, *Las comedias 1574-1615*).

The scene of spectacular rehabilitation at the start of this chapter emphasizes the public and exemplary function of *recogimiento*. This same technique, involving the careful staging of the bad woman's body, was also used as a rehabilitative strategy behind closed doors. *Recogimiento* can thus be read as both a public and private practice. An overview of daily life within the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* further affirms the unique awareness of spectacle as a powerful tool for rehabilitation. On a daily basis, women were to be dressed in "honest" colors and closed-toed shoes "sin curiosidad, ni tacones" [without curiosity, nor high heels] (196). Private spaces were clearly defined and closely monitored. Women, for example, were not permitted to share

beds and were punished for attempting to sleep together, sing, dance, or gossip.[44] As was typical of the austere magdalen house, daily routines revolved around strict regimens of work and prayer. Clear hierarchies of power were established, with at least nine people in supervisory positions. Women were publicly disciplined according to the degree of their transgressions. For example, to compensate for a moderate transgression, a woman would have to eat on the floor instead of at the table on Fridays over two months, and kiss everyone's feet before and after each meal. Provisions were also in place to prevent residents from forming friendships (which could cause jealousy or spark concerns about same-sex relations). Anyone found guilty of these relationships was punished with "disciplina de rueda" (25) [cudgeling].

As the charges of the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena* made their debut as *arrepentidas,* they were dressed in new robes, escorted into the Church, received by the *Padre Espiritual* and immediately led to prayer at the main altar of the sanctuary. Although these collective rituals closely resemble traditional monastic practice, my interest is to highlight the spectacular nature of the ceremony described in Recio's manual:

> Se la entrega una efigie de Cristo crucificado, y con ella en los brazos se la conduce por la puerta que desde la Iglesia entra a la clausura de la Casa, en donde está la Comunidad

[44] In her forthcoming book *Lesbians in Early Modern Spain*, Velasco attributes the strict control of women's relations within prisons to the anxieties (real and imagined) surrounding same-sex relations. She points out, for example, a report written by Cristóbal de Chaves on the jails in Seville, *Relación de las cosas de la cárcel de Sevilla y su trato;* "Not only do the women talk like the male criminals but according to Chaves they also imitate their sexual activities by using an artificial penis or "strap-on" dildo: 'And there are many women who want to be more like men than Nature intended. Many women have been punished in the prison for making themselves into "roosters" with an instrument made into the shape of a penis, which they tied to themselves with straps. Such women are punished with 200 lashes' (Chaves 25-26, quoted in Velasco).

> formada, con sus velos, o antifaces, velas encendidas, cruz, y ciriales para recibirla; y cantando el *Te Deum*, la llevan en procesión al Coro bajo; y dichas las demás oraciones, y bendiciones, que se acostumbran en semejantes casos, la desnudan allí del vestido seglar de gala, y se la viste el hábito, con otras ceremonias de mucha devoción, y ternura. (193)
>
> [She is given an effigy of the crucified Christ, and with it in her arms she is led to the door that from the Church enters into the cloister of the house, where the Community is assembled with their veils or masks, lit candles, cross and candle holders to receive her; and singing the *Te Deum,* she is led in procession to the lower choir; and saying other prayers and blessings, as is customary in these cases, she is undressed from her lay robes and is dressed in the habit, with other very devoted and tender ceremonies]

Rich with traditional iconic and symbolic practices, the ritual described above is revealing as it makes clear the tension between transformative and transformed behavior. It is worth noting the public changing of dress required by the ceremony as well as the presence of icons, candles, masks, veils and processional walks. As the former prostitute formally takes her position as a repentant woman, it is necessary to examine how these rehabilitative rituals are mediated by a relationship to audience and performance. As we again recall the parade of women at the start of the chapter, it is important to consider

how the magdalen house relied on spectacular displays of rehabilitation both in order to promote changed behavior within its own walls as well as to project an image of successful rehabilitation to its outside audience and patrons.

II. Reforming the Magdalen House: Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo's *galera*

In 1608 the nun Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo (b. early sixteenth century) surprised many of her supporters by proposing the creation of a prison, or *galera*, exclusively for Spanish women, which would employ novel forms of discipline and punishment that mimicked existing disciplinary systems designed for men.[45] As Cruz makes clear, Sor Magdalena "already directed one of the numerous Magdalen houses founded after the Council of Trent. This *Casa Pía de Arrepentidas de Santa Magdalena*, established in Valladolid, most likely served as a blueprint for the *galera,* as the nun successfully lobbied for the Casa's expansion and endowment" (*Discourses* 143).

Although little is known about Sor Magdalena's personal life, it is known that she actively corresponded with the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria (daughter of Felipe II) and Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza. In the service of the Infanta (or perhaps her father), Sor Magdalena traveled to England, Brussels, Paris and Flanders where she acquired relics to donate to the city of Valladolid in favor of her *Casa Pía*, including at least twenty heads and two bodies of the eleven thousand virgins who accompanied St.

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[45] The exact date of the establishment of the *galera* in Madrid is unclear. On one hand, Pike explains, "Pérez de Herrera mentions it by name in his *Relación de sus muchos y particulares servicios* (1618), but there are no references to it in extant official sources until 1622" (5). On the other hand, Gema Martínez Galindo writes, "la Galera de Madrid ya existiá en el año 1608 cuando Magdalena de San Gerónimo escribe su <<Obrecilla>>, pues alude a ella, y así lo confirman diversos documentos de la época" [Madrid's *Galera* already existed in 1608 when Magdalena de San Gerónimo writes her "little work", since she alludes to it and various documents of that time also confirm this] (62).

Ursula to martyrdom.[46] According to Barbeito, during her travels, she also met with the Carmelite nun Ana de Jesús and accompanied to Madrid Madre Mariana de San José, the incoming prioress of the *Monasterio de la Encarnación* (*Carceles* 40-41).[47] Her secular name may have been Beatriz Zamudio; whether it was or not, she likely belonged to the house of Zamudio (*Cárceles* 37). As Dopico Black discusses, there is also speculation that Sor Magdalena could have been a Magdalen herself ("Public" 81).

The *galera* was designed not only to remedy the moral and behavioral ills of deviant women, but also to act as a corrective to other social welfare institutions for women. Sor Magdalena argued that these institutions were no longer achieving their goals because they were distracted by perilous women who required stricter punishment. By designing an institution for the worst kind of women, Sor Magdalena believed that custodial institutions would be better able to meet the needs of their residents. The target population of the *galera* was the most broad-ranging and ambitious to date, aiming to remediate women who were excessively-sexual, destitute, sickly, or otherwise considered dangerous. Since the *galera* acted as a corrective to less-rigid social welfare institutions, it also initiated a significant conversation on how to both conceal and exploit female deviance. This court-funded project of concealing deviant behavior again reflects

[46] See Dopico Black's analysis of the intersection between Sor Magdalena's public works and her penchant for the collection of relics ("Public"). See also María Isabel Barbeito Carneiro's impressive overview of the ways women's relics were circulated throughout the early modern period, "Reliquias en textos y contextos femeninos" (2001).

[47] Barbeito Carneiro explains that Mariana de San José was chosen to run the *Monasterio de la Encarnación* because Margarita de Austria (wife of Felipe III) identified her as an expert in relics. Since its origin in 1616, "el relicario constituye 'la pieza más importante del Convento y una de las lipsanotecas más singulares dentro de las Fundaciones Reales españolas" [the *relicario* is the most important part of the Convent and one of the most unique *lipsanotecas* within the Spanish Royal Foundations] (*Reliquias* 215). Among the many relics guarded in the *relicario* of the *Monasterio de la Encarnación* is the body of Sor Magdalena's friend, Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566-1614).

Madrid's changing urban landscape and increased concerns with projecting cleanliness and order throughout its city streets.

In *Razón y forma de la galera y casa real* (1608), Sor Magdalena petitioned King Felipe III to create of a prison for women in Madrid defined by a regimen of reclusion and hardship. Her work was indeed persuasive as Felipe III called her to direct the *galera* in Madrid. The proposal is important because it offers a unique account of women's rehabilitation by a woman with personal experience on the job. Rather than offering moral or religious speculation on the ills of society, Sor Magdalena relies on her administrative background with magdalen houses in order to argue for the creation of the *galera*.

Sor Magalena's strategic reliance on her own experience can be found, for example, when she employs the first person in her account: "Y esto sélo yo, porque muchas de las que he recogido me han dicho que se habían perdido por causa de estas malas madres, que mejor se podían llamar madrastras y echar y remar su vida en esta Galera" (75-6) [And this I know, because many of them women I have *recogido* have told me that they have been ruined by these bad mothers, that would be better called stepmothers, and now they waste away their lives in the *galera*]. Through the study of Sor Magdalena's proposal, we may also begin to consider how language employed in her proposal comments on the gendering of rehabilitation. Although the proposal largely adheres to its traditional format as a persuasive call for the *galera*, the use of first person throughout the account seems to indicate that the proposal can also be read as a testimony to the *galera* as a work-in-progress. Isabel Barbeito points out this inconsistency in the notes of her work as a way to explain the difficulty associated with dating the creation of

the *galera* (*Carceles* 41), and I argue that additional attention needs to be paid to the composition and genre of the proposal as a literary and historical artifact.[48]

The structure of Sor Magdalena's proposal is divided into five major sections: "De la importancia y necesidad de esta Galera" [on the importance and necessity of the jail]; "De la forma y traza de ella" [on its form and design]; "Los avisos para la justicia y para los ministros de la Galera" [suggestions for the justice and the ministers of the galera]; "De los provechos que de ella se siguen" [On the benefits that follow from it]; and "Una exhortación a los jueces y gobernadores de la república" [A plea to the judges and governors of the Republic]. The proposal's subtitle— "Que el rey, nuestro señor, manda hacer en estos reinos, para castigo de las mujeres vagantes, y ladronas, alcahuetas, hechiceras, y otras semejantes" [That the king, our lord, orders to be made in this kingdom, for the punishment of vagrant women, thieves, go-betweens and sorceresses, and other similar women] — speaks to the breadth of the institution's population as the *galera* was designed to punish bad women, broadly defined. The nun carefully demarcates between these bad women and their better counterparts, insisting on the exemplary importance of good women for society at large: "aquí no se toca ni se pone mácula en las mujeres buenas y honradas, de las cuales hay muchas en cada ciudad, villa y lugar, que son honra de mujeres, espejo de honestidad y ejemplo de toda virtud" [Here we do not touch nor stain the good and honorable women, of which there are many in each city, town and place. They are the honor of women, a mirror of honesty and an example of all virtue] (69).

[48] In a future study, it would be worthwhile to consider the similarities and differences between the genres of Recio's institutional manual and Sor Magdalena's proposal. It is important that both ostensibly offer institutional histories, while at the same time are affected by the persuasive demands of the genre (in terms of audience and economic motivations).

Sor Magdalena focuses on preserving good women as exemplary figures by isolating the bad: "las podridas y malas, que afrentan la honestidad y virtud de las buenas con su disolución y maldad" [the rotten and bad women, who assault the honesty and virtue of the good with their dissoluteness and wickedness] (69). Her distinction between evil women and their better counterparts was not unusual; Sor Magdalena's writing reflects the hostile ideological climate of her time period, which enforced elaborate classification systems for women for the sake of maintaining social order. As Luis de León or Vives would argue, the good woman was valued as society's most rare and precious jewel, so scarce and subject to harm that she demanded the highest possible degree of protection and containment.

Sor Magdalena begins her proposal by arguing for the importance and necessity of the *galera* as a rehabilitative space aiming primarily, like the magdalen house before it, to remediate prostitutes, the majority under 16 years old. The language she uses to describe the prostitutes is far from sympathetic, however, and emphasizes their animalistic and sinful qualities:

> no se sustentan de otra cosa, sino de mal vivir. Para esto, llegada la noche, salen como bestias fieras de sus cuevas y portales de casas, convidando a los miserables hombres que van descuidados y, hechas lazos de Satanás, caen y hacen caer en gravísimos pecados (71)
>
> [they do not support themselves from anything but bad living. For this, as night comes, they come out like wild beasts from their caves and the doorways of houses,

> inviting the miserable men that go carelessly, and transformed into Satan's lassos, they fall and entrap others into grave sins]

Prostitutes are dangerous in Sor Magdalena's view not only because of their libidinous appetite, but especially because they are poised to trap men in their sinful game, bringing disorder not only upon themselves but also on the larger society.

The second population of interest to the *galera* are women who falsely pose as beggars: "hay otras muchas que, estando sanas y buenas y con fuerza para trabajar o servir, dan en pedir limosnas ordinarias" [There are many that, although good and healthy and with the strength to work or serve, resort to begging for charity] (72). Sor Magdalena is concerned with this population of women because they exploit relatively new charitable systems created to assist the poor and sickly and put unnecessary strain onto an already taxed system of social relief. The problem with the figure of false beggar is of course the inherent difficulty associated with condemning someone for lack of means. Much like the preoccupation with *honor* and *limpieza de sangre* that was pervasive in this period, this section of the proposal seems to indicate that women too are required to prove yet another complex set of characteristics: their relative degrees of health and/or wealth.

It becomes clear that Sor Magalena's principal concern with the prostitute and false beggar is the poor example they set and the risk they pose to otherwise decent women: "Y es, que con su mal ejemplo y escándalo son ocasión y estropeado a muchas mujeres honestas y honradas para caer en semejantes maldades, o, a lo menos, verse en gran tentación y peligro de caer" [And it is with their bad example and scandal that many

honest and honorable women fall into similar wickedness, or at the least, encounter great temptation and find themselves in danger of falling] (75). In line with the humanists of the period, the nun stresses women's bodies as malleable sites of spectacle and seeks to exploit that potential.[49] As Cruz suggests, the *galera* "fully relies on the public function of punishment as a spectacle" (*Discourses* 144). Both women and men are cast as participants and observers to the performance of women's bodies. Erroneous behavior elicits swift punishment designed to contain and rehabilitate.

The tension between spectacular deviance as a powerful rehabilitative tool and as a force meant to be concealed is evident even in the architecture of the *galera.* On one hand, it is clearly a space of strict confinement: "Esta casa ha de ser fuerte y bien cerrada, de manera que no tenga ventana, ni mirador a ninguna parte, ni sea sojuzgada de otra casa ninguna" [This house must be strong and well shut, in that it will not have any window or balcony in any part, nor will it be subjugated by any other house] (77); on the other hand, the function of the *galera* is no secret to nearby residents, as it is marked clearly with a sign advertising its purpose. As Sor Madalena describes in her proposal, the *galera* prominently features:

> Un letrero de letras tan claras y grandes que pueda ser leído de todos, que diga: 'Esta es la Galera que su Majestad del Rey nuestro Señor ha mandado hacer para castigo de las mujeres vagantes, ladronas, hechiceras y alcahuetas, donde serán castigadas conforme a su culpa y delito.'

[49] It is worth commenting here on the paradox of a religious woman requesting the sequestration of other women.

> [A sign with clear and large letters will be displayed for all to read: 'This is the *galera* that his Majesty our King and Lord has created to punish vagrant women, thieves, sorceresses and go-betweens, where they will be punished according to their fault and crime'] (77)

It is interesting to consider here how Sor Magdalena's design acts both as an announcement for the *galera* and as a strategic self-promotion. The precision of her description at once clarifies the purpose of the institution and inscribes her own design into the architecture.

The physical complex of the *galera* can be roughly divided into five major spaces: a bedroom, a workroom, a space for prayer, a secret jail and a small kitchen. Upon entrance to the *galera*, women are asked to trade in old clothing for simple work clothes, eat a meager bread-based diet, and are instructed on the many torture and punishment devices to be used on them if they violate the terms of their residence. As Sor Magdalena describes, "En esta casa ha de haber gran vigilancia y recato…para esto han de tener cien ojos, valor y gran pecho, porque, si no, no se alcanzará el fin que se pretende, que es desterrar de la república la ociosidad y maldad de estas mujeres" [In this house there will be great vigilance and modesty… for this it will have one hundred eyes, valor and seriousness, because, if it doesn't, it won't accomplish the ends it desires, which is to banish from the Republic the idleness and evilness of these women] (80). In order to successfully implement the *galera* as she imagines it best, her proposal repeatedly emphasizes the need for severity and steadfastness.

The role of punishment inside and out of the *galera* oscillates between public and private spaces. Within the house, for example, violations of routine or order are met with swift punishment in secret zones of the house; at the same time, the presence of punishment and torture is public knowledge as a fact of life within the jail. In extreme cases, punishment moves from the private to public sphere in order to serve a heightened, and dramatic, exemplary function. This conflict between public and private punishment can be seen most clearly by examining the forms of punishment inflicted on women who become repeat offenders. Upon their second admittance into the *galera*, women are branded with the name of the jail on their backs: "para que así sea conocida y se sepa haber estado dos veces en ella" [so that it will be known that she has been there two times] (81). This brand on the body of the offender serves as a permanent and visible reminder of their time spent in the jail (a mark of shame) as well as an instructive reminder to those who witness the branding. It is also interesting to think about this corporeal branding as an extension of the *galera*'s sign described above. As an attentive businesswoman, Sor Magdalena conspicuously projects the image of her design in a startling variety of visible spaces.

If in an extreme case a woman manages to be thrown back into the jail a fourth time, she is met with the severe punishment of public hanging at the front door of the *galera*. In Sor Magdalena's words:

> será ahorcada a la puerta de la misma Galera. Lo cual se podría hacer con ladronas insignes, hechiceras famosas y alcahuetas incorregibles, para que con semejantes castigo las demás escarmienten. (81)

> [she will be hanged outside the front door of the *galera.* This can be done with infamous thieves, famous sorceresses and incorrigible go-betweens, so that with similar punishment the others will be taught a lesson]

It is important to draw attention to the choice of location for the public punishment: the front door of the *galera*. This choice explicitly casts the *galera* as backdrop to the public punishment of, or in this case eradication of, deviant behavior. At the same time, the spectacularity of the punishment clearly broadcasts the severity of the institution and its seriousness of purpose to all nearby residents.

Women were commonly housed in the *galera* from 15 days to a year, depending on the gravity of their crime and their responsiveness to the order and instruction within the jail. The *galera* was run by five principal administrators, including a minister whose main job was to find and seize or *recoger* prostitutes and false beggars: "buscar y prender todas las mujeres que toparen de noche por las esquinas, cantones, portales, caballerizas y otras partes semejantes; y de día en las casas donde se dan las limosnas" [find and detain all of the women who they [the administrators] encounter at night on street corners, doorsteps, stables and other similar places; and during the day go out to beg for charity] (83-84). While this process of detaining women appears to be a strictly punitive action, it is important to consider the monetary benefits the *galera* obtained from the exploitation of its inmates as workers.[50] The *galera* struggled with consistent funding, and relied heavily on the city funds and private charity. According to Leonardo Galdiano y Croy, the *galera*'s total income in 1676 was 954 ducats, severely short of their total operating

[50] Many custodial institutions of the period used workhouses for the production of cotton textiles.

expense of 1,936 ducats.[51] This challenging financial situation likewise impacted the number of able to be admitted to the *galera* to approximately seventy or eighty. As Pike explains, "in 1676 there were only fifty-nine women in the *galera*, and they were living in conditions of extreme poverty and want, a situation that continued to characterize this establishment through the eighteenth century" (6).

Although in many ways the daily routine of the jail, marked by a strict regimen of work and prayer, was very similar to the magdalen house model, the severe discipline of the institution was unique to the *galera.* It is known, for example, that women in magdalen houses were commonly not permitted to share beds, talk or gossip while in their sleeping quarters; in the case of the *galera,* these provisions were taken to an extreme level. Some women, for example, were chained or shackled to their bed to prevent unnecessary commotion: "duerman algunas de la mas inquietas con alguna cadena o en el cepo…porque no estarán pensando sino por donde irse" [some of the most restless slept in chains or in the wheel clamp…so that they would not be thinking about where they should go] (86). Sor Magdalena believed that the unique harshness of the *galera* allowed for more successful reformation of women.[52] By exposing women to such consistently harsh living conditions, Sor Magdalena assumed rehabilitation would be most possible. As she describes, these practices taught women to avoid "por este camino muchas ofensas de Dios" [They learn through this path how to avoid offending God] (89). Likewise, through the reduction of sinful behavior, Sor Magdalena argued

[51] Leonardo Galdiano y Croy, *Breve tratado de los hospitales y casas de recogimiento* (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1677), 41.
[52] It is worth noting here that Spain is in a unique position, offering such a punishment-heavy system later chronologically than is standard.

that Spain as a whole would benefit. By removing inactivity and idleness, Sor Magdalena worked to combat all sin.

Most importantly, the *galera* was designed as an exemplary space. The idea was to inspire fear in women in order to lead them to virtue: "que esta Galera será escarmiento, para que muchas mujeres perdidas se recojan a buen vivir, por el miedo y horror que cobraran a esta pena y castigo, temiendo no ser castigadas con tanta afrenta y rigor" [That this *galera* should be a warning so that many lost women will return to a good life through the fear and horror experienced in penalty and punishment, now afraid of punishment with affront and rigor] (89). Not only does Sor Magdalena explicitly link the public spectacle of harsh punishment to moral lessons, but she also claims through her past experience with the *galera* that this is an effective strategy: "Y esto mismo se ha visto ahora en Madrid después que asentó la Galera" [I myself have seen this here in Madrid after they set up the *galera*] (90). Once again, the genre of the proposal seems to be particularly relevant as both a document of persuasion in favor of the jail, as well as an evidence-based testimony on practices of rehabilitation. Most interestingly, Sor Magdalena argues that this system of punishment allows for a more just society, in which crimes are punished in an instructive fashion: "alcanzarse ha mejor el fin que con los castigos públicos se pretende, que es la enmienda del delincuente y el escarmiento de los demás" [to better achieve the goal that public punishment desires, which is the reforming of the delinquent and the instruction of others] (90-91).

According to Sor Magdalena, the problem of bad women is not only that they endanger themselves, but especially that they endanger men. With that context in mind, Sor Magdalena advises that the *galera* instruct women to "servir mejor" [better serve]

(90), as a way to improve gender relations. Similarly she argues that the *galera* will "mejorar el matrimonio" [improve marriage] (90), not only because women will be better instructed as wives and mothers, but especially because men will have fewer opportunities to ruin their marriages through their affairs with lesser women. Finally, she insists that through the creation of a more effective disciplinary system, other charitable social institutions will have "mejor funcionamiento" [better working] (90), thus more able to dedicate themselves to the aid of their specific populations.

What is most salient about Sor Magdalena's proposal is its dependence on the idea of "reinserting" women into their proper social place. As Barbeito has explained, Sor Magdalena's primary concern was to re-cast delinquency into productivity and to reincorporate wayward women into dominant social institutions including the convent, marriage, or domestic labor (*Cárceles* 15). As Perry explains, "Marriage, the cloister, and the brothel all served to impose authority on women, integrating them into a hierarchical society and defusing their potential danger of disorder" ("Deviant" 144). This is certainly made clear in her proposal, where Sor Magdalena argues for the transformative capability of the *Galera:*

> aún las mismas mujeres que están en la Galera por estos delitos, se les ayuda mucho con estos remedios, para que sirvan a Dios y dejen su mal vivir y se confiesen bien, haciendo de la necesidad virtud, porque, viéndose imposibilitadas de ofender a Dios por la obra y sin esperanza de poderse sustentar por aquel mal camino y libres de la ocasión y que, por otra parte, será mejor

> tratadas las que sirvieren a Dios, todo esto les será motivo, con la divina gracia, para de allí adelante seguir la virtud (92).
>
> [Even the very women who are in the *galera* for these sins are very much helped by these remedies, so that they may serve God and abandon their evil ways and confess thoroughly, making a virtue of necessity, because, seeing themselves unable to offend God through work and without hope of supporting themselves through evil ways, and free of occasion that, on the other hand, would be better treated by serving God, all of this will be for them the motive, by the grace of God, for now on to follow virtue]

As this passage reveals, Sor Magdalena's primary concern was to push women toward productivity and virtue. Through the development of stringent work and devotional practices, the *galera* aimed to restore women to one of two options; religious or married life. By more clearly reviewing the *galera*'s purpose, it becomes more obvious how this and other custodial instutions should not be viewed as exclusively oppressive, nor should it be argued that delinquency was a more "liberated" way of life for early modern women.

As a final point of consideration, it is important to examine Sor Magdalena's authorial role in the *galera*, especially as it cast her in opposition to many of the social norms she set out to enforce. While the majority of early modern Madrid's institutional norms were authored and endorsed by men, the example of the *galera* offers a unique

opportunity to study the role of female authorship and endorsements in the early modern period. A particularly relevant example can be found in the fact that support for Sor Magdalena's *galera* repeatedly came in the form of correspondence, authored by a powerful community of women including her friends the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria and Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza.[53] In a letter to the Count-Duke Olivares dated in 1606, the Infanta plainly advocates for Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo's cause. She writes: "También escribo a mi hermano sobre la casa de Magdalena de San Jerónimo, a que os pido mucho que ayudeis, porque no se pierda aquella buena obra, y ella no falte en otras que acá trae entre manos" [I also write to my brother about the house of Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo, to which I ask that you help, so that this good project is not wasted and so that she does not fail in others in which she is engaged] (147). The Infanta boldly steps outside of her traditional role, requesting financial and political support in order to advocate for her ally through the use of letters. As Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb have made clear in their important anthology on early modern women and their correspondence, "Women in the early modern period had available to them the same models of the epistolary genre as did men, and the same range of rhetorical techniques and conventions…[they] adopted, adapted, destabilized and subverted epistolary conventions to produce their own versions of *decorum* in shaping their letters to the recipients and to the situations" (7).

[53] The most extensive critical work about these two women is contained in Barbeito Carniero's study of relics (2001). More recently, Vollendorf has also examined Carvajal's status as woman writer (*Lives of Women*, 57-73), Cruz has focused on her epistolary ("Willing Desire," 2004), Elizabeth Rhodes has edited and translated a series of Carvajal's letters in *This Tight Embrace* (2000), and Magdalena S. Sánchez has focused on her role as female sovereign (2009). In this context it is also provocative to examine the correspondence of other prominent religious women as letter writers in early modern Spain, including, for example, Sor María de Jesús Agreda, María de Guevara, and Teresa de la Valle y Cerda.

Like the Infanta, Sor Magdalena de San Jerónimo also employed the tool of epistolary negotiation.[54] In a letter to King Felipe III, for example, Sor Magdalena felt the need to defend herself against those who not only criticized the severity of her proposal, but especially those who were surprised that a woman could be so hostile to other women:

> Como las demás cosas nuevas en sus principios, así ésta ha causado novedad y admiración, no solo en la gente vulgar y común, pero aun en la principal, y más grave, teniendo el nombre y hechos de esta Galera por demasiado rigor y severidad, particularmente siendo inventada por *muger contra muger.* (65-66, emphasis mine)
>
> [Just as other new things at their start, this one has aroused novelty and admiration, no only among the vulgar and common people, but even among the leading; and more seriously, considering the name and acts of this *galera* too rigorous and severe, as it was invented by a *woman against women.*]

Sor Magdalena's explanation reveals the tenuous position of women, obligated to protect the norms of their community while maintaining a docile and affable appearance. Despite the fact that her proposal fits squarely in line with the humanist rhetoric of her period, in which men and women were required to police and isolate those who assaulted or offended their sex, at the same time it is necessary to emphasize how, as a woman, the

[54] For a larger introduction to the topic of epistolary negotiation in early modern Spain, see my "Inquisition and Epistolary Negotiation: Examining the Correspondence of Teresa de la Valle y Cerda" (2009).

author is subject to preserving an adequately "feminine" appearance. Sor Magdalena stands out as an anomalous figure because she argues for equitable punishment between men and women: "Yo, absolutamente, no quiero el rigor; pero, supuesta la herida, es menester cura que duela" [I, absolutely, do not want rigor; but, assuming the injury, the necessary cure hurts] (94). Although she situates herself as opposed to the rigor commonly known to characterize penal institutions for men, she ultimately argues that it is an effective form of punishment that women also deserve.

III. Spectacular Rehabilitation Revisited

Whether paraded through Madrid's city streets or hung dramatically at the front door of the *galera*, the early modern bad woman staged a provocative role in the practice of *recogimiento*. By examining the spectacular rehabilitation central to the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* and Sor Magdalena's *galera,* we have the opportunity to put in conversation two of Madrid's most well-known yet understudied custodial institutions for women. Not only do we learn more about their institutional history and details of daily practice, we are also provided with a glimpse into the lives of real women in a growing metropolis, branded as bad by their peers for a variety of reasons. Through this comparison, it becomes apparent how the figure of the bad woman, as fantasy and lived person, stood at the center of a spiritual and sexual economy. Spain's economic problems are redressed as moral problems directed particularly at women. Too, we notice the unique situation of women being punished for moral infractions, not just criminal acts. Likewise, these scenes of rehabilitation demonstrate the interwoven religious, penal and judicial discourses which framed the construction of these spaces.

As these varied examples indicate, the intersection between theatrical spectacle and practices of *recogimiento* merit further exploration. This is especially true as a means for studying this spectacularity as a shared point of focus between these custodial institutions and the public theater. The coming chapters will provide an opportunity to explore how popular theater utilized the standard structure of the three-act comedy to narrate popular tales of women's rehabilitation, staging, like the *casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* and Sor Magdalena's *galera,* their own set of reform strategies starring the bad woman. Including these literary representations will allow for a more complete account of women's rehabilitation in seventeenth-century Spain that gives credit to comic, dramatic and parodied representations that were popular to a diverse audience.

By examining the cultural status of the Spanish *comedia* and its intersection with the rise of custodial institutions in Madrid, we can develop a comparative model between literary and historical seventeenth-century rehabilitation systems. This comparative model not only provides insight into the topic of women's rehabilitation in Spain, but more broadly contributes to our understanding of gender, theater and practices of *recogimiento*.

CHAPTER TWO

Stage Widow in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende*

As was popular for many comedies of its time, Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende* [*The Phantom Lady*] (1629), narrates the tale of the deviant woman transformed and domesticated by marriage.[55] Its cunning protagonist, the young widow Ángela, escapes the confines of her brothers' care only to receive their blessing at the end of the play when she leaves her home to re-marry. Although Ángela's marriage to Don Manuel appeases the wishes of her family and restores order to the scene, it is difficult ascertain the overarching logic of the play's moral and its celebratory ending. Does the happy marriage represent a rehabilitative measure for Ángela? Are the ghostly maneuvers she has used to pursue her romantic affair intended to appear threatening to the social order or are they merely comic?

Calderón's *capa y espada* [cloak and dagger] comedy is noteworthy for its attention to spatial representation, contrasting the jail-like domestic sphere of Ángela's home with Madrid's burgeoning city streets.[56] As the title of the play illustrates, Ángela's shape-shifting qualities allow her the freedom to navigate between these two vastly different worlds, passing in and out of her strictly guarded confinement, exchanging

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[55] Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681) wrote between 110-180 plays in his lifetime. He was the unofficial director of dramaturgical activities for Felipe IV. As Donald Beecher notes, the earliest performance of *La dama duende* may be November 4, 1629, the *fiesta* for the baptism of prince Baltasar Carlos, an event that takes place at the start of the play. (12)

[56] Beecher defines this genre as characterized "by frequent use of disguises and swordsplay to advance matters pertaining to love and honor" (13).

letters, and consorting with spies. In Beecher's words, Ángela is "phantomizing herself… as a means for exploring her options without commitment" (37). As we have seen in the last chapter, Madrid's dramatic urban growth had profound impacts on its residents. One concern of this chapter will be to examine how this *comedia* stages these social concerns, primarily through contrasting the urban with the domestic. How do these shifting spatial depictions comment on changing social boundaries, especially for widowed women? The answer to this question will of course be mediated by the limits of the *comedia* as a genre. As Margaret Greer has aptly described, Spain's professional theater is "at best a trick mirror that both represents and distorts, showing as often the myths of a society's self image as its realities" ("Tale of Three Cities" 394).

Scholars have approached this canonical play from a variety of interpretive approaches, but have generally agreed on reading Ángela as the congenial protagonist. Barbara Mujica, for example, views Ángela as oppressed by the patriarchy of her brothers ("Tragic Elements"); Arthur Holmberg sees her as a purely comic widow ("Variaciones"); while Catherine Larson emphasizes the protagonist's subversion and reaffirmation of societal norms ("La dama"). Most critical work has emphasized that the play's major theme is a battle between patriarchy and the individual, highlighting the ways in which the clever protagonist is able to "trick" her brothers into a happy marriage of her own design. Following Greer's assertion that it is necessary to examine the play's "relationship to the sociohistorical setting in which it was written and performed" (87 "The [Self]"), this chapter offers an alternative approach to the play that takes into account three major themes: urban growth, the early modern widow and practices of rehabilitation. My contention is that Calderón's play offers a carefully articulated version

of rehabilitation ascribed to the unique situation of Madrid's widows, especially those who find themselves in debt. At the same time, I examine the liberating power of theater exerted by Ángela as actress, playwright and prop master as alternate practices of self-rehabilitation.[57]

In the opening scene of *La dama duende*, Ángela wanders the streets of Madrid, dressed provocatively in *corto tapada* [short veil], visiting the city's *corrales* and furtively engaging in conversation with groups of men.[58] The audience of this play quickly learns that Ángela's outing is not a commonplace occurrence. Rather, it represents a complete reversal of her daily life, since she is forced as a widow to live in strict seclusion under the watch of her two brothers.[59] Ángela is stored away in a secret compartment of her family house, a dark, ominous and enclosed space that seems to parallel in many ways the rigidity of the custodial institutions of the period. As Ángela bitterly remarks, "Válgame el cielo, que yo entre dos paredes muera" [God be my witness, I'm dying within these walls] (378-80).[60]

The popularity of *La dama duende* can be taken as evidence that it spoke to the contemporary concerns of its audience; as Armon makes clear, especially relevant is the fact that at the end of the sixteenth century, widows headed between 15 and 20 percent of Castilian households (54).[61] What is less clear is why Ángela's status as widow is seen to

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[57] As a point of contrast to my reading, Jonathan Thacker has described Ángela's metatheatrical practices as "antisocial behavior" crafted in defiance to patriarchal norms (116).

[58] In order to contextualize the significance of the *tapada* as embodiment of concealment and seduction, see Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder's study on the practice of veiling in early modern Madrid, Seville and Lima.

[59] During this period, it was customary for widows to observe a one-year mourning period in seclusion. For more on this topic, see Allison Levy and Greer ("The [Self]").

[60] All translations of this play come from Beecher's 2002 edition, *The Phantom Lady*.

[61] *La dama duende* had international success too, performed in England, France, Germany, Holland and Italy throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Armon persuasively argues, "In the *comedia*, overt moral infraction was generally castigated and contained on-stage, but more subtle transgression of the

be a condition requiring rehabilitation. Beecher offers an initial explanation: "Widows challenge close-knit communities by the ambiguity of their status; they are experienced, older, unhoused, unconstrained, destabilizing presences" (36). In this case, Ángela is read as subversive to social norms due to her combined experience, beauty and wit.

The status of widows in early modern Spain is complex, as Armon explains: "widows were not subject to the same degree of social control as wives. Upon the death of her spouse, a widow reverted to a less defined, less 'gender-dense' status. In fact, she assumed many responsibilities normally accorded to the male, while shedding the restrictions of a wife. The elite woman became legal head over her household and the executrix of her children's estates" (54).[62] Ángela's inheritance of these responsibilities is obviously complicated by the fact of her husband's debt, thus binding her to the financial support of her brothers:

> su esposo era
> administrador en puertos
> de mar de unas reales rentas
> y quedó debiendo al rey
> grande cantidad de hacienda,
> y ella a la corte se vino
> de secreto, donde intenta,
> escondida y retirada,

---

social order often met with reward…. For a brief, almost subliminal moment, the public, particularly the female public occupying the women's section, or *cazuela,* was made aware that gender norms, otherwise believed to be inviolable were even less than skin deep, mere masks susceptible to voluntary metamorphosis" (24).

[62] See Stephanie Fink De Backer for an excellent study on the ways sixteenth-century widows of Toledo were able to bolster their own image through their roles as patrons, especially through the sponsorship of convents and funerary devotions.

componer mejor sus deudas
…su estado no le da
ni permisión ni licencia
de que nadie la visite. (331-44)
[Her husband was the Collector of the Royal Ports and when he died he owed the king a great deal of money, that I know. So now Doña Ángela has come to court in secret to try to pay her debts, living in rigorous confinement here… this situation means no visitors.]

Because of her financial situation and newfound dependence on her brothers, Ángela is forced to lead a life of strict seclusion.[63]

Ángela's monologue highlights the confined nature of her life as a young widow, while also explaining her newfound dependence on her brothers as protectors and providers: "¡Válgame el cielo! Que yo/ entre dos paredes muera,/ donde apenas el sol sabe/ quien soy, pues la pena mía/ en el término del día/ ni se contiene ni cabe" [God be my witness, I'm dying within these walls where hardly a beam of sunlight can penetrate. By the end of the day I can barely support the misery of this prison] (379-84). It is especially remarkable how Ángela contrasts the limits of her confinement with the freedom she views in the theater:

[63] As Greer explains, "In 1627-28, just before the presumed 1629 composition date of *La dama duende*, there had been a sudden deterioration of the Castilian economy. Due to a variety of factors, including a large-scale minting of the copper *vellón*, the country was suffering from a severe rise in prices in that currency. After price-fixing and then withdrawing *vellón* coins in circulation, the crown in August 1628 devalued the *vellón* by 50 percent, bringing instant relief to the royal treasury but heavy losses to private individuals" ("The [Self]", 98)

Sin libertad he vivido,
porque enviudé de un marido
con dos hermanos casada;
¡y luego delito sea,
sin que toque en liviandad,
despuesta la autoridad,
ir tapada vea
un teatro en quien la fama
para su aplauso mortal,
con acentos de metal
a voces de bronce llama!
¡Suerte injusta, dura estrella! (390-402)
[What freedom is this, bereaved of a husband, to be wedded to a pair of brothers? And if I should defy their authority and in all innocence slip out under a veil to see the theatricals, open to all the city, where the bronze voice of fame rouses immortal applause, I would be considered a common criminal. How unjust and miserable is my fate.]

Likening her living situation to the confines of a prison cell like the ones observed in chapter one of this study, and framing her relationship with her brothers as a second marriage, Ángela emphasizes the captivity of her present situation.[64] She contrasts her

[64] It is also worth noting the ways in which Don Luis, Ángela's brother, is continually preoccupied with maintaining the security of Ángela's room. Not surprisingly, he is especially wary when Don Manuel is

current lack of freedom with the open space of the public theater and the lure of its crowded and jubilant audience. Consciously transgressing her ascribed role, Ángela secretly escapes a life of confinement in order to again lose herself in the spectacularity of the theater, where tragedy is witnessed and mourned instead of concealed. In this way, Ángela's participation in the life of the theater seems to represent a cathartic escape from her daily existence, serving as a kind of rehabilitation of her own design.

The fact that Ángela's brothers exert *recogimiento* as a rehabilitative practice onto their sister is somewhat more complicated to explain. It may have to do simply with the fact that her family is preoccupied with protecting her dowry from creditors.[65] Although, as Kuehn describes, it is certainly true that early modern widows "can be seen as having stepped into roles of greater legal responsibility, even to have before them 'independent life choices'. But widowhood has also been described as a time of diminishing resources and growing poverty" ("Daughters, Mothers, Wives & Widows" 108).[66] As Allyson M. Poska explains, "Some women suffered a decline in economic status after their husbands died…According to Castilian law, only their marital property could be used to repay her husband's debts, not her dowry or any other property she had acquired" (173). Given that her marriage at the end of the *comedia* is depicted as freedom from her domestic jail, it is also worth speculating on how remarriage is depicted as a way out of financial debt,

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invited to stay as a guest in their home, commenting that Ángela's room is so dark and secluded that even the sun hardly recognizes her presence: "Lo que más me siento es que sea/ mi hermano tan poco atento,/ que llevara a casa quiera/ un hombre, mozo, teniendo,/ Rodrigo una hermana en ella,/ viuda y moza, y como sabes,/ tan de secreto, que apenas sabe el sol que vive en casa;/ porque, Beatriz, por ser deuda,/ solamente la visita" [It's his cavalier insouciance that makes me so angry. Just look what he does, Rodrigo: he brings this young blade under our roof, knowing my sister is there – young, a recent widow, and so hidden away that even the sun can't find her out. Beatriz is the only one who can visit her and that's because she's a relative] (320-30).

[65] William R. Blue, Greer, and Mujica have both observed this complication in their studies of the play.

[66] Also see the introduction to *Upon my Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe*, ed. Louises Mirrer (1992), 1-17.

not only for Ángela but also for her family. *Recogimiento* as rehabilitative practice transforms Ángela from indebted widow to solvent wife.

Feminist critics have often read Ángela's status as an indebted widow as a way to create a sympathetic character. Larson, for example, describes Ángela's "economic martyrdom" (*Language* 99). When we examine how the problem of widows' debt inheritance develops well into the 18th century, it is apparent that Calderón was staging concerns not only for the sake of creating a sympathetic character, but also because they were relevant to his contemporary audience.[67] The relationship between widows and their finances was a major preoccupation for early modern Spaniards. As the number of women confronted by the economic issues of their deceased husbands continued to increase, social reform measures were put into place to address these concerns. As Greer explains, "According to the old *Fuero juzgo*, a woman who remarried or committed adultery within a year of her husband's death forfeited half her dowry" ("The [Self]", 95). Although the *Nueva recopilación* of 1569 made it possible for widows to marry during this one-year mourning period without financial penalty, this contextual information helps situate Ángela's severe confinement. Her precarious financial status as central dramatic concern for both herself and her brothers was thus not a unique predicament, but rather represented a popular social concern.

Calderón's depiction of Ángela's widowhood primarily emphasizes the fatality of her situation. When, for example, Ángela first begs for Manuel's assistance in Madrid's streets, she describes herself as in the process of dying: "¡Adios, adiós, que voy muerta" [Good-bye, good-bye, I must hasten or die] (112), clearly referring to the perilous fate

[67] Thacker has pointed out that the play continued to be a favorite among Spanish audiences throughout the 18th century. It was also the first of Calderón's works to be staged outside of Spain (109).

that awaits her if she is caught outside of the confines of her home. Similarly, as Ángela flees the scene, Cosme comments: "¿Es dama o es torbellino?" [Was that a lady or a whirlwind?] (115), comically noting the instability of her presence. In both of these comments, Ángela's widowhood situates her precariously, on one hand fleshly and mortal and on the other hand, superhuman and eternal. Perhaps Ángela describes this paradox best as she rushes to return to her widow's dress after nearly being caught by her brother during her outdoor escapade. Confiding in Isabel, she explains:

> Vuélveme a dar, Isabel,
> esas tocas
> ¡pena esquiva!,
> vuelve a amortajarme viva,
> que que mi suerte cruel
> lo quiere así (369-74)
> [Give me that widow's hood, Isabel; shroud me alive again,
> since that's what my cruel fate decrees]

Seamlessly moving from the liberties of Madrid's *corrales* to the confines of her home, Ángela likens her status as widow to a death sentence, shrouding her prominently youthful body in deathly garb.

Ángela's view of widowhood as death sentence is also reflective of the prescriptive literature of the time. At the end of the sixteenth century, for example, Gaspar Astete examined the etymology of the word 'viuda' in order to write his treatise on the social condition. He writes, "vi, que es una partícula privativa, que quiere dezir fin, y dua, que quiere dezir dos y assi tanto es dezir viuda es sola sin la compañía de su

marido" (A2v).[68] According to his reading, being a widow implies a serious loss. More than simply losing one's life partner, widowhood renders women simply fragmented or incomplete.

The widow is also commonly depicted as a sexually charged and alluring figure. As Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks explains, "The 'lusty widow' who wants to remarry as quickly as possible is a common figure in early modern literature, but studies indicate that women who could afford to resisted all pressure to remarry and so retained their independence" (95). Of course in Ángela's case, she does not yet possess the financial independence required in order to maintain her autonomy. Interestingly, Isabel comments that it is precisely this contradictory behavior that makes the young widow such a sexually charged figure in Madrid's landscape, especially when she roams openly in the streets. As Isabel describes:

> Señora, no tiene duda
> de que mirándote viuda,
> tan moza, bizarra y bella,
> tus hermanos cuidadosos
> te celen; porque este estado
> es el más ocasionado
> a delitos amorosos;
> y más en la corte hoy,
> donde se han dado de usar
> unas viuditas de azahar,

[68] *Tratado del govierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y doncellas.* Burgos: Compañía de Jesús, 1603.

que al cielo mil gracias doy
cuando en las calle veo
tan honestas, tan fruncidas,
tan beatas y aturdidas;
y en quedándose en manteo,
es el mirarlas contento;
pues sin toca y devoción,
saltan más a cualquier son,
que una pelota de viento. (402-20)
[But dear madam, in light of your youth, your charms and
sprightly ways, it's not surprising that your brothers take
measures to protect you. There's nothing like a winsome
widow to rouse crimes of passion, especially in Madrid
where perfumed widows have grown so common. I thank
the heavens a thousand times when I see them in the streets,
so devout, so disapproving and demure, but when they cut
loose, casting off both hoods and piety, how amused I am
to see them bouncing about like balls upon any
provocation]

Isabel's response is important because she offers for the first time an explanation for Ángela's confinement. First, she explicitly links Ángela with three characteristics: her youth, her wit and her beauty. While these characteristics are certainly attractive

qualities in women, they also prove to be dangerous as, according to Isabel and the prescriptive literature of the time, they incite amorous crimes.

Second, Isabel identifies the widow figure as particularly dangerous because of the "viuditas de azahar," or the courtesans of the Spanish court. In Isabel's words, these women are dangerous because they possess the sinister, yet comical, ability to transform between saintly and sexual figures. They are also marked for their migratory lifestyle, moving from one lover to another as "una pelota de viento." Ángela is thus circumscribed by this important historical context as we have seen in previous chapters, in which are linked the widow to the courtesan, and the courtesan to the actress. All three figures are marked by their transgressive qualities, their dramatic abilities and the threat posed by their ambulatory lifestyle.

Although Ángela's brother Luis is the most fervent advocate for his sister's containment, he is also easily enticed by the charms of other women. When he unknowingly spots his sister entertaining a group of men on the street, he is despondent when he is unable to obtain the attention of the mysterious Phantom Lady. As a mistaken narrator, he describes his encounter in the following way:

> Desde el punto que llegué
> otra palabra no habló,
> tanto, que a alguno obligó
> a preguntarla por qué,
> porque yo llegaba,
> había con tanto extremo callado. (479-85)

[But as soon as I approached she fell into silence – a silence
so profound that someone asked her why my presence had
struck her dumb.]

Enticed by her outspoken charms, Luis is sorely disappointed when his mystery woman suddenly adheres to the contained behavior he tries to enforce in his sister. When he later complains about his troubles, Ángela comically criticizes the Phantom Lady of his fantasies.

¡Miren la mala mujer
en que ocasión te había puesto!
¡Que hay mujeres tramoyeras!/.../
Por eso estoy harta yo
de decir, si bien te acuerdas
que mires que no te pierdas
por mujercillas, que no
saben más que aventurar
los hombres (514-24)

[Upon my word, are there still such sirens who lead men into snares? Such heartless scheming women? … You'll remember how I've warned you not to fall for women who only lead men into compromising adventures.]

Ángela's response is interesting because it offers her the opportunity to at once espouse her brothers' containment logic while at the same time reflexively celebrating her own transgressions. Ángela's self-identification as a "mala mujer," is both a self-deprecating

joke directed to her brother and a self-congratulatory aside to the audience. A second instance of carefully crafted reflexive commentary follows when Ángela, in an act of simultaneous self-criticism and self-promotion, likens herself to the most novel technology of the stage, the trapdoors of popular theater.

The figure of the seductive and transformative widow is clearly linked to the novelties of the Spanish stage. It is also important that Ángela describes these women as preoccupied with manipulating men, situating herself as a player in a complex, although somewhat frivolous battle of the sexes. Finally, it is significant to note how quickly Ángela manages to alternate between transgressive and proper behavior. When her brother asks about her whereabouts during the afternoon, she does not hesitate to respond appropriately: "En casa me he estado/ entretenida en llorar" [Weeping here in my room] (527-28). Instead of confessing the truth of her afternoon at the theater, she carefully associates the prohibited act of entertainment with the prescribed act of crying. This meticulous word play stands at the center of Ángela's folly as *dama parlera*, both adhering to and critiquing the norms ascribed to her social and sexual status.

The action of *La dama duende* cannot be separated from its complex and contradictory setting: the burgeoning streets of Madrid and the confines of Ángela's home. When in the opening scene, Manuel resolves to protect Ángela from her pursuant Luis, he attempts to interfere with his pursuit of the Phantom Lady. As Manuel remarks, Madrid's streets are newly straight and narrow, thus making it more difficult for Ángela to escape Luis' pursuit: "¡Oh qué derecha es la calle¡/ Aún no se pierden de vista" [There's still in sight, the street is so straight and long] (141-142). Nothing like the dark

and winding streets of the medieval city, Madrid's new construction promotes clear and accessible paths with heightened attention to the visibility of its occupants.

The oppressive confines of Ángela's home are likewise designed with an eye towards watchfulness and security. As the conversation between Manuel and Cosme indicates, the house features a jail-like construction, with windows "con aldabas y rejas" [with locks and bars] (1038). Although in many ways the two settings are situated in opposition, both revolve around the vigilance of their inhabitants and thus underscore a prominent theme of the play. In the first act of the play, for example, Cosme utilizes the swordfight to poke fun at the social convention surrounding the fortification of widows. Comparing the sword to a virgin who needs protection, his commentary also foreshadows the details we learn about Ángela's confinement: "Es doncella;/ y sin cédula o palabra,/ no puedo sacarla" [Ah no, mine's a virgin, so she's not allowed out without a contract of marriage] (178-80).

Amid the complexities of the larger setting of early modern Madrid, in which the public theater is contrasted with the enclosed domestic sphere, *La dama duende* stands out for its invention of a particularly symbolic piece of staging: the glass cabinet which separates Ángela's room from the rest of the house. At once fragile and sturdy, moveable and fixed, this paradoxical contraption is charged with meaning and merits further attention in the context of reading Ángela.[69] The glass cabinet is described in detail at the start of the first act:

> Y más habiendo tenido
>
> tal recato y advertencia,

[69] J.M. Ruano de la Haza has commented that the cabinet can be read as an emblem of female honor or a divider between gendered spaces. María Martino Crocetti has read the *alacena* as a metaphor for Women-controlled hymeneal space (see especially pp. 52-53).

que para su cuarto ha dado
por otra calle la puerta,
y la que salía a la casa,
por desmentir la sospecha,
de que el cuidado la había
cerrado, o porque pudiera
con facilidad abrirse
otra vez, fabricó en ella
una alacena de vidrios,
labrada de tal manera,
que parece que jamás
en tal parte ha habido puerta (348-361)
[Opening a doorway from the guestrooms out to another street, and blocking off the inner door leading to the rest of the house with a glass cupboard so cleverly constructed that no one would imagine there had ever been a door]

Although the glass cabinet evidently serves as the key passageway to and from Ángela's room, it is also marked by its transparency. Interestingly, the cabinet manages to put Ángela on display while at the same time containing her. Likewise, the construction of the cabinet, which is ostensibly designed to protect Ángela's honor, out of such a fragile material as glass, emphasizes the delicate status of honor itself as a regulatory concept in early modern Spain. Ángela's brother Luis points out this instability when he complains, "pues ya dices/ que no ha puesto por defensa/ de su honor más que unos vidrios,/ que al

primer golpe se quiebran" [by your description, a mere pane of glass defends my sister's honor, a pane that a single stroke could break to smithers] (365-68). Although this remark closes out the scene, it is certainly not the final word on Ángela's honor, which is cast in this play as an entity able to be rehabilitated.

While the *comedia* provides insight into the logic of a rehabilitative practice from a family's perspective, it also provides an imaginative space in which to represent a woman's personal response to her own confinement. Almost immediately following her initial escape to the public theater from the confines of her home, Ángela's participation in the theater begins to infiltrate further into the domestic sphere. She extends her activities beyond designated theatrical spaces, transforming her home into a virtual theater and masterfully taking on the roles of director and lead actress in her romantic affair with Don Manuel. In direct opposition to the confinement administered by her two brothers, Ángela teams up with her maid, Isabel, to literally construct a new space in which to perform. Ángela's rehabilitative practice can thus be described as theatrical. She manipulates the tools of the theater in order to recover her own agency.

Although Ángela was previously unaware of the secret possibilities of the glass cabinet which separated her room from the rest of the house, Isabel helps her to take advantage of those possibilities and navigate her space with greater freedom and creativity. Isabel not only informs Ángela of the mobility of the glass cabinets, "aunque de vidrios llena,/ se puede muy bien mover" [one that is full of glass but that can still be easily opened again] (590); she goes so far as to suggest rebuilding the space altogether. In her words, "Claro está;/ y para hacerla más buena,/ en falso se han de poner/ dos clavos, para advertir,/ que solo la sepa/ abrir el que lo llega a saber" [Well, yes, and to

make it work better, we should use two fake nails to make sure that only those in on the secret will know how to open it] (609-615). Spurred by Isabel's advice, the two women literally re-build and assert control over the central passageway of the house, creating a new space in which to perform.

Ángela's prowess as director and actress becomes most evident as she pursues an affair with her love interest, Manuel, who has been invited to stay as a guest of her brothers. With Isabel's assistance Ángela tears through all of Manuel's possessions, envying his collection of personal fashion accessories and especially his beauty supplies. The scene is quite amazing as it depicts the anxieties (real or imagined) surrounding a widow's intimate relationship with masculine property, namely his material goods and finances. They rifle through his love letters, steal a woman's portrait and leave behind an extra letter in his room (883-90). In this letter she officially creates roles for herself and Manuel, casting him in the role of "El Caballero de la Dama Duende" [The Gentleman of the Phantom Lady]. She describes her amorous pursuit in terms of a game motivated primarily by her own jealousy:

> No sé.
> Dijérate que mostrarme
> agradecida y pasar
> mis penas y soledades,
> si ya no fuera más que esto,
> porque necia y ignorante
> he llegado a tener celos
> de ver que el retrato guarde

de una dama, y aun estoy
dispuesta a entrar y tomarle
en la primera ocasión,
y no sé cómo declarar
que estoy ya determinada
a que me vea y me hable (167-80)
[I really don't know. Call it a gesture of gratitude to our guest, or something to do to while away the long hours of solitude. Yet it's something more than that. What began in idle curiosity has now roused my jealousy, for among his belongings I found the portrait of a lady which I'm tempted to get as soon as I can. Then I must find a way to let him know how determined I am to meet and talk to him in person]

In the context of Ángela's role as actress and director it is important that she expresses both the desire to be seen and be spoken with, once again juxtaposing the confinement of her life as widow with the possibilities offered by the virtual theater of her own creation.

Ángela's power over language, as writer of both letters and scripts, is further reinforced in a later scene when she is momentarily caught in the act of performing by Manuel.[70] With Manuel grasping her and pressing for an explanation of the mysterious

[70] Ángela's rehabilitative relationship to language would be an especially provocative topic of exploration as it solidifies her already strong connection with the protagonist of Lope de Vega's *La dama boba*, Finea. Taking as a point of departure the work on Finea's use of language undertaken by Larson (22-39 *Language*) and Cañadas (52-61 *Public*), it seems worthwhile to examine how these two archetypical characters differ significantly from each other as widow and shrew. Yet, it is also interesting to consider where they also overlap, especially in terms of their relationship to language.

events occurring in his room, Ángela manages an unlikely escape by undertaking a spontaneous performance as the Phantom Lady. With repeated references to her powerful and ghostly qualities, Ángela utilizes the power of her own speech as a way to free herself from the grip of her captors. She assertively commands both space and distance from Manuel: "Generoso don Manuel/ Enríquez, a quien está / guardado un inmenso bien, / no me toques, no me llegues" [A great treasure lies in store for you, oh, noble Don Manuel Enríquez. But if you touch me…] (988). Ángela's formidable performance renders both Manuel and Cosme speechless. Manuel appears to be dumbstruck by the sheer beauty of the apparition, "Imagen es /de la más rara beldad /que el soberano pincel /ha obrado" [Never has God's hand drawn so heavenly a portrait] (938-941), while Cosme only manages to iterate a series of stunned questions: "Téngase el duende a la luz;/ pues, ¿qué es dél?/ ¿no estaba preso?, / ¿qué se hizo?, ¿dónde está?, / ¿qué es esto señor?" [Now let's have a look at this ghost. Where is he? Didn't you have your hands on him, sir? What happened?] (509-12). In sharp contrast to Ángela's prowess with language, the scene ends with Cosme's incoherence and confusion.[71]

Perhaps motivated by her debut performance as the Phantom Lady, Ángela conspires with Beatriz to undertake a more elaborate performance in further pursuit of

[71] Ángela's performances as the Phantom Lady are also often likened to the Devil. Cosme for example, explains that letter-writing is the Devil's art, underscoring the fear associated with this linguistic power: "Pues yo en efeto presumo/ que algún demonio los tray;/ que esto, y más, habrá donde hay/ quien tome tabaco en humo" [Still, I think the devil's in it, picking up and dropping off letters, as quick as a wink and as lightly as smoke] (1100). Likewise, both Manuel and Cosme frequently confuse Woman with the Devil, clearly reflecting misogynist beliefs of the time. Manuel, for example states: "Si demonio, por demonio, / y si mujer, por mujer,/ que a mi esfuerzo no le da / que recelar ni temer / tu amenaza, cuando fueras / demonio, aunque yo bien sé / que teniendo cuerpo tú, / demonio no puede ser, /sino mujer" [If you're a devil, speak as you are, and if you're a woman, then speak as one. You won't see me cringe or cower at any of your threats even if you are a devil. Yet I know that in having a body, you're not phantom but a woman] (1029-37). Or in Cosme's words, "Que es mujer diablo./ Pues que novedad no es, /pues la mujer es demonio / todo el año, que una vez /por desquitarse de tantas /sea el demonio mujer" [No question she's a devil. Women are like that the whole year through. So where's the surprise if the devil should decide to be a woman for a change to get his own back on them?] (1135-1140).

her romantic affair. It is important to emphasize that Ángela relies on the support of her female allies in the face of her brothers' efforts to prevent their success. Don Luis, for example, questions Ángela and Beatriz directly when he comments on the obviousness of their partnership, "¿Qué es lo que las dos tratan, /que de su mismo aliento se recatan?" [What can the two of them be plotting and hiding under their breaths?] (680). Surprisingly, however, the women do not shy away from their trickery. Beatriz openly exclaims, "Pues, ¿no tendremos / (¡qué mal eso te admira!) / ingenio para hacer otra mentira?" [No, no, this will be even more sport to deceive him like this] (693-94). In a move reminiscent of the capture of Don Juan in the final act of Tirso de Molina's *El burlador de Sevilla*, Ángela orchestrates an elaborate kidnapping of Manuel, employing tricks of lighting, costume and script in order to create her scene. Further affirming Ángela's role as director, Beatriz asks her friend: "¿Y qué ha de ser mi papel?" [What role should I assume?] (49). Ángela responds without hesitation, confidently casting herself in the role of the Phantom Lady and Beatriz as maid: "Agora el de mi crïada,/ luego el de ver, retirada,/ lo que me pasa con él" [To begin with, play a maidservant, and afterwards from your hiding place you can watch what happens between us] (48-50).

As they prepare for their act, Ángela's brother Juan interrupts the two women as if entering backstage before a performance. When he questions Ángela about why she is wearing an elegant dress rather than her traditional widow's garb, she again improvises with confidence while criticizing the conventions assigned to women's mourning practices: "De mis penas y tristezas/ es causa el mirarme siempre/ llena de luto, y vestirme,/ por ver si hay con qué me alegre,/ estas galas" [I wear nothing but mourning garb all day to accompany my grieving memories. I thought these cheerful clothes might

lift my spirits] (204-208). Although Ángela has successfully convinced her brother of her innocence, she still suffers yet another critique for her bad behavior. Interestingly, Juan uses this opportunity to openly criticize, in the spirit of humanist treatises, what he sees as women's frivolity:

> No lo dudo;
> que tristezas de mujeres
> bien con galas se remedian,
> bien con joyas convalecen,
> si bien me parece que es
> un cuidado impertinente (209-213)
> [No doubt they will. Fancy gowns and lavish jewels have always been a cure for women's sorrows. But this remedy seems merely impertinent].

Ángela's response to his critique bears repeating as it emphasizes the distinctiveness of her situation, as a figure of both isolation and display: "¿Qué importa que así me vista,/ donde nadie llegue a verme?" [What does it matter how I dress when no one comes to see me?] (214-15). Once and again, Ángela openly challenges the absurdity of the social codes assigned to widows in mourning. She also manages to further the discussion on women's frivolity when her other brother Luis enters the room and comments on the assortment of plates and sweets that she had arranged as part of her performance.

Luis demands an explanation from his sister: "¿qué notable estrago es este/ de platos, dulces y vidrios?" [who have you been entertaining with these trays of delicacies, these plates and glasses?] (451-453). Ironically, Ángela invokes the commonly held

belief about women's frivolity in order to protect herself and Beatriz: "¿Para qué informarte quieres/ de lo que, en estando a solas,/ se entretienen las mujeres?" [Why would you want to know what women do to pass the time when they're all alone?] (454-56). Craftily alternating her rhetorical position depending on the demands of her situation, Ángela's facility with language empowers her with the theatrical force necessary to advance her own position and protect the theatrical world of her own design.

Ángela's talent with dramatic language can be most fully appreciated through close study of her final monologue, an impressive 84-line statement on the transformative power of her experience as a widow in love. Opening once again with a series of commands: "Escucha, atiende" [Then hear me out] (678), Ángela directs the attention of her audience and opens the space necessary to be seen and heard. The monologue offers the protagonist the opportunity to explain the conflict she has experienced between her role as widow and her desire as a young lover. She describes herself in ghost-like terms, pallid and soulless, lacking confidence in her own directions:

> sin ser vida ni alma,
> mi casa dejo, y a la obscura calma
> de la tiniebla fría,
> pálida imagen de la dicha mía,
> a caminar empiezo;
> aquí yerro, aquí caigo, aquí tropiezo
> y torpes mis sentidos (683-89)
> [I left the house, seeking the peace of the cold dark night. I
> wondered without directing, stumbling, falling, my senses

stupefied]

Drawing attention to the prison-like qualities of both her silk dress and her brothers' home, she continues describing her confined life at home: "prisión hallan de seda mis vestidos; / sola, triste y turbada,/ llego de mi discurso mal guïada/ al umbral de una esfera/ que fue mi cárcel, cuando ser debiera/ mi puerto o mi sagrado" [trapped in the silk prison of my gown. I my sad and lonely confusion, my feet carried me back to my former prison, no longer my refuge and sanctuary] (690-95). The significance of the comparison between the confines of jail and the dress and space assigned to her as widow cannot be over-emphasized, as it speaks directly to the gendered particularities of rehabilitation determined by Ángela's brothers.[72] Reflective of the institutional norms of the period, strict modesty and confinement are valued over women's individual expression or desire.[73]

In this monologue Ángela also recognizes how her capacity with written and spoken language has permitted her various opportunities to protect herself from harm. In a provocative aside, she wonders aloud: "¿Quién creerá que el callar me ha hecho daño,/ siendo mujer?" [Who would have thought a woman's silence could be the cause of ill when, in fact, a woman's silence can destroy her] (704). Despite the fact that reticence is often the preferred quality assigned to women during the period, in this monologue Ángela explains how her momentary hesitation to speak actually represented her

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[72] Carrión's work on marriage offers a useful contextualization for the gendered particularities of this scene. She writes, "The marital roles stipulated by the Law locked men and women in a game of inequality in which a dominant husband was expected to find a woman to play an accessory role as wife, a container where he would come to reproduce himself, his property and his name" (*Subject,* 44).

[73] In a later section of the monologue, Ángela likens her jewelry and dress to objects of betrayal: "él, a la luz escasa/ con que la luna mansamente abrasa,/ vio brillar los adornos de mi pecho, /(no es la primer traición que nos ha hecho)/ y escuchó de las ropas el ruido,/ (no es la primera que nos han vendido);/ pensó que era su dama," (711-17). [in the pale moonlight he caught a glimpse of my jewels and heard the rustle of my skirt – nor am I the first woman to have been so betrayed. He took me for his beloved]

downfall as theatrical agent. Ángela loses her self-designed rehabilitative space and returns to the confines of her brothers' care. In turn, Ángela begins to represent herself in increasingly traditional terms, emphasizing the volatility of her feminine constitution (physical, mental and moral) in terms of the four humours: heat, cold, aridity and moisture.[74] Describing herself as "hecha volcán de nieve, alpe de fuego" [like Etna frozen or a glacier on fire] (710), Ángela's reliance on these conventional descriptions appears to intentionally undercut her own agency, placing responsibility on the mechanics of her body rather than her own volition as a way to free herself from blame.

As she narrates this final monologue, Ángela is forced for the first time to offer an explanation for her erratic and secretive behavior. Her brother accuses her directly of being a wicked sister who has stained the family honor. Her life of confinement is thus framed as a cure to her offenses: "Ven -dijo- hermana fiera,/ de nuestro antiguo honor mancha primera;/ dejarete encerrada donde segura estés, y retirada,/ hasta que cuerdo y sabio/ de la ocasión me informe de mi agravio»" [Then he told me to go inside, that I was a worthless jade, the first to demean our ancestral honor, and that I was to stay locked away and invisible while he found a way to redress this wrong] (739-44). This information is important because Ángela's life of confinement is explicitly tied to a rehabilitative practice, where her social status as widow is presented as an ailment meant to be cured and/ or punished. Ángela blames the force of love for her irresponsibility as a widow, again attempting to free herself from direct blame: "Por haberte querido,/ fingida sombra de mi casa he sido;/ por haberte estimado,/ sepulcro vivo fui de mi cuidado" [For love of you I became a ghost in my own house. Out of respect for your reputation I kept

[74] For an extended discussion on the importance of the humours in relation to the study of early modern women, consult Ian Maclean's *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (1983).

as silent as the grave] (747-50). And yet, true to the formula of the *comedia*, Ángela as writer, director, and actress suddenly relinquishes her power over language and theater in exchange for the title of wife.

In a bold final declaration, Ángela characterizes herself as an actor wholly dependent on Don Manuel:

> Mi intento fue el quererte,
> mi fin amarte, mi temor perderte,
> mi miedo asegurarte,
> mi vida obedecerte, mi alma amarte,
> mi deseo servirte
> y mi llanto, en efeto, persuadirte
> que mi daño repares,
> que me valgas, me ayudes y me ampares (755-62)
> [For love I sought your favor, and my only fear was losing
> you. My desire was simply to be cherished by you, to obey
> you from this day forth, to seal the bond between our souls
> and serve you. But now I must ask your aid in this moment
> of need – that you will shield, help and protect me]

All of her actions link her explicitly to the second-person in which all personal autonomy seems to be erased in favor of a position of servitude. Likewise, the lack of conjugated verbs in this sentence speaks to Ángela's diminishing agency. It is important that the monologue concludes with a final series of requests, in which Ángela describes herself as defective and in need of correction from Manuel.

Luis immediately suggests that the only path to freedom for his sister is through marriage. Despite the elaborate reclusion practice established by the brothers, Ángela's path to redemption appears relatively simple. In a matter of 23 lines, Manuel arranges a contract with Luis in order to marry Ángela:

> Esa mujer es mi hermana:
> no la ha de llevar ninguno
> a mis ojos, de su casa,
> sin ser su marido; así,
> si os empeñáis a llevarla,
> con la mano podrá (830-836)
> [Know, sir, that this lady is my sister and no man who is not her husband will, in my presence, carry her from this house. If you insist on leading her forth, you must immediately pledge to marry her.]

In the classic exchange offer, Manuel quickly agrees to the terms of the arrangement: "Y para cumplir mejor/ con la obligación jurada,/ a tu hermana doy la mano" [My oath you see is binding, for now I take your sister's hand] (843-45). It is important to note that Ángela's otherwise dominant voice is completely absent from this process; in fact, she does not speak at all for the remainder of the play. Although Ángela's debt motivated the severe rehabilitative practices that dominate the bulk of the play, it is interesting that the issue of her debt is not explicitly raised at the play's end. Apparently because Ángela's brothers enthusiastically agree to the marriage arrangement, the entire family is cleared of the financial concerns that motivated the drama previously.

The plot of *La dama duende* can be divided into three major sections: the contrast between the theater and jail-like home administered by men, the interior theater run by women, and the jail-breaking marriage negotiated by men. These distinct representations offer early modern scholars a range of opportunities to study practices of women's rehabilitation. Similarly, the play stands out for its intense focus on the figure of the widow, the contrast between the enclosure of Ángela's home and the spectacularity of the theater (in and out of the home), and finally for its portrayal of Ángela as a double agent of both enclosure and performance. Finally, the *comedia* serves as a clear and emblematic narrative on women's path from *recogimiento* to the expected outcome of marriage.

Calderón's treatment of this dubious figure is therefore of particular interest to early modern scholars investigating the treatment of widows in particular and bad women in general.[75] At the same time, *La dama duende* articulates and spectacularizes the otherwise obscured female voice of protest and ingenuity. Ángela's bittersweet commentary on her own situation both exposes the paradox of enclosure in this dramatic text, and highlights the quiet tragedy of the widow/ actress who desires nothing more than to be seen: "¿Qué importa que así me vista/ donde nadie llegue a verme?" (214-215).

La dama duende's abrupt conclusion is certainly not a surprise to scholars of early modern theater. Rather, it is the velocity of the marriage contract that raises so many interesting questions: How do we understand the contrast between Ángela's dominant linguistic displays and her sudden (though expected) silencing at the close of the play? What kind of agency (or lack thereof) would Ángela be permitted as she transforms from

[75] Croccetti explores a key dimension of this "badness" as she elicits the "hymeneal dialectics" or presence of a public, exposed sexuality by the protagonist of *La dama duende*.

widow to wife? And finally, would the sheer velocity of the male-arranged marriage contract be perceived as an accurate representation of women's expected life course or would it instead be perceived as comical and unrealistic? At this juncture it seems impossible to definitively answer these questions, but at the same time it is obvious that their answers lie in the critical nexus framed by the contradictory intersections between practices of rehabilitation for women and public theater.

CHAPTER THREE

Odd Woman Out in María de Zayas's *La traición en la amistad*

At the onset of María de Zayas's *comedia*, *La traición en la amistad* [The Betrayal of Friendship] (1630), the protagonist of the play, Fenisa, commits the ultimate betrayal when she finds herself enamored of the love interest of her best friend, Marcia.[76] Although she is certainly conflicted about her obligations to Marcia, Fenisa is ultimately willing to sacrifice their friendship for the sake of her personal desire. Fenisa does not merely pursue this new affair with Liseo, but, true to her assertive character, she does so flagrantly and worse yet, in tandem with other romances, repeatedly rebuffing the criticism she receives from betrayed friends and lovers. Whether Fenisa should be celebrated for her (arguably masculine) amorous prowess or criticized for the threat she

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[76] There is very little known about the life of María de Zayas y Sotomayor. Most information on the author has been gleaned from Manuel Serrano y Sanz's 1903 work, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833*. As Greer explains, a baptismal certificate published in the work indicates that Zayas was born in 1590 in San Sebastián, daughter of Fernando de Zayas y Sotomayor and María de Barasa. Her father was an infantry captain who served as administrator for the seventh count of Lemos and was awarded knighthood in the military-religious Order of Santiago in 1628 (*María de Zayas* 16). Because of her family's connections, as well as detailed references to other cities in her works, it has been suggested that Zayas may have traveled outside of Madrid, where she spent the greater part of her life. Zayas participated in one or more of the literary academies that flourished in Madrid, although it is also likely that she did not receive a formal education and instead taught herself to read and write (Olivares and Boyce 209). Between 1621 and 1639 she published verses as part of prefaces to other works. Additionally, she published elegies to mark the deaths of Lope de Vega and Pérez de Montalbán, both of whom praised her work during their lifetime; Montalbán, for example, called her "the tenth muse." In 1637, Zayas published the first set of her celebrated *novelas*, *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares*. Ten years later, the second half, *Desengaños amorosos,* was published. These *novelas* reveal a series of stories about women deceived, often violently, by men, and it is for these works that Zayas is most famous. During the first half of the seventeenth century not only was Zayas the most successful female author in Spain; as Brownlee reminds us, only Cervantes, Quevedo, and Alemán surpassed her book sales (6). For excellent studies of Zayas's life and work, see the already cited works by Brownlee, Greer, and Vollendorf, as well as Yolanda Gamboa.

poses to her peers is a question that continues to divide current scholarship on Zayas's only extant play.[77]

Gwyn Campbell, Catherine Larson, Matthew Stroud and others have pointed to Fenisa as a feminized Don Juan, emphasizing her role as a negative example, while Laura Gorfkle, Valerie Hegstrom and Constance Wilkins have focused on how the play depicts a positive model of female community targeted against a common enemy, Fenisa.[78] On one hand, condemning Fenisa as the villain of the play celebrates the policing function of female community, where women are bound together through the virtue of protecting cherished social and sexual norms. On the other hand, reading Fenisa as a feminized Don Juan emphasizes her excessive and/or socially disruptive qualities. This latter reading also permits reading Fenisa as an atypically "liberated" heroine who critiques a contained brand of female sexuality.[79]

Although these two critical approaches to *La traición en la amistad* offer clearly conflicting interpretations of the play, what I want to highlight here is the way in which they also overlap. In both cases, Fenisa is marked for her bad behavior; to borrow

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[77] Critical editions of Zayas's play and *novelas* were not published until the mid-1990s as part of a boom dedicated to early modern women's writing. Major anthologies published during this time included Elizabeth Boyce and Julián Olivares's *Tras el espejo la musa escribe*, Amy Kaminsky's *Water Lilies*, Bárbara Mujica's *Sophia's Daughters*, and Teresa Soufas's *Women's Acts*. During this period, there were also a number of publications dedicated to women's monastic writing, including Stephanie Merrim's *Early Modern Women's Writing and Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (1999), and Electa Arenal and Stacey Schlau's *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in Their Own Works* (1989).

[78] More recently, Robert Bayliss has observed the incongruity between current critical interpretations of Zayas's play, paying particular attention to the limitations of an exclusively feminist approach. This chapter is indebted to Bayliss's observation that this critical incongruity has radical implications for the study of gender: "Fenisa destabilizes the cultural binary constructed around gender, a notion that resonates well with feminist critical theory; but if we are conscious of her role as the play's antagonist and anti-example, we are aware that it is precisely that defiance of the limits imposed upon her gender that gets Fenisa into so much trouble" (11).

[79] Wilkins argues that Fenisa's libertine actions have no redeeming value because they harm female community: "It is tempting to identify with Fenisa in the validity of her bursting the constraints on women's freedom of sexual expression. Such identification is hampered, though, because self-expression brings with it betrayal of her woman friends" (114).

Campbell's words, Fenisa "is the 'bad' example" (484). Even when Fenisa is read as the heroine of the play, critics often justify her misdeeds by emphasizing the constraints of her social circumstances. While this may allow Fenisa the space to have several lovers, she is still admonished for deceiving her female friends. Although it is logical that the "betrayer" of friendship suffers the unkind punishment of exclusion from marriage as the rest of her friends couple off and marry, this chapter will examine the implications of such a classification in the context of her relationship to female community. Vollendorf has repeatedly signaled the dearth of critical literature on the topic of friendship between women in early modern Spain and has helpfully highlighted *La traición en la amistad* as a site "in which the audience glimpses the workings of women's friendships [where] the importance of women's cooperation takes center stage" ("Desire" 273). If the *comedia* offers the reader an opportunity to reflect on the construction of female community, how might the figure of the bad girl inform its construction, both within the confines of the play as well as within the broader setting of early modern Spain?

Of particular interest to this question is the extent to which the presence of the bad girl on stage dramatizes the policing function of female friendship throughout the *comedia*. As the title suggests, *La traición en la amistad* offers its audience a unique representation of female friendship gone wrong, depicting the expectations of these social relations as well as critiquing their limits. Fenisa's devious presence on stage would not have been popular with her contemporary audience only because of the comic appeal of her outrageous behavior, but especially since her actions illuminate contemporary concerns regulating the construction of female community. By briefly contextualizing the play's representation of female friendship with prominent historical examples of

similar anti-friendship phenomena, the significance of the play for its contemporary audience will become more evident.

After establishing *La traición en la amistad* as a play which depicts a complex and sometimes contradictory social scene, where women are obligated to police and protect the norms of their community even to the detriment of one another, it will be possible to speculate on the exemplary significance of the play's bad protagonist, Fenisa. Like the majority of playwrights of her time, Zayas was clearly influenced by Lope de Vega's *Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609), which abided by Aristotelian tradition and required new works of theater to both instruct and entertain. The question that follows then is key: with her novel representation of female relations, what did Zayas hope to convey to her audience? Was Fenisa strictly a model to follow or a model to avoid?

When defining the word *traición* [betrayal], a key term to understanding Zayas's text and one that appears multiple times throughout the play, in his 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* Covarrubias provocatively argues that those who commit the crime of betrayal should be punished with blindness: "El pago que le dieron fue sacarle los ojos, con que vivió el resto de su vida miserable y abatido" [The punishment they gave him was to take out his eyes, so that they would live the rest of his life miserable and fallen] (914). This definition is significant because it highlights the exemplary play between spectacle and concealment at work in the early modern period, especially in terms of women's relations. While those who follow the rules are allowed to "see," that is to say, granted particular social liberties, those who break the rules will be "blinded," "placed in the dark" – or, more significantly, contained.

This containment can take a variety of forms, perhaps as a family-run *recogimiento*, as we witness in our reading of *La dama duende*, or perhaps it manifests itself in a variety of institutional forms, as we observed in chapter one. Since we know Fenisa has broken the social code by virtue of her bad hehavior, how does this play depict her rehabilitation and/ or her punishment? Also significant to this question is the category of "betrayal" which Zayas brings to the forefront of her play as a new type of crime. It will be important to examine the various kinds of betrayal Fenisa enacts throughout the play (choosing love over friendship, having multiple lovers, celebrating her own promiscuity) as well as the way others define her transgressions (disloyalty, lack of discretion, dishonorableness, etc.).

The task of uncovering the exemplarity of Zayas's play is difficult for a number of reasons, especially because we have limited knowledge about the staging and performance of *La traición en la amistad*.[80] In fact, it is still unclear whether or not Zayas's play was ever performed in public during her liftetime. It is also uncertain whether the play was meant for popular consumption or was designed for a more exclusive (perhaps all-female) audience.[81] Although we can speculate about Zayas's intention with reference to the more clearly established audience of her *novelas*, it is also important that we mark her *comedia* another way for the sake of its generic differences.

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[80] For a concise introduction to the topic of staging the *Comedia*, See N.D. Shergold's overview of Madrid's commercial theater between the years 1604-1635 (209-236).

[81] In this context it is suggestive to consider how both parts of Zayas's *novelas* are tied together by the narrative frame of a *sarao* [soiree] organized within the works by Lisis for an exclusively female audience. Soirees in the homes of the elite were common modes of distribution of literary and performance arts throughout the early modern period. Susan Paun de García believes that a soiree is likely the context in which Zayas's extant play was distributed, although it may have also been staged (40). When considering the topic of Zayas's play performed in a public forum, it is useful to examine Mercedes Maroto Camino's comments that "theatrical representation…was the most public expression available at this time and was therefore considered the least suitable vehicle by means of which a woman might convey her ideas. Furthermore, publicity and publication became, when applied to women, synonymous with prostitution" (10).

Current criticism must continue to grapple with questions of staging and reception not only when considering *La traición en la amistad*, but also as a means of accessing the vast sea of extant *comedia* treasures, whose contextual stories, like the manuscripts in which they were written, are missing literal and metaphorical pieces.

I would argue that Fenisa's presence on the Spanish stage requires an appreciation of her double function, both as a character produced by a female playwright and, as we recall from this project's introduction, a character embodied by an actress on the Spanish stage. As McKendrick has made clear, "the fact that performance on a public stage offered women a legitimate arena for creative self-expression, where they could speak and move freely in a way disallowed by normal life, was in itself morally and socially problematic" ("Representing", 73). Not only was Fenisa as protagonist violating the social norms determined by the theatrical scene, the actress who played her part most certainly troubled social norms by radically displaying herself on stage. With this set of concerns in mind, this chapter can then reassess key dramatic moments in Zayas's play in order to address the question of Fenisa's exemplarity.

The critical celebration of female community depicted in this play is easy to appreciate when we consider the tremendous obstacles women had to overcome in order to befriend one another in early modern Spain. As Vives's advice to young wives makes clear, women were not to confide in each other even under dire circumstances. He argues that in the event a husband punished his wife physically, she was never to confide in another:

> Devora tu dolor en tu casa y no lo cacarees fuera ni con otras te quejes de tu marido, que no parezca que pones un

> juez entre él y tú: encierra los sinsabores domésticos en las paredes de tu casa; ni salgan a la calle, ni cundan por la villa. Así, con tu comedimiento, harás más comedido a tu esposo, a quien, por otra parte, con tus quejas y futilidad ofensiva de tu lengua agravias más y más. (1094)
>
> [Devour your grief at home, do not broadcast it in the neighborhood or complain to others about your husband so that it may not appear that you appoint a judge between him and you. Keep domestic problems within the walls and threshold of the house so they will not be spread abroad. In this way you will render your husband more amenable when you would only further exacerbate him with your complaints and your useless tongue]

The example of Vives's instruction dramatizes what is most unusual about Zayas's play, where female friends freely interact with one another and even band together as a community. Especially important in this context is the way Laura directly petitions Marcia for guidance in order to recover her lost honor. In Vives's view this kind of female collaboration was threatening to the social order, as it allowed women protections and resources he felt they did not deserve.

Despite the pervasive influence of humanist thought in early modern Europe and its affinity for female isolation and containment, recent scholarship has also shown that women were able to form networks, both political and social.[82] Vives's advice above may

[82] Magdalena S. Sánchez revises the longstanding view of early modern Spanish women as isolated subjects. Through close study of Empress María, Margaret of Austria and Margaret of the Cross, Sánchez

have reflected the fear of female friendship, where women's reliance on each other often came before their adherence to social norms.[83] Likewise, it reflects the fear of female community, where women collaborate together in order to achieve specific ends. While these collaborations could take the form of societal resistance, as Zayas's play makes clear they also could take on a policing function, where normative behavior is enforced for the sake of protecting female community. Laura Gorfkle helps to clarify this issue by giving historical context for these relations: "the female community was an entity of social control that worked to bring young women's conduct into alignment with social and moral norms" (615). In order to further elucidate the powerful role of female community in Zayas's play, it is useful to contextualize our reading with a concrete historical example. The specific case of Magdalena de Guzmán, the Marchioness of Valle, stands out as a particularly fascinating case of the power and perceived threat of female networks.

Magdalena de Guzmán was one of Margarita of Austria's ladies-in-waiting until 1601, later became the governess of the Infanta Ana, and finally the queen's *Camarera mayor* as well as the Duke of Lerma's most immediate spy over the Queen. Although as Sánchez makes clear, her position was initially designed in a way that would allow Lerma to have control over the Queen's activities, Magdalena de Guzmán instead "won the queen's favor…and actually began to constitute a political threat" (101). In response, she was tried for abuse of office, imprisoned and exiled from the court in 1603.

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argues that women were able to form and negotiate crucial political and social networks. For an introduction to this matter in a broader European context, also see Stephanie Merrim; Susan Frye and Karen Robertson; Laura Gowing; Michael Hunter and Miri Rubin, among others.

[83] Rereading friendship in early modern Europe is not a novel proposition; however, the majority of critical attention to this topic has focused on the role of male homosocial bonds and relations. In the Early modern Spanish context see, for example, Sidney Donnell, Antonio Feros and José Reinaldo Cartagena Calderón. See Alan Bray, Jonathan Goldberg, Michael Rocke, and Eve Sedgwick, among others, as outstanding examples on this topic in a broader European context.

What is most intriguing about this case is the severity with which Lerma responds to the threat of female community. Sánchez describes how during her trial, the Duke sought to arrest de Guzmán's network of female friends, including the Marchioness of Castellar (100). The friendship between the two women was most closely scrutinized by attacking the written correspondence they exchanged: "mandan que se miran a todos sus papeles y cartas y entre ellas hallaron por gran desgracia una carta q(ue) la Marquesa del Castellar a su grande amiga la avía escrito consolándola" [ordered that they look at all of the papers and letters, and among them there was, unfortunately, a letter that the marchioness of Castellar had written in order to console her].[84] It is valuable to observe here the way in which these women strategically utilized means deemed appropriate to their sex, in this case letter-writing, and subverted them in order to promote their own cause.

The threat of female communities working the "wrong" way led to revision of the *etiquetas* of the queen's household in which Lerma worked to find ways to limit the queen's contact with the outside world and, as Sánchez notes, especially with other women (103). What is most compelling about the case is how it underscores the instrumental role that women often had in maintaining social norms (Magdalena's initial role as spy to Lerma), and the punishment of isolation and exclusion ascribed to women who subverted this precarious structure (Magdalena's exile from court).

Reading Zayas's play in the context of Magdalena de Guzmán is significant because it manages to draw attention to the obligations and constraints placed on powerful women as well as give credit to the policing power of female communities. In its simplest form, Zayas's play offers to contemporary readers a particularly evocative

[84] See Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 2577.

example of the contrast between women who play by the rules and one who breaks them. Although the play is sometimes humorous and formulaic, it is also reflective of prominent social concerns.

In *La traición en la amistad*, female community is initiated and defended primarily by women and the deviant female subject pays the price of exclusion at the end of the play.[85] The plot of Zayas's play revolves around several love triangles, and is initiated appropriately, with the betrayal of friendship. Although love intrigues were a common theme of the Baroque theater, this play stands out for its focus on Fenisa, a female instigator of multiple affairs. She says of herself:

> Hombres, así vuestros engaños vengo
> …Mal haya la que solo un hombre quiere,
> que tener uno solo es cobardía;
> naturaleza es vana y es hermosa (1467-1478)
> [Men, this is how I get even with you and your tricks…Cursed be the woman who loves only one man, because it is cowardly to limit yourself to a single lover][86]

Radically departing from the idealized image of women proposed by the humanist tradition, Fenisa simultaneously spites men's freedom and women's chastity; by the standards of her time she is most definitely a bad woman.

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[85] Despite their longstanding relationship, when Marcia presents Fenisa with a portrait of her lover Liseo, Fenisa instantly falls in love with him and betrays her friendship to Marcia. When Liseo later learns of Fenisa's affection, he begins to juggle relationships with the two women. Another skeleton in Liseo's closet is Laura, a woman he promised to marry but then abandoned. Although Fenisa prefers Liseo to her other men, she manages to maintain romantic relationships with both Juan and Gerardo, in addition to others.

[86] All translations of Zayas' play come from Catherine Larson's narrative translation *Friendship Betrayed* (1999).

The categorization of women within a variety of descriptive binaries dominates the plot of Zayas's text. In the first act, for example, when Liseo attempts to decide between his multiple love interests, he weighs his opinions of the three women featured in the text: Laura, Marcia and Fenisa. In doing so, he attempts to categorize them according to their degree of "womanliness." For Liseo, Laura "no es mujer" [not a woman] (1281) since she has already lost her virginity to him. In contrast, Marcia "es un ángel" [is an angel] (1282) since she is still a virgin, and is therefore socially accepted and alluring. However, what is most important about this scene is the way that Liseo is unable to categorize Fenisa. She is simultaneously "una diosa" [a goddess] (1282) but has surrendered "a mi afición" [to my affection] (1285). Both goddess and whore, Fenisa treads a social line that complicates Liseo's strict categorization of women. This inability to read Fenisa ultimately leads him to choose Marcia for his wife. He says, "Marcia en eso será la preferida" [Marcia would be the one I would chose] (1289). Personal desire does not play a role in his selection; rather Liseo's decision reflects the social norms concerning the expectations of marriage, in which the husband dominates a submissive and transparent wife.[87]

As discussed at the start of the chapter, most research on *La traición* has cast Marcia as the heroine of the play, since she guards the norms of female community and helps to restore the traditional order at the play's conclusion.[88] The title is read as a warning where Fenisa is cast as the villain and serves as an instructive example of what

[87] In order to more fully appreciate the particular demand of transparency and desirability exerted on the early modern wife, it is helpful to think again about the way adultery was defined during this period as being exclusively the fault of the woman, even if she had no part in an extra-marital affair. See chapter two for a lengthier discussion of this topic.

[88] For example, Gorfkle writes, "Marcia forfeits her desire to the demands of society… seeks out regulation from a female peer group rather than the influence of a male authority figure [and] becomes the agent and regulator of her own desires" ("Female Communities" 618).

occurs when friendship is betrayed. What is important about this criticism is how it depicts early modern female friendship as dependent on the surrender of personal freedom. Although it is clear Fenisa serves as an example of the consequences of friendship betrayed, these consequences are not as simple as they might appear at first glance. Fenisa's betrayal of friendship allows the reader to examine just how this female community creates and enforces its social norms, often in an oppressive and coercive manner. Most significantly, if we simply dismiss Fenisa as a bad friend, we eliminate the possibility of her as a figure that challenges rigid gender binaries as well as procreative marital structures.

Fenisa acts according to her own free will, aggressively pursuing a number of men, encouraging others to follow her example, disrespecting the wishes of her female friends, and using deception "the wrong way" by prioritizing personal desire without respect to social order. In doing so, she exposes a double standard, not only between men and women, but also among women. This hypocrisy becomes evident when women are allowed to disrupt social norms in the name of protecting friendship (maintaining social order), but are condemned to containment when threatening friendship (countering an enforced social order). This is made explicit in Marcia's desire to punish Fenisa's betrayal, "¡Mal haya quien en tal tiempo/ tiene amigas!" [The woman who has female friends these days has plenty of heartache] (1082-1083). Marcia suggests directly that Fenisa's violation of the codes of friendship will lead to her ultimate downfall. Because of Fenisa's legible transgression, Zayas's play makes a spectacle of her containment. Fenisa is outcast from the stage, left without a part to play, and punished, following Covarrubias's definition of betrayal, with strict enclosure or total darkness.

If we read Marcia as the "good" friend, a community leader defending the rights of women, *La traición* makes explicit the conflict between good women and bad, examines how containment and circulation relate to the development of social norms, and, moreover, examines the implications of deviations from the norm by focusing on a protagonist, Fenisa, who refuses discretion. As she claims later in the play, instead of loving one person selfishly and exclusively, she offers her love to anyone who will accept it. She embodies excess and promiscuity: "Tengo la condición del mismo cielo,/ que como él tiene asiento para todos/ a todos doy lugar dentro en mi pecho" [I have the same disease that heaven has, because since God has room for everyone near him, I can make room for all those men instead in my heart] (2396-2398). As Lucrecia appropriately responds: "También en el infierno hay muchas sillas/ y las ocupan más que no en el cielo" [There is also plenty of room in hell, and it is fuller than heaven] (2399), emphasizing the moral constraint central to the play's action. This passage is of course especially provocative given the heavy regulations placed on women within early modern Spanish society. Since Fenisa is unwilling to play her part in the dominant order, she is outcast from her social group.

In order to demonstrate the policing nature of female friendship, it will be useful to explore textual examples of the social manipulation that is allowed in the name of preserving friendship. Specifically, I will focus on acts of deception that are committed in order to save Laura's honor and consequently place blame on Fenisa. As mentioned earlier, Laura was the ex-lover of Liseo, but is abandoned by him when he falls in love with Marcia. In act II Laura puts her reputation on the line when she openly admits her dishonor in order to collaborate with Marcia. Not only does Laura later warn Marcia of

Liseo's deception; she also works to restore his obligation to her and avenge her lost honor. Laura travels independently to Marcia's home, concealing herself in a large cloak, and after a successful conversation with Marcia, crafts a letter to Liseo in which she falsely claims she has entered a convent. Laura justifies her deceit in the following way, "yo sé que su poco amor/ dará lugar a mi enredo" [Knowing how little love he has for me, that will open the way for me to work my mischief] (1063-4).

Marcia not only affirms Laura's "transgressive" behavior, but also assists her in composing the letter and, importantly, solidifies her alliance with her:

> sabiendo
> que te tiene obligación,
> desde aquí de amarle dejo.
> En mi vida le veré.
> ¿Eso temes? Ten por cierto
> que soy mujer principal
> y que aqueste engaño siento (999-1006)
> [now that I know he has a prior commitment to you, from this moment on I vow to stop loving him. I will never see him again as long as I live. Were you afraid of how I would react? Well know this: I am a noble woman, and I am so sorry about the way he deceived you.]

Marcia's affirmation is notable for two reasons. First, it displays how love is detached from an emotional inner life, but rather is something that can be turned on and off at will ("desde aquí de amarle dejo"). Second, Marcia reveals the importance of her actions in

relation to her social status; as a leading lady she is responsible for exemplary actions. She must assist Laura in avenging her dishonor not only for her own sake, but out of her obligation to the larger community and her commitment to women's honor. Stroud suggests, "Women use deception for honorable purposes to maintain social harmony; it is one of the few tools at their disposal given the limited power of women in the society" (*Love* 542). For these reasons, this scene makes clear that women are allowed to freely circulate and manipulate convention when working to restore social order.[89]

Another example of women's free circulation and deception appears in act III, when Marcia and Laura create a literal performance for Liseo in the hope of restoring his commitment to marry Laura. In an elaborate scene, the two women converse with Liseo from Marcia's window, only Marcia pretends to be Belisa (her cousin) while Laura pretends to be Marcia. Laura struggles with her performance and explains to Marcia: "Estoy tan triste que hablar/ no puedo" [I am so sad I cannot even speak] (1995-96). Marcia has no sympathy for Laura's complaint, but emphasizes that her performance is crucial to the success of their scheme: "Mucho desdices/ de quien eres. ¿Qué es aquesto?" [You are not showing what you are made of. What is this?] (1997-1999). Laura's difficulty in acting is understandable since she is asked to "be herself" by playing the part of Marcia. At the same time, Marcia's commitment to her part puts on display her fervent commitment to restoring Laura's honor, again privileging social order over private concerns. In this scene, the women's subtle manipulation of Liseo's courtship not only satisfies their taste for vengeance, but restores harmony to the social scene.

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[89] In order to best contextualize conceptions of love in the early modern period, see A.A. Parker. Through a thorough analysis of canonical fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth- century texts, Parker offers a comprehensive overview of the way love has been traditionally represented by literature of the period.

Even though Laura realizes this performance is necessary, she is frequently portrayed as a less than fully committed player in the scene. Disgusted with Liseo's affection for Marcia (who Laura pretends to be), she is unable to continue the farce and exits angrily from the balcony. Her early departure leaves Marcia (as Belisa) to negotiate with Liseo, and again the scene offers an opportunity to display Marcia's commitment to the plot. When Liseo asks how he can repair his relationship with his lover, Marcia takes the opportunity to suggest a contract, in which he would promise marriage. Importantly, Marcia explains to Liseo that the contract is necessary because it will help to appease jealousy. She states appropriately: "Una mujer celosa/ es peor que la víbora pisada" [A jealous woman is worse than a viper that has been stepped on and provoked] (2070-71), self-consciously signaling her own dangerous qualities.

Marcia deftly negotiates with Liseo, and does not allow emotion to spoil her arrangement. After the contract is sealed, Belisa justifies their deception in a monologue:

> Laura será tu muger;
> a quien [es] tu fe deudora,
> que si engañando has vivido
> y de ti engañada ha sido,
> hoy tu engaño pagarás,
> y por engaño serás,
> a tu pesar, su marido (2270-2276).
> [Laura will be your wife, since you owe your faith to her. Because you have lived by trickery, and she has been tricked by you, today you will pay for that deceit, and you

> will be tricked into becoming her husband, whether you like it or not.]

In this sense, and according to the honor- and order-focused mentality of the time, Laura, Marcia and Belisa are permitted to freely circulate and manipulate social convention because they are working to restore social order and to isolate those who disrupt it, namely Fenisa. Belisa's insistence here on the role of *engaño* is particularly suggestive, as it reflects the capaciousness of the term. On one hand, she condemns Liseo for his deceptive *engaño*; as Covarrubias's definition of the word explains, this would include "lo falso, engañador, el burlador" [False, Swindler, Trickster] (238). At the same time, she celebrates the craftiness of their plan against Liseo as a successful form of *engaño*. In Covarrubias' words: "el que engaña muestra voluntad, y gana de una cosa, y haze otra… porque el engañado siempre queda perdido…el que engaña es ingenioso y astuto" [He who tricks shows will, and as he wins one thing he makes another… because he who is tricked always loses…the trickster is clever and cunning] (238).

Interestingly, the male characters unite at the end of act II when they also decide to punish Fenisa for her transgressions. Don Juan, who had courted Fenisa prior to renewing his commitment to Belisa, has been invited to meet Fenisa at the park and instead finds her finishing a romantic picnic with Liseo. Once Liseo leaves, Juan approaches Fenisa about her indiscretion. Fenisa shows no embarrassment by being caught with another lover, since she never claims to be faithful to any single one. She sees no harm in maintaining multiple relationships, and no reason to hide her affair from Juan. As she points out later in the play:

> Si mi amor [daña a] un alma porque tiene

sufrimiento en sus penas y tormento,
yo, Amor, que amando a muchos, mucho siento;
no es razón que tu audiencia me condene;
razón más justa, Amor, será que pene
la que tiene tan corto pensamiento
que no caben en él amantes ciento (2367-71)
[If my love wounds another soul, causing it to suffer storms and pains, I, Love, who love many men, feel that suffering a hundred times over; that is no reason to condemn me. It would be fairer Love, if the one who suffers is the short-sighted woman who does not make room in her heart for those hundred other men.]

Fenisa repeatedly refuses to apologize for her indiscretion and instead she seeks to portray her promiscuity as a noble form of generosity.

Don Juan's desire to punish Fenisa springs from the fact that her actions make visible what should have been kept discreet. Unlike Marcia, Fenisa does not respect the rules of social engagements. Interestingly, although Juan initially intends to seek a violent revenge, he chooses instead to band together with the other men whom she has 'deceived.' He explains to Belisa, "Dejé sangrientas venganzas,/ y para mayor afrenta/ con la mano de su cara/ saqué por fuerza vergüenza,/ diciendo, 'Así se castigan/ a las mujeres que intentan/ desatinos semejantes/ y que a los hombres enredan'" [I left aside bloody revenge, and for even greater insult, I slapped her, saying 'that is the punishment for women who use such tricks and try to ensnare men'] (1744-1759). Although it

appears that Juan's actions are part of his renewed commitment to Belisa, he seems more gratified to publicly and visibly punish Fenisa's transgression, and ensure that others will follow his example by initiating the creation of a solidified male community (formed in its opposition to a woman who threatens it).

In this sense, Juan is no "Don Juan" after all. In fact, he appears effeminized when he slaps Fenisa for her deceit against his gender, and admits her power over him. He does not follow in the masculine tradition of "bloody revenge," but claims that slapping her publicly is greater insult. His feminization is made more obvious when it is Fenisa who seeks bloody revenge upon learning that Juan is reunited with Belisa: "Traidor, en aquesta casa/ he de hallarte cuando dejas/ mi voluntad ofendida,/ mi rostro lleno de ofensas?/ ¡Vive Dios, que he de quitarte/ con estas manos, con éstas,/ esa infame y falsa vida!" [Traitor, I find you here in this house when you deserted me and insulted me?! My face shows your offense! By God, with these hands, I am going to take your infamous life!] (2749-2755). Once again, Fenisa's actions are distinctive because of her aggressive approach to love and friendship. In this scene Juan's display of commitment to maintaining social order is in many ways parallel to the actions undertaken in earlier scenes by Laura, Marcia and Belisa. Instead of violently ending the scene as Fenisa does, he engages in the tradition of *vituperatio* in order to put Fenisa in her place, confirming her position of isolation and exclusion.[90] Both Fenisa's transgressions and punishments are staged prominently throughout the *comedia*.

[90] I refer here to the medieval courtly tradition of poems of accusation and contempt, more formally known as the *mala cansó*. See too Carrión's analysis of the *vituperatio* as it appears in Ana Caro's *El conde partinuplés* (244-45 "Portrait"), as well as the larger studies dedicated to this tradition, including, for example, Howard R. Bloch's.

Belisa affirms Juan's actions later in the scene, claiming they are admirable not only because of his restored commitment to her, but also because Fenisa has been taught a lesson about her inability to be "discreet" and "lady-like," and the consequences of such misbehavior. She explains:

> ninguna muger,
> si se tiene por discreta,
> pone en opinión su honor,
> siendo joya que se quiebra.
> Pues si lo fuera Fenisa,
> esos engaños no hiciera/…/
> siempre dije que no es buena
> la fama con opiniones (1764-74)
> [No woman, if she considers herself prudent, puts her honor up for public discussion, since it is a precious jewel, easily broken. If Fenisa were circumspect, she would not do what she does, putting her reputation on the line that way… I have always said that it is not good to link your reputation to public opinion.]

Belisa makes clear that any principled woman would know better than to violate social norms in such impudent ways. Although Belisa, Laura and Marcia have also violated social convention, it is always in the name of restoring social order and often hidden under complex charm or disguise. As a point of contrast, Fenisa does not respect her social obligations, and it is her carelessness that merits criticism and punishment. Fenisa

is a bad woman because she is not discreet, and with behavior as notorious as hers', it is easy to understand what a radical change of behavior discretion would imply.

Putting the examples of Belisa and Juan alongside each other makes apparent that public opinion is always prized over private concerns in Zayas's text. This is of course also paralleled in the cases of Laura and Marcia, who each accept either unfaithful, in the case of Liseo, or unloved, in the case of Gerardo, husbands for the sake of protecting their social role as honorable women. As Liseo notes at the opening of act I, since Laura was betrayed, she could not be socially recognized, or visible, as a woman without him. And as Marcia understands in act III, she must take Gerardo as her husband or she too will lose her visibility. She most clearly illustrates her allegiance to her own responsibilities in the following lines:

> Calla, necia,
> que sólo por ser muger,
> no te echo por la escalera.
> ¿Dudas, Liseo? ¿Qué es esto?
> Pues para que ejemplo tengas,
> mira como doy mi mano
> a Gerardo, porque sea
> premiada su voluntad (2848-52)
> [Hush, you idiot; the fact that you are a woman is all that is keeping me from throwing you down the stairs. You are still not sure, Liseo? Well just so you will have a good

> example to follow, see how I am giving my hand to Gerardo as a reward for his good will]

Although Marcia is clearly angry with Fenisa, she restrains her violent impulses because, as she says, that is no way to treat another woman. Instead, Marcia uses the opportunity to model appropriate, gender-specific behavior by choosing Gerardo as her husband and allowing Liseo and Laura to pair as well. At the closing of the play, both men and women are forced to identify the marginal, in the form of Fenisa, in order to enforce their social order and justify their (often deceitful) behavior.

On the other hand, Fenisa's violation of social codes is never justified within the world of the play. Although she too manipulates convention and freely circulates in ways that occasionally parallel other characters, Fenisa never attempts to conceal or justify her actions in ways that would be gender appropriate. Instead, she describes her actions as a result of having an infinite capacity to love: "Los quiero, los estimo, y los adoro/ a los feos, hermosos, mozos, viejos,/ ricos y pobres, sólo por ser hombres" [I love, esteem and adore the ugly and the handsome ones, young boys and old men, rich and poor, and only because they are male] (2392-2396). In Fenisa's formulation, it is clear that although her love may be infinite, it is certainly not exclusive. Fenisa rejects and assaults rigid binaries in order to pursue her own desires. This conflict between Fenisa's desire and the demands of female friendship is evidenced from the opening of the play, when she falls in love with Liseo's portrait and hesitates momentarily: "El amor y la amistad/ furiosos golpes se tiran./ Cayó la amistad en tierra/ y amor victoria apellida" [Love and friendship are fighting it out; friendship is defeated and love emerges

victorious] (171-175). Zayas makes clear that by choosing desire over friendship, Fenisa is excluded and punished.

When Fenisa is cast out from the marriage scene at the end of the play, León ironically remarks that he will act as go-between for Fenisa and any interested audience member: "Señores míos, Fenisa,/ cual ven, sin amantes queda;/ si alguno la quiere, avise/ para que su casa sepa" [My lords, as you can see, Fenisa is left alone without a single lover. If one of you is interested, let me know and I will pass on her address] (2911-2914). León mocks Fenia's availability and in fact puts her on the market as if she were a common prostitute. While the comment certainly makes light of Fenisa's character, his remark does not condemn her for it. In fact, Fenisa's marginalization at the end of the play guarantees her an unusual amount of freedom. Instead of being sentenced to death or marriage as would be typical of a standard *comedia de enredos*, Fenisa is instead banished from her own social group. And yet, although Fenisa is silenced and excluded at the end of the play, I argue that Zayas throughout the play takes advantage of her prominent position on stage.

Although at the opening of the play, Fenisa and Liseo are both masters of multiple lovers, at the end of the play, Liseo is forced to marry a woman he does not love while Fenisa sits outside of the marital structure. Fenisa's devious presence throughout the play is worth studying because her actions make social norms and her conscious decision to betray them readily apparent. Her dealings and interactions with the other characters offer a variety of instances that illustrate the intricate workings of early modern female relations in Spain, specifically as networks that function to protect social status and guard gendered norms.

It is important to return to the question that started this chapter: why are we so attached to viewing Fenisa as a bad woman? Fenisa clearly violates social norms, and the play's title seems to offer a moral lesson about the importance of female community. However, when we continue to isolate Fenisa as bad in order to celebrate community, are we also failing to notice the ambiguities of her character or the way in which she also stands for alterity and difference? In her work, *Against the Romance of Community,* Miranda Joseph questions the unambiguously positive representation of community especially as it is linked to women and portrayed by feminism.[91] She writes, for example, "Community is almost always invoked as an unequivocal good, an indicator of a high quality of life, a life of human understanding, caring, selflessness, belonging…Among leftists and feminists, community has connoted cherished ideals of cooperation, equality and communion" (vii). In the case of this *comedia,* however, we might also consider the way in which female community is tied to strict policing of social norms as well as staunch antagonism towards difference.

In this vein, Janet Halley has provocatively asked feminist scholars to "take a break" from feminism. Following Halley, this break from a feminist lens would allow scholars to better consider the ways in which certain feminine norms (collaboration, passivity) are celebrated, while displays of violence and/ or aggression are strictly prohibited and punished. Although Zayas's *comedia* clearly narrates the tale of a woman's betrayal of female community, the theoretical frame offered by Joseph and

[91] Joseph reads against this "romance of community" by arguing that it is deeply interrelated with capitalism and the practices of production and consumption. She argues that capitalism depends on the discourse of community as it legitimates social hierarchy. From a feminist perspective, she highlights the works of Cherríe Moraga, Gloría Anzaldúa, Audre Lorde and bell hooks, among others, for their significant critique of "singular identity categories as an organizing principle for social change. These works make it very clear that to imagine women are a community is to elide and repress differences among women, to enact racism and heterosexism within a women's movement that is so marked by a particular (bourgeois) class position that it cannot address the concerns of 'other' women" (xxii).

Halley provides an alternative way to examine Fenisa's importance. Instead of interpreting Fenisa as merely bad in relation to her peers as an end point of analysis, scholars can utilize this shared observation in order to examine how and why communities are formed. In Joseph's words, "To invoke community is immediately to raise questions of belonging and power" (xxiii). The study of bad women in relation to their larger community thus offers a means of contextualizing early modern female power relations.

In its representation of female community, Zayas's play depicts yet another institution of containment for women who wished in any way to deviate from social norms. As the title plainly suggests, Fenisa is a figure of betrayal. She openly resists discretion, allegiance, friendship, monogamy, and restraint in order to freely pursue her own complex desire. For these reasons, *La traición* stages an elaborate representation of the underbelly of female community that parallels nearly identically contemporary social institutions designed for the containment of women in the early modern period. For scholars interested in uncovering the intricate history of female relations, it is necessary that we too resist the urge to relegate Fenisa to the corner of her text in order to join with Zayas's cast in a celebration of marriage and the restoration of order. Although it is tempting to project an idyllic representation of women's community onto this institutionalized forgetfulness, to do so would overlook the staggering and unsettling reality of women's relations during the period, which included not only monstrous displays but also anomaly and difference. To truly understand this topic, we must continually work to move the bad woman back to the center of her text and open the space in which she can, once again, wreak havoc in our critical streets.

CHAPTER FOUR

Women's Exemplary Violence in Luis Vélez de Guevara's *La serrana de la Vera*

Luis Vélez de Guevara's *La serrana de la Vera* [The Mountain Girl of La Vera] (1613) narrates the tale of the amazon-like hunter turned man-hating murderess, Gila.[92] The play straddles the line between celebrating the mythical character of the sensuous mountain-woman and retelling the classic tale of the *mujer varonil*, the betrayed woman who takes on male dress in order to avenge her dishonor and marry.[93] In this story, however, Gila decides to reclaim her good name by killing every man with whom she comes into contact, totaling a hefty sum of 2000 men.[94] Instead of marrying her unfaithful lover at the end of the play, as the traditional conclusion to the *mujer varonil* script would dictate, Gila murders him and then is captured and killed for her crimes.

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[92] Luis Vélez de Guevara (1578-1644) wrote *La serrana de la Vera* during a trip to Valladolid. The manuscript of the play is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and was transcribed and studied in 1916 by Ramon Menéndez Pidal y María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal. Vélez de Guevara was a prolific poet and playwright, having completed nearly 400 plays between 1600-1644 in addition to his satirical novel *el diablo cojuelo* (1641). For a more comprehensive introduction to his life and work, see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori's *Luis Vélez de Guevara y sus obras dramáticas*, Ruth Lee Kennedy's *Studies in Tirso, I: The dramatist and his Competitors (1620-2*6), and Mary G. Hauer's *Luis Velez de Guevara: A Critical Bibiliography*.

[93] Stroud, for example, describes Gila as "the *mujer varonil* par excellence," emphasizing the protagonist's masculine characteristics (*Plot Twists* 123). For a comprehensive introduction to the topic of the *mujer varonil*, see McKendrick's *Woman and Society* (1974). By the seventeenth century, the particular figure of the *serrana* is staged by a number of playwrights including Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina and Valdivielso. For broader discussion of the *serrana* and her impact on the literature and culture of medieval and Renaissance Spain, see Brownlee and María Eugenia Lacarra. See Darci L. Strother on how the play can be read as a self-commenting myth of the *serrana*.

[94] Gila's numerous murders also put her into dialogue with the archetype of the Amazon woman. Analysis of this category benefits greatly from Kathryn Schwarz's study of Amazon encounters in the English Renaissance. In counter to critics that read the archetype as a reaffirmation of early modern social norms, Schwarz offers an alternative reading that is useful to explore in the context of this chapter: "Amazons not only threaten to replace male bodies in the performance of masculinity, but demonstrate that homosocial privilege, as a claim about value based in power, may not belong only to men" (40).

Frequently referred to as Vélez de Guevara's only tragedy, the play asks its audience to consider the relationship between violence and spectacle in the early modern period.[95]

Of particular interest to this topic is the fact that Vélez de Guevara created his play in order to showcase the talents of one of the most famous actresses of his generation, Jusepa Vaca, daughter of playwright Juan Ruiz de Mendi and actress Mariana Vaca. As Mercedes de los Reyes Peña describes, Vaca was married in 1602 to Juan de Morales Medrano, one of eight playwrights authorized by the King to travel and perform throughout Spain (83). Stage directions attest to the playwright's praise of Vaca's acting ability, as for example when he writes: "GILA poniéndole la escopeta a la vista, que lo hará muy bien la señora Jusepa" [Gila shows off the gun, as would do very well Sra. Jusepa] (Jornada I). [96] The actress' popularity undoubtedly contributed to the financial success of the production. In 1618, for example, Vaca's company was awarded 10,2000 maravedís "por joya y premio particular por lo bien que trabajaron en … *La serrana de la Vera*" [as reward and special prize for the great work in *The Mountain Girl of La Vera*].[97]

As Peña has made clear, Vaca's fame seems to be as much about her acting as her real and imagined extramarital affairs with powerful men including the Marqués de Villanueva and the Count-Duke of Olivares. Standing at the familiar intersection between public adoration and censure, the question of whether or not Vaca was a loyal wife was a favorite topic of playwrights, poets and letter-writers of the period including Lope de Vega and Quevedo (91). As we recall from the introduction to this study, the

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[95] Many critical approaches to the play have helpfully emphasized how its combined mythological, popular and pastoral elements qualify it as a product of multiple genres, borrowing from what Góngora named the two classes of *serranas*: the mythological (Diana) and the oral *romancero* (Santillana or Arcipreste de Hita) (Enrique Rodríguez Cepeda 17).

[96] *La serrana de la Vera* has not been previously translated. I offer in this chapter initial narrative translations for the play.

[97] José Sánchez-Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII* (Sevilla, 1989).

early modern Spanish actress was already a literal site of contestation. Although critiqued as an embodiment of sin and illness, her popularity generated the revenue to fund charitable projects designed to promote health and virtue. As the suspect actress played the righteous heroine, she was marked at once for the entertaining quality of her displayed sexuality as well as for the exemplary status of her chaste performance.

Vaca's popularity as an actress even complicates the simple categorization of the play's genre.[98] While the plot's violent end and cautionary undertones have traditionally favored the category of tragedy, I argue that the fact that this play was designed specifically for this famous actress significantly impacts the way it was broadcast to its audience. In a time when the mere presence of women on stage elicited a variety of critiques, Vélez de Guevara's choice to cast one of Spain's most controversial actresses seriously complicates the question of the play's genre, especially since, as James A. Parr makes clear, "Tragedy is an open, perpetually debatable concept" (137). As a performer noted for her comic appeal, especially her bold excess and seductive charms, it is important to take note of the ways *La serrana de la Vera* can also be read as an edgy comedy.[99]

As much as Vaca and her fictional counterpart can be read as a model to avoid, they can also be read as a celebrated model for achievement. In the economic context of

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[98] The topic of Vélez de Guevara as tragedian generated a very interesting debate between William M. Whitby, "Some Thoughts on Vélez as a Tragedian" and Parr, "Some Remarks on Tragedy and on Vélez as a Tragedian: A Response to Professor Whitby." Each author traces how Vélez de Guevara reworks the classic tragedy formula in his Baroque context, for example, highlighting the ways protagonists uniquely possess a *hamartia*, or tragic flaw. The articles are interesting because they speak to the difficulty associated with handling the genre and caution against monolithic readings of the author that would reduce his tragedy to a simple formula. For a broad introduction to the topic of tragedy in early modern Spain, see Alfredo Hermenegildo.

[99] Perhaps some of the difficulty categorizing the play's genre can be attributed to what Carrión has recently named "a systemic foreclosure for comic theory that has kept this area of inquiry from becoming an object of study in its own right" (*Subject* 6).

the theater at the very least, Vélez de Guevara's choice of heroines offered a successful model of *comedia* that utilized the talents of one of Madrid's most beloved actresses in order to create a box office hit. Gila's dominating presence on stage was in fact not so tragic, but rather captivating, entertaining and really very funny. With these contrasting representations in mind, this chapter will ask: How does the spectacle of Vaca/Gila's body achieve an effect that is both comedic and moralizing? Through the spectacle of punishment at the close of the play, what are the observers of Vélez de Guevara's play meant to learn?

The audience first witnesses Gila on stage as she enters dramatically on horseback and is received with a chorus of adulatory songs. Her show-stopping entrance is important to consider as it marks her from the start of the play for her celebrated excess and pushes her qualities as entertainer to the forefront. It is therefore a bit shocking when her father proceeds to remark: "¡Que edades sin fin vivas para *ejemplo* de mujeres españolas!" [That you should live for ages on end as an *example* to Spanish women!] (255-7, emphasis mine), stressing the protagonist's exemplarity which runs counter to the social norms set for women's behavior in public. Opening the play in a topsy-turvy world of excess, daughters are most humorously praised by their fathers for their dramatic appeal. Gila is not only beloved by her small town of Plasencia, but the play offers her to the audience as an example to women through all of Spain.

From the opening forward, Vélez de Guevara's comedy appears for a short while to adhere to the logic of the *comedia de enredo*, featuring prominently the spectacular antics of its *mujer varonil.* Gila is repeatedly celebrated for her masculine strength and valor, and wins the affection of a prominent Don Lucas. When the heroine is suddenly

betrayed by her lover, Vélez de Guevera departs significantly from the typical formula of the comedy. Instead of following the rules assigned to the *mujer varonil,* Gila vows to take revenge by killing every man with whom she comes into contact until she can find and kill Don Lucas. Radically exaggerating the limits of transgression normally allowed to the *mujer varonil*, Gila's murderous rampage dominates the stage, powerfully illustrating the reach of both her feminine charm and masculine prowess.[100]

Held up for both her strength and beauty, Gila acts as a model for her village with clear references to a mythical past and noble future. As Navarro's explanation of exemplarity makes clear, it is necessary, "to guide toward a future behavior, [while] on the other it anchors itself and its authority and prescriptive weight in the past: past texts, past model lives, and past writers" (17). Interestingly, the topic of exemplarity seems to come full circle at the play's end, where Gila is again referred to as an example "quedando allí una memoria que de *ejemplo* sirva a España" [leaving a memory here that will serve as an *example* to Spain] (3296-97, emphasis mine). In clear reference to Gila's spectacular entrance at the start of the play, where Giraldo refers to his daughter as an "ejemplo," likewise, at the play's end, Gila's body is displayed for a second time. The meaning of this exemplarity shifts substantially over the course of the play. Although Gila's exemplarity is celebrated on her first entrance, at the end of the play, her body is displayed on the stage as punishment for her excess and violence.

One way to explain this shift in exemplarity is to examine the play from the perspective of a cautionary tale. In this vein, Giraldo as the misguided father has poorly

[100] Ruth Lundelius has attributed this combination, what she calls "the opposite of antitheses," to Vélez de Guevara's Baroque style. She emphasizes Gila's juxtaposition of masculine and feminine, aggression and passivity, strength and beauty, culminating in "an ever augmenting realization of just how bizarre a social misfit she really is" (230).

instructed his naturally weak-minded daughter, failing to consel her with the advice of contemporary conduct manuals. Because he wrongfully celebrated her at the play's beginning, he is punished by her death at the play's end. And yet, Gila's forceful presence throughout the play, particularly the novel staging of her violence as well as the comedic force of her excess, makes it complicated to reduce the play to such a didactic reading. As Carrión has suggested, scholars should resist the temptation to overemphasize the importance of the *comedia*'s ending, whether it spectacularizes social order through marriage or death.

By liberating Gila from the frame of the cautionary tale, this chapter opens the space to consider the shifting importance of exemplarity throughout the play as a whole. By reading *La serrana de la Vera* through the lens of exemplarity, I am interested in exploring the ways in which Vélez de Guevara achieves a moralizing effect through the display of Gila/Vaca's body. In contrast to the image of the poorly instructed daughter, I am especially concerned with the ways Gila is represented as a religious martyr, self-sacrificing and ideal. By examining how Gila is connected with a series of model figures throughout the play, including, for example, the *mujer varonil*, the mythical *serrana*, the weak-minded daughter, the religious martyr, and the early modern actress, the complex exemplarity of the play as a whole becomes more evident.

In order to investigate Vélez de Guevara's use of exemplarity in this text, it is helpful to examine the play's relationship to the literary genre of the medieval *exemplum,* which can be broadly read as a didactic instrument and a moralizing spectacle. As Ernst Robert Curtius explains, the *exempla* are "examples of human excellence and weakness that the Middle Ages found in antique authors served it for edification. *Exemplum* is a

technical term of antique rhetoric from Aristotle onwards and means 'an interpolated anecdote serving as an example'" (59). The function of this genre continues to stir numerous critics, especially when it is linked to the practice of *maldezir de mugeres* as a strategy to achieve a moralizing effect. As Michael Solomon has helpfully elaborated, the misogyny of this literary genre can be read as a remedy for a pathological desire in which women are represented as the sources of illness. At the same time, as Catherine Brown has explained, the representation of these women can be read as a performance space created particularly for marginalized or oppressed women. In Brown's words, the *exemplum* "reveals more about the discursive acts of constructing and representing than it does about the constructed or the represented" (74). Although their approaches to this topic are unique, both emphasize two important aspects of the genre: the displayed female body and the social function of this representation, topics primary for the study of exemplarity in *La serrana de la Vera*.[101]

It is easy to appreciate Gila's exemplary status when we consider her entrance into the play, at the center of a parade created in her name. Replete with elaborate costume and music, the celebration honors Gila's hunting prowess. As the stage directions make clear, her first appearance is nothing short of spectacular. Entering on horseback, adorned with feathers and weaponry, the stage directions describe Gila in the following terms: "vestida a lo serrano de muger, con sayuelo y muchas patenas, el cabello tendido y una montera con plumas, un cuchillo de monte al lado, botín argentado y puesta una escopeta debaxo del caparazón del caballo" [dressed as a mountain girl, with a

[101] Critical approaches to the play have often emphasized its staging of the "tema rural," which includes undervaluing of the court and praise of the countryside in plays like *Peribáñez* and *Fuente Ovejuna*. Other major themes of the play include parental education of the daughter and the question of female independence.

decorated smock, tied hair and a feathered cap, a mountain knife at her side, silver boots and a gun underneath the horse's saddle] (77-78). Meanwhile, the residents praise her valor and strength through song, honoring her distinctiveness by repeating the following verse: "¡Quién como ella,/ la serrana de la Vera!" [Who is like her, the Mountain Girl of the Vera!] (205-206).

In her work on the virgin martyrs of Seville, Mary Elizabeth Perry explains how women "became significant symbols of local pride and religious strength" (36 "Virgins"). As Gila's entrance is reminiscent of parallel religious processions for feast days and Holy Week, it is worth considering how Gila acts a source of inspiration for her townspeople. How might this opening spectacle reference the contemporary veneration of religious figures? What kind of religious ideology does Gila represent? Does she sacrifice herself in the name of protecting her misguided father? Does she violently rework the honor code for the sake of protecting women's honor?

In the first act of the play, Gila's father Giraldo celebrates his daughter's unmatched strength and valor. Playing the roles of both father and agent, Giraldo speaks praises of his daughter:

> una hija me dio el zielo
> que podré decir que vale
> por dos hijos, /…/
> tan gran valor
> tiene, que no hay labrador
> en la Vera de Plasencia
> que a correr no desafíe,

a saltar, luchar, tirar
tienen ya gran experiencia
que es su ardimiento biçarro (129-46)
[Heaven gave me a daughter that you may say is worth at least two sons… she has such great valor that there is not a young man in la Vera of Plasencia that she wouldn't challenge with her experience in running, jumping, fighting, throwing, which is her courageous valiance]

It is significant that Giraldo unconventionally honors his daughter as worth at least two sons. He describes her as unmatched in a variety of traditionally masculine arts and emphasizes how Gila is held up as a model throughout la Vera de Plasencia. It is as if Gila is constantly on display for both the instruction and entertainment of her town. In her hunting exploits, for example, a large and animated audience follows her. The staging here is interesting as it depicts both the huntress celebrated by her townspeople as well as the actress surrounded by her fans. The scene is described in the following terms:

Esta mañana salió
en uno al monte a cazar,
y casi todo el lugar tras ella, que la siguió
siempre que a caza ha salido,
por verla con la escopeta (158-62)
[This morning she left for the mountain to go hunting with nearly the whole town behind her, following her each time she hunts to see her with the gun]

Not only admired for her hunting ability, it seems here that she is appealing to watch also because of her anomalous status: a woman with a gun.

Throughout the play, Gila is alternately praised for her beauty and her strength, characteristics typically cast as opposites for the romantic heroine of the *comedia*. Don Lucas aptly names her "Serrana hermosa y cruel" [cruel and beautiful Mountain Girl] (423). In the opening scene, for example, when she is celebrated for her hunting victories, it is striking that so much detail is paid to her physical charms rather than her physical strength: "ojos hermosos rasgados/ la serrana de la Vera;/ lisa frente, roxos labios,/ la serrana de la Vera;/ pelo de ámbar, blancas manos/ la serrana de la Vera; / cuerpo genzor y adamado" [beautiful almond-shaped eyes/ The Mountain Girl of La Vera/ smooth brow, red lips/ The Mountain Girl of La Vera/ amber hair, white hands/ The Mountain Girl of La Vera/ an elegant and delicate body] (213-20). In fact, Gila's femininity is often stressed in order to offset her masculinity.

Later in the parade, for example, the townspeople begin to speak to their desire for Gila to marry and become a mother:

> Dios mil años mos la guarde
> la serrana de la Vera,
> y la dé un galán amante,
> la serrana de la Vera,
> para que con ella case
> la serrana de la Vera,
> y para a los doze pares (235-41)

> [May she be protected for 2000 years, The Mountain Girl of La Vera, and awarded a handsome young lover, the Mountain Girl of La Vera, so that she may marry, the Mountain Girl of La Vera, and have twelve children]

It is interesting here that the townspeople paint a future of Gila's motherhood nearly as excessive as her present standing — not simply a mother, but a mother of twelve. It is notable how these feminine norms are expanded in order to meet her current extravagant status. As it is precarious for Gila to be such a prominent single woman, marriage and motherhood are offered in this chorus as solutions for her social integration.

Despite these pressures, Gila repeatedly resists being seen merely as a woman in need of containment. This is especially true for the first interaction staged between Gila, Don Lucas and her father. Once again, the stage directions draw attention to her masculinity, as Gila is instructed to dismount her horse and visibly take hold of her gun. It is in fact this masculinity that initially attracts the attention of Don Lucas, as he exclaims: "De puro admirado callo./ No he visto en hombre jamás/ tan varonil biçarría" [I am silenced by pure admiration/ I have never before seen in a man such manly valor] (250). Likewise, Gila's father is awestruck and instantly takes the opportunity to reference his daughter's exemplarity, claiming that she is a model for other women: "¡Qué edades/ sin fin vivas, para exemplo / de mugeres españolas!" [That you should live for ages on end as an example to Spanish women!] (255-57). Finally, as a response to the newfound attention from Don Lucas, Gila is quick to negate his overtures, especially expressions intended to win her romantic favor. For example, she rebuffs Don Lucas when she says, "Si imagináis/ que lo soy, os engañáis,/ que soy muy hombre" [If you

imagine that I am, you are tricked, as I am very much a man] (350-52). When Gila claims that she is very manly, she expresses her distaste for female norms and expectations. Throughout the play, she repeats these assertions, most comically perhaps in an exchange between her and her cousin Magdalena: "Erró la naturaleza,/ Gila, en no h[az]erte varón" [Nature was mistaken, Gila, in not making you a man] (660-1). Gila: ¡Ay, prima!, tienes razón" [Oh, Cousin, you are right!] (662).[102] The dialogue again encapsulates Gila's flair for spontaneity as she cleverly thanks her cousin for the compliment.

As is typical of the *mujer varonil*, Gila is a most enticing love interest because she is so difficult to dominate. Garzía once again cites the conflation between her beauty and strength as he points out Gila to Don Lucas: "tiene en la Vera notable fama de hermosa/ y de muger valerosa" [she has in la Vera notable fame as a brave and beautiful woman] (471-3). Once properly identified as a challenge worthy of his strength, Don Lucas speedily vows to dominate Gila as if capturing new territory in war: "Hazed sacar la bandera/ de la villa, don Garzía,/ que mexor será en Plasencia/ levantalla, y con violencia/ de toda una campañía/ abrasar este lugar/ y gozar esta muger/ tan brava" [Take out the flag of the town, don Garzía, for Plasencia will be better off when I with violence and a whole campaign, set fire to this land and plunder this fierce woman] (474-81). Taming and conquering the fierce *mujer varonil* along with the spoils of her land thus motivates Don Lucas's overtures, contrasting Gila's honorable strength with Don Lucas's brute masculinity. Don Lucas's warlike mindset can be most clearly appreciated right after he

[102] Gila's lack of femininity is also used as a way to critique her. For example, see Mingo when he claims "eres fiera y no muger" [you are a beast and not a woman] (246).

seduces and betrays Gila, claiming: “Yo llegué, engañé y venzí” [I came, I tricked and I conquered] (995).

At the end of the first act, Gila is once more celebrated for her physical strength as she enters another masculine circle where she expertly tames a bull in front of a huge crowd. She again manages to shock the audience merely because she is a woman undertaking the task. When one onlooker exclaims, “¿Una mujer/ toma la espada?” [A woman takes the sword?] (725-6); Gila cleverly replies: “Muger soy sólo en la saya” [I am only a woman in my smock] (773). As she prepares to begin the bullfight, Gila stands at the center of the ring and delivers an extended monologue to the eager crowd. She emphatically characterizes herself as a fierce match for the bull when, for example, she proclaims: “con la serrana os tomáis;/ con la que a brazo partido/ mata al osso, al jabalí” [You are taken with the Mountain Girl, who with a broken arm kills the bear, the wild boar] (838-40).

The speed and ferocity with which Gila tames the bull is almost comical given the circumstances. Not merely a crossed-dressed woman tricking her lover for a marriage proposal, here Gila’s masculine embodiment reaches new heights. She creates a literal theater for herself, in which she casts herself as heroine at the center of the crowd-packed bullring. Without hesitation or even real effort, Gila is displayed spectacularly dominating her match. The extremity of the scene had to have provoked a titillating response in the audience, at once awed by Gila’s superhuman strength and enticed by her prohibited power. As Nuño describes: “por los cuernos asió ya/ al toro feroz, y agora/ le rinde como si fuera/ una oveja” [She has grabbed the horns of the fierce bull, and now she subdues him as if he were a sheep] (925-28). At the end of the bullfight, Gila and

Don Lucas are cast in expert opposition to each other, each engaging in precise acts of domination in order to spectacularly assert their strength.

This bullfighting scene is also notable because it explores Gila's relationship with one very important audience member: Queen Isabel.[103] When her cousin Madalena asks girlishly if she feels distracted by the crowds of men in the audience (625-6), Gila replies that she is only focused on the attention of the Queen: "Rabiando vengo por ver / a la reina, porque dêlla,/ después de dezir que es bella,/ dizen que es brava muger" [I come ravenously to see the Queen, because when they speak of her, after saying she is beautiful they say she is a fierce woman] (631-34). The important presence of Fernando and Isabel as historical markers to this play should not be underestimated, especially considering the famous motto of the Spanish monarchs which spoke to their projected image of equality: "Tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando" [They amount to the same].[104]

Gila is not interested in impressing the crowd, but focuses her attention exclusively on Isabel. Characterizing Isabel in almost identical terms to herself, Gila draws a connection to Isabel based on their similarities. It is especially important how Gila favors Isabel's strength over her beauty, much in the way Gila has been described by

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[103] María Y. Caba dedicates an entire study to the presence of Queen Isabel in various Spanish *comedias,* including one chapter on Vélez de Guevara. As she aptly remarks, the presence of the Catholic Queen in his plays offers the audience a privileged perspective from which to analyze the interrelationship between politics, social structure and gender in seventeenth-century Spain (132)

[104] The motto *Tanto monta* is inscribed around shield of the Catholic Monarchs, which placed the Isabelline arms of Castile and León in the upper-left quadrant, over the arms of Aragon. The royal design and motto appeared on royal seals and were widely incorporated into both public and domestic spaces. As Weissberger explains, "The importance of that ordering is shown by the fact that it was the very first stipulation of the *Acuerdo para la gobernación del reino* (better known as the *Concordia de Segovia*) that Isabel and Fernando signed in January of 1475, just weeks after her accession to the throne. The agreement required that Isabel's arms precede Fernando's on all chancery documents; the inverse order was stipulated for their signatures" ("Tanto" 44) It is also important to point out that the shield and motto was a highly constructed image designed to project the appearance of equality. In reality, as Weissberger makes clear, "the ostentation of political harmony and unity between Isabel and Fernando coexists in productive tension with the disunity, inequality, and violence attending the founding moment of what would become the nation-state of Spain" ("Tanto" 46)

her own townspeople. Isabel is portrayed as equally interested in Gila's strength and beauty, when for example she states: "enamora/ verla tan valiente y bella" [I love to see her so valiant and beautiful] (939-40) or "la labradoraza es braba" [the young woman is fierce] (946). After Gila wins the bullfight, the Kings ask to speak with her directly, as Fernando explains: "Merzedes le quiero hazer/ a esa muger" [I wish to bestow favor on this woman] (934-5). Gila's exemplary status is again emphasized throughout this scene, as she receives approbation even from the King and Queen. Gila's admiration for the Queen could not be more apparent: "y yo a Isabel enamoro" [and I love Isabel] (908). She idolizes Isabel's leadership and strength, and goes so far as to accept even her status as a wife only because it allows her the power she needs to govern. In this context it is interesting to consider Barbara F. Weissberger's assertion that male authors in the period often sought to contain and demystify Isabel as icon, often infusing their representations of the Queen with an "anxious masculinity" (*Isabel* xiv).[105] To what degree might we examine the parallels drawn between these two powerful women as a containment strategy of the playwright?

When Don Lucas first asks Giraldo for his daughter's hand in marriage, Giraldo is quick to point out the inequality of the match:

> Gila no es para vos, señor don Lucas
> que es una labradora, hija de un hombre
> llano y humilde, aunque de limpia sangre:
> rica para el lugar donde ha nazido,
> pero no para vos, que sois tan noble.

[105] Weissberger asks the following important question about Vélez de Guevara's play: "how does his work respond to the unprecedented challenge that a powerful sovereign poses to the patriarchal status quo?" (*Isabel* xiv).

> Buscad una señora que os iguale,
> que Gila para vos muy poco vale (431-7)[106]
> [Gila is not for you, sir don Lucas, she is only a laborer, daughter of a plain and humble man, although of clean blood. Although she is rich for the place where she was born, she is not for your sir, as you are so noble. Look for a woman that matches you, as Gila would not be worth much to you.]

Interestingly, Don Lucas reasserts his interest in Gila not because she is a socially appropriate match, but because of her exemplary status. He states directly to Giraldo that Gila's fame is more important to him that her social class, clearly marking his desire to absorb some of the *serrana*'s celebrity: "¿qué madre mexor puedo a mis hijos/ darles que una muger que es tan famosa?" [What better mother could I offer my children than such a famous woman?] (454-55). Because Giraldo also recognizes his daughter's renown, he agrees to the marriage. It is of course not surprising that Gila initially rejects the arrangement.

She first asserts that she is worth an even more important match, claiming she had imagined a marriage of much more valuable consequence: "¿He heredado las casas, las haziendas/ de los señores de Castilla? … ¿Llámanme para h[az]erme prencipessa/ de Castilla y León?" [Have I inherited the homes and estates of the lords of Castile? … Are they calling me to name me princess of Castile y León?] (1557-61). Describing a marriage with only the most influential men, Gila's humorous complaint serves to bolster

[106] Cañadas reads this scene as a condemnation of Don Lucas. In his view, the problem with the match is the "crime of status, a crime which leaves the doubly marginalized peasant woman with not adequate means of address" (48).

her own image. Never settling for anything less than an extreme, Gila solidifies her role as a comic character but repeatedly challenging expected social norms. Instead of being thrilled by a marriage that would advance her social position, Gila merely makes fun of Don Lucas's offer.

Next, Gila argues with the entire institution of marriage. In a plea to her father, she exclaims that she has not been properly instructed to be a wife and instead excels at being a man. "Hasta agora/ me imaginaba, padre, por las cosas/ que yo me he visto h[az]er, hombre y muy hombre,/ y agora echo de ver, pues que me tratas/ casamiento con este caballero, / que soy muger" [Until now, Father, I have imagined myself a man, for the manly things that I have seen myself do, and now I have just seen as you try to marry me with this man that I am a woman] (1578-81). Gila emphasizes that marrying Don Lucas will undermine the hard work she and her father have undertaken that have rendered her successful and exemplary in so many arenas. She continues:

> No me quiero casar, padre, que creo
> que mientras no me caso que soy hombre.
> No quiero ver que nadie me sujete,
> no quiero que ninguno se imagine
> dueño de mí; la libertad pretendo.
> El señor capitán busque en Plasencia
> muger de su nobleza que le iguale,
> que yo soy una triste labradora
> muy diferente dêl, /…/
> no quiero

> meterme agora a caballera y h[az]erme
> muger de piedra en lo espetado y tiesso,
> encaramada en dos chapines, padre/…/
> y Gila no es buen nombre para doña. (1584-1601)
> [I do not want to marry, Father, as I think that while I do not marry I am a man. I do not want to see anyone hold me down. I don't want anyone to imagine that they are my owner. I expect my liberty. The captain should look in Plasencia for a noble woman of his equal, as I am a sad working girl, very different from him... I do not want to pair myself with this gentleman and be transformed into a woman of stone, stiff and stern, made tall in high heels, Father… and Gila is not a good name for Mrs.]

While initially citing their difference in background and social status, ultimately Gila argues that marriage will destroy her independence and liberty. She also maintains that marriage reinforces her status as a woman, and thus renders her and her family name more vulnerable. She compares men's and women's dress, again stressing their differences in liberties as well as the idea that she could not be her true self in women's clothes. Throughout her monologue, Gila sincerely criticizes the conventions of marriage, but true to form, she concludes on a comic note. By simply stating that even her name is not fit for marriage, Gila undercuts the seriousness of her monologue with the humorous frivolity of her final complaint.

Nevertheless, Don Lucas continues to persuade Gila to marry him. She is finally won over when he suggests that all great women have been married. Suddenly reminded of her idol Isabel, Gila agrees to marry Don Lucas only out of deference to the Queen: "Esa razón me puede obligar sola,/ por imitar a vuestro lado luego/ a la gran Isabel" [This reason may alone convince me, to imitate by your side the great Isabel] (1613-14). It seems here that she is able to resolve earlier tensions between traditional men's and women's roles by recognizing Isabel's anomalous status as a powerful woman. Once again, acting with attention to her exemplary status, Gila agrees to marry with two goals in mind: in order to bolster her own image and as a dutiful obligation to the model role she plays for her own community.

Reading Gila as a model figure is again complicated when Don Lucas abandons her. In the middle of act II, Gila again draws attention to her dishonor through a series of fragmented exclamations that calls to mind parallel betrayals, as, for example, Tisbea's in *El burlador de Sevilla*: "¡Traición! ¡Traición! ¡Padre! ¡Prima!/ ¡Mingo! ¡Pascual! ¡Antón! …/ ¡Ah de mi casa! ¡Ah del pueblo!/ ¡Qué se me van con mi honor;/ que un ingrato caballero/ me lleva el alma! ¡Socorro!" [Betrayal! Betrayal! Father! Cousin! Mingo! Pascual! Antón! ... Oh my home! Oh my village! That this ungrateful gentleman has taken my honor along with my soul! Help!] (2050-56). Linking her personal betrayal and ruptured honor with her family name and the larger community of Plasencia, Gila again recognizes the importance of her own exemplarity. It is important that Gila attributes her ruin not only to Don Lucas, but to her brief lapse as a frailer woman: "que no hay muger que resista/ en mirando y en oyendo./ Como imaginé que estaba/ tan cercano el casamiento,/ le di esta noche en mis brazos/ ocasión para ofenderos" [There is not a

woman who would resist in seeing and listening. As I imagined our marriage night was so close, tonight I gave in my arms an occasion to offend] (2094-99). Recognizing her obligation to Plasencia, Gila virtuously takes responsibility for her own betrayal and vows to avenge her dishonor.

Motivated by this newfound sense of duty, Gila is patently transformed. She is principally characterized by her ferocity, but is also marked by her piety. This surprising fusion further reinforces her connection to Queen Isabel, perhaps the leading expert in this tenuous yet effective combination. Likewise, it recalls the explicit blending of religious and penal discourse that characterized the custodial institutions of the time. Immediately after her betrayal, Gila vows the following to her father:

> si a mi enemigo no alcanzo,
> que hasta matarlo no pienso
> dexar hombre con la vida;
> y hago al zielo juramento
> de no volver a poblado,
> de no peinarme el cabello,
> de no dormir desarmada,
> de comer siempre en el suelo
> sin manteles, y de andar
> siempre al agua, al sol y al viento,
> sin que me acobarde el día (2136-46)
> [If I do not reach my enemy, until I kill him I will not leave
> one man with his life. And I swear to the Heavens to not

> return to the village, to not brush my hair, to not sleep unarmed, to always eat on the ground without tablecloths and to walk always through water, sun and wind without letting the day unnerve me]

Gila's promise of violent revenge is certainly the most striking element of this scene, but it is also worth noting the ways she rejects the amenities and comfort of the material world. Gila chooses to be a single woman and live in poverty. She embodies a life of hardship, rejecting vanity and luxury for a life dedicated to revenge.[107] Although she is clearly punished for her wrongdoings, her life and body continue to hold an exemplary status that is worth exploring.

In the final act of the play, the audience has several opportunities to witness Gila as murderess. True to her promise, Gila kills nearly every man with whom she comes into contact, although the audience only witnesses a handful of her murders on stage.[108] When the naïve Caminante compliments Gila on her renowned beauty and fame (81-84), she returns the favor by showing him the splendor of a nearby mountaintop and then pushing him off its edge (98-103). Although the Caminante's final complaint criticizes her trickery, Gila replies, "También a mí me engañaron" [They also tricked me], carefully characterizing his death as fair revenge for her own betrayal (105). Similarly, it is worth considering the way in which Gila both sanctifies and dehumanizes her victim, fusing staging and confession in a style well-loved by the *auto de fé*: "Esta cruz te debo; tenga/

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[107] It is worth considering how her transformation would compare with the one undertaken by Catalina de Erauso and narrated in the *Historia de la monja alférez escrita por ella misma* [History of the Lieutenant Nun, Written by Herself].

[108] The stage directions here are most interesting, emphasizing the sensuous, yet statue-like qualities of Gila newly transformed into the *serrana*: "GILA la serrana como la pinta el romanze, sin hablar" [The *serrana Gila* as she is portrayed by the Romance, without speaking] (57). See Brownlee for a parallel discussion of the *serrana's* "invasion" into the *Libro de buen amor* ("Permutations" 98-101).

el cielo de ti piedad./…/ no es hombre, pareze bestia,/ aunque camina en dos pies" [I give you this cross, may the Heavens have mercy on you… Although he walks on two legs, he is not a man, but a beast] (2263-68). Gila repeats a nearly identical interaction later in the third act with Andrés, who opens the scene with an extensive survey of the *serrana*'s beauty (2795-2805). This time, Andrés goes so far as to ask "¿Dormís sola, linda cara?" [Do you sleep alone, lovely face?] (2816) thus instigating his speedy demise as Gila hurls him off the mountain (2842).

When King Fernando invades Gila's territory in the middle of the act, the audience witnesses a novel side of Gila as murderess. At the start of the scene it is obvious that the King initially fears for his life, and forcefully demands space (2529). Much to his surprise, Gila explains that he is free from her wrath because he is in fact not a man. In her words:

> Por satisfazer la ofensa
> de un hombre, y hasta matalle
> he prosupuesto que mueran
> con solemne juramento/ …/
> y no quiebro el juramento,
> que el rey es Dios en la tierra,
> y en lugar suyo, Fernando,
> la justicia representas.
> Y pues no eres hombre, voy (2557-68)
> [In order to satisfy the offense of one man through his death, I suppose all should die with solemn oath. And I will

> not break the oath for the King is God of the land, and as is your place, Fernando, you represent justice. And since you are not a Man, I will go]

Gila's explanation is important because it offers another justification for her murders as well as a definition for men that inscribes them as a group marked by the qualities of injustice and harm. Because Fernando is a just ruler according to Gila, she qualifies him as exempt from her revenge. In fact, by protecting Fernando from harm, she imagines herself in allegiance with Isabel. As the motto of the monarchs recalls, "Tanto monta, monta tanto, Isabel como Fernando," it is no wonder that Gila protects Fernando in honor of her love for Isabel. In both of these scenes, Gila is depicted as both brutal and thoughtful, further complicating her status as an exemplary figure.

When Pascuala visits Gila, she is able to cast light on the way her image has changed for Plasencia. No longer a celebrated hero, Gila is starkly described as a savage monster. Initially Gila takes the opportunity to remind Pascuala of the logic of her mission: "¿No os satisfaze / que sólo mi furor haze / mal a los hombres aquí/ y que a las mugeres no?/ Que el que he de satisfacer/ es agravio de muger,/ y soy la ofendida yo" [Are you not satisfied that only my fury does wrong to the men here and not to women? What I need to avenge is the offense of a woman and I am the offended one] (2675-81), once more pointing the audience to the specificity of her rage and the cause of her offense. Gila attempts to rationalize her own acts of violence in a way to further reinforce her connection to Queen Isabel, especially as she seamlessly fuses piety and violence in order to bolster her own projects.[109] It is likewise significant to consider why

[109] Hannah Arendt has posited a relationship between violence and rationality that may be useful in further exploring this topic. She writes, "Violence, being instrumental by nature, is rational to the extent that it is

Gila chooses Pascuala as a confidant; what might this choice have to say about the development of female community within this play? How does this depiction of female community differ from the one observed in the last chapter?

Much to Gila's dismay, Pascuala informs her that the townspeople are no longer empathetic to her misfortunes and have no desire to understand her violent displays. Gila has, in fact, lost her most fervent supporters. In sharp contrast to the opening of the play, where Gila effortlessly captivated her audience, now she plays a strikingly different part in the mind of her community. They characterize her in stark terms, emphasizing her new role as truly corrupt. For example, they call her: "Locifer,/ saltabardales, machorra,/ …/ el lobo de sus ovexas,/ de sus gallinas la zorra" [Lucifer, mischief maker, sterile woman, the wolf of the sheep, the fox of the chickens] (2697-2701). The conversation between the two women is fascinating because it again troubles the idea of exemplarity in the play by highlighting Gila's rapidly changing image. Although her force and strength were initially key features worth celebrating, here they are characterized as threatening and wicked.

Considering that Gila's final murder scene comes at the heels of this conversation with Pascuala, it appears that the way in which Gila chooses to handle herself with Don Lucas acts as a test. Will Gila be characterized by her rationality or piousness or merely by her brutality? When Don Luis enters the scene, he is described much like the earlier travelers. Belittling his own ability and ambition, Don Luis seeks assistance from Gila, repeatedly emphasizing this he is lost and is in need of aid (2945-51). When he later tries

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effective in reaching the end that must justify it…Violence does not promote causes, neither history nor revolution, neither progress nor reaction; but it can serve to dramatize grievances and bring them to public attention" (79).

to convince Gila of his romantic eligibility in order to woo her (of course not recognizing Gila for who she is), she is quick to call him out for his lies:

> Mentís, que hay testigo aquí
> de que verdades no habláis.
> Yo soy Gila, a quien estáis
> deudor de tan justa quexa,
> que el delito os aconsexa
> lo mismo que vos huís (3038-43)
> [You lie, there is a witness here to claim that you are not telling the truth. I am Gila, to whom you are indebted for a just complaint. I tell of this offense at the same time you flee.]

Gila's choice of words here is worth noting. She directly accuses Don Lucas of lying, identifies herself as a witness and reiterates his lack of truthfulness. She goes on to reassert her status as victim and remind him of his crimes.

The legalistic quality of her language prompts yet another shock in the scene, when Don Lucas, fearing for his own life, again proposes marriage: "Gila, palabra te di/ de ser tu esposo. Aquí estoy:/ tu esposo y tu esclavo soy" [Gila, I give you my word to be your husband. Here I am, your husband and slave] (3066-68). Defying the expected norm of the *mujer varonil* who would initially resist but then accede, Gila rejects the marriage offer claiming: "Ya es tarde, ingrato" [It is too late, you ingrate] (3069). Brute anger prevails over the expected logic of the scene, where the Golden Age heroine typically forgives all past betrayals in exchange for the marriage vow. Instead, Gila

reiterates that Don Lucas needs to pay directly for her unrecoverable honor: "quien tal haze, que tal pague" [He who acts must pay] (3074). Reworking the honor drama formula in which the man cleanses his own dishonor (real or suspected) by murdering his wife, Gila murders Don Lucas in order to recover her good name.

Not surprisingly, Gila's community of Plasencia resists her new adaptation of the honor code. The crowd's responses are worth studying in detail because they explicitly stage a popularized and institutional persecution of a female criminal. Her father, represented throughout the play as a staunch supporter of his daughter, is the first to condemn her. When Gila comes to him as his daughter, he says bluntly, "Esse nombre no te doy/ por las crueldades que has hecho./ Tú eres hija de ese pecho/ cruel, que no pude yo/ engendrarte" [I do not give you this name for the cruelties you have committed. You are the daughter of a cruel body, I could not have made you] (3090-94). Accompanied by an army of men, Giraldo comes to the mountaintop in order to bring his daughter to jail. Without hesitation Gila accepts her handcuffs and chains, handing over her weapons to her father. She states simply that she has achieved her goal, reminding the audience of her betrayal: "Vengué, en efeto, mi honor" [I have avenged my honor] (3116).

Gila's death sentence is the final public spectacle of the play, featuring prominently in its audience Fernando and Isabel. It is important to stress here the uniqueness of Gila's position as a murderess and the kinds of tensions she provokes as a contradictory emblem of both feminine valor and masculine violence.[110] The King and

[110] McKendrick suggestively writes that the play "condemns the arrogant feminism which brings about her downfall" ("The Bandolera" 8). While her statement contradicts my reading of the moralistic ambiguity central to the final scene, McKendrick's reading of Gila as arrogantly feminist helpfully situates at least one

Queen, for example, both enter the scene remarking on the valor and beauty of the *serrana*, remarks decidedly unchanged from the opening of the play where beauty is often emphasized in order to overshadow masculine qualities. The Queen, however, comments that she has become so impressed with Gila's status that she also begins to feel jealous, perhaps feeling that her authority is being threatened. Fernando is swift to remark on his allegiance to his wife and suggests again that Gila's crimes merit harsh punishment:

> Castiguen como es justo a los ladrones,
> sin que haya apelación, que dêsta suerte
> se evitarán muy grandes ocasiones,
> fuera de que ésta ha dado a muchos muerte
> y la mereze por razón de estado (3167-71)
> [Punish her as you would justly punish thieves, without appeal, as in this manner you will avoid many grave occasions, as this one has caused many deaths and deserves her punishment by reason of the state]

While Isabel on the whole seems satisfied with their plan, having reclaimed her own position and quieted her own jealousy, she also remarks: "Pena me ha dado,/ sabiendo que es muger" [It causes me grief knowing that she is a woman] (3174-75). What about Gila's violence provokes Isabel's jealousy? Given that the two women shared parallel exemplary status throughout the play, Fernando's quick punishment of Gila seems to reinforce inscribed boundaries for women's behavior. While perhaps a

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side of the play's moral agenda in which Gila's transgressions serve to emblematize her reworking of the honor code.

spectacle of strength like the one she exerted at the bullfight fell within appropriate exhibitory norms, Gila's rewriting of the honor code is simply not tolerable. It is also worth considering why Isabel hesitates to persecute Gila in a "manly" fashion; it seems this move also reflects tensions regarding the gendering of violence, where men and women are assigned distinct capacities for violent behavior and unique forms of punishment.

Gila's execution at the close of the play further complicates the discussion of her exemplarity. The spectacularity of her punishment seems to suggest she has overstepped her bounds and serves as anti-model; Gila is punished for her wrongful crimes and the display of her body reminds the audience not to follow her path. Gila, however, directly blames her father for her unfortunate status. In this scene, Gila asks her father to come closer, seemingly to permit his daughter to lament her woes or whisper confessions to her forgiving father. When her mouth reaches her father's ear, Gila surprises the crowd again and viciously challenges the expected convention when she decides to bite off his ear. She again takes the opportunity to explain her violent actions in an exemplary manner:

> esto mereze quien pasa
> por las libertades todas
> de los hijos. Si tú usaras
> rigor conmigo al principio
> de mi inclinación gallarda,
> yo no llegara a este extremo (3251-56)

> [This is what he deserves who allows all liberties to his children. If you had used rigor to curb my brave inclination, I would not have arrived to this extreme]

Here Gila explicitly positions herself as a radical figure, at once ridiculing the negligent or indulgent father, threatening parents to instruct their children well in order to avoid the extreme behaviour she has enacted, and serving as comedic relief through her dramatic excess. While it would be punishment enough for Gila to lose her life at the expense of her father's misdeeds, the fact that she sidesteps expectations in order to showcase her own excess again speaks to the complex relationship the play has with entertaining its crowds. In this final scene Vélez de Guevara differentiates his *comedia* from the standard educational tale, crafting a signature dramatic moment that will mark his actress as legendary and leave his audience simply awestruck. The scene produces at once a reverberating feeling of shock as well as riotous humor.

Likewise excessive in nature, the final scene achieves a portion of its entertaining effects not only from Gila's shocking reaction to her father, but also from her alternating display as a pious figure. Gila's emulation of female martyrs both in her last monologues and execution takes on new significance in this final scene. In her closing monologue she expresses a sense of contentment and tranquility that again brings to mind the question of exemplarity in the play. Instead of protesting a wrongful punishment Gila simply states that, in the vein of martyrs before her: "contenta muero por ver/ que el cielo, con ésta, traza/ de mi predestinación/ el bien que mi muerte aguarda" [I die content seeing that the heavens with this design of my predestination, awaits my death] (3230-33). As Leslie Levin makes clear, early modern Spanish dramas depict conversion as "a spiritual

transformation whereby the person moves, either suddenly or gradually, from an initial stage of unhappiness in the moral or theological sphere to a final stage of unification and peace with himself, his world and his God" (7). This description closely resembles Gila's sentiments in this scene, effectively highlighting her sense of resolution and contentment.

If we consider this final moment to be a scene of conversion, it is interesting to mark the boundaries between what Gila has been and what she will represent. For example, in the vein of the female martyr, Gila freely confesses her crimes of her past: "por estas manos ingratas/ tengo a cargo dos mil vidas,/ de que pido perdón" [With these ingrate hands, I bear the responsibility of two million lives, for which I beg forgiveness] (3240-41). Admitting her actions and accepting her fate, Gila's Christ-like death sentence produces an overwhelming response of sympathy in her audience, perhaps newly attentive to Gila's conversion and the status of her pious future. At the same time there is something unsettling about the severity of the conversion scene. Although Gila's father is blamed for not properly instructing his daughter, ultimately it is she who fatally suffers the cost of his negligence. She has only "converted" now that she faces death.[111]

Once killed, Gila's body is compared directly to St. Sebastian (3276), staunch defender of Christianity and patron saint of soldiers. At the close of the third act, her body is described in the following terms: "corren el tafetán, y parezca GILA en el palo, arriba, llena de saetas y el cabello sobre el rostro" [the curtain opens and Gila appears on the stick, above, her body pricked with arrows and her face covered with her hair]

[111] In an expanded discussion, it would be relevant to consider how Gila's death sentence is similar to or different from the formula of the honor drama, which also concludes with the spectacle of the woman's dead body. In *El médico de su honra*, for example, Mencía suffers a parallel fate to Gila when she pays the price of Gutiérrez' suspicion, but she is certainly never allowed the public status or degree of agency Gila exercises throughout the play.

(204).[112] At once sensual and grotesque, the final scene produces what Richard Rambuss has termed a "devotional homoerotics" in which devotion is viewed as a form of desire.[113] Both as its own spectacle and as a replication of the religious narrative, Fernando solemnly proclaims that Gila's body serves as an example to Spain: "quedando allí una memoria/ que de exemplo sirva a España" [leaving a memory here that will serve as an example to Spain] (1139-1140). But what does this example represent?

Fernando's pronouncement cements the multifaceted interrelationship between violence, spectacle and exemplarity that pervades not only Luis Vélez de Guevara's play, but as we have learned from previous chapters, was characteristic of the period. Gila's tragic end is thus not singular, but rather recalls the frequency of violent spectacles designed to impart a moral lesson. In the *auto de fe*, the *comedia* and in the practices of custodial institutions, violence was exerted for instructional purposes. For women in particular, we are reminded of Sor Magdalena's *galera* in which repeat offenders were hung outside her door as testimony to the institution's seriousness and severity (81). As Gila's case is beyond the help of rehabilitation or conversion, she is sentenced to death as an example for those around her.

As the audience witnesses the execution of Plasencia's beloved *serrana,* it is important to consider that it is also witnessing a staged execution of Madrid's beloved actress, Jusepa Vaca. The scene at once condemns the actress' life of romantic excess whole showcasing her sensous body. And while it would seem that such a violent display would quickly alienate the audience, it seems rather in fact that such an ending produced

[112] One can't help but reference parallel images of St. Sebastian from such famous painters as Rubens and Pollaiuolo.
[113] Rambuss has paid special attention to the way desire seems to be produced by the penetration of arrows into the body of St. Sebastian. See *Closet Devotions* (100-101).

the opposite response. Gila's audacity, excess and challenge to social norms once again shocks and delights her audience, serving at once to critique and uphold contested social norms. Staging exemplary violence thus serves as the backdrop for the space of theatrical desire, where the spectacle of the bad woman's body produces a runaway success. As exemplary figures, Gila and Vaca should be characterized by their extremity: strikingly beautiful, unbelievably fierce and certainly captivating. And yet what is unique about the play and the actress it features is the sheer violence it permits to its heroine, reworking the honor code and killing 2000 men in the process. Gila's spectacular violence leaves its own exemplary mark on the audience of the play, imploring a revision of traditional norms that punish women for exerting their power and, worse yet, for making a scene.

CONCLUSION

The bad girl of the Spanish *comedia* dramatizes a variety of relevant social and political concerns surrounding the topic of rehabilitation in early modern Spain as a practice of containment and assistance for women. At the same time the figure illuminates an assortment of issues that are relevant for readers today. In my Spring 2010 undergraduate seminar, for example, the topic of Spanish bad girls raised a number of important questions about the relationships between spectacle, gender norms and exemplarity. On the last day of class, I asked each student to generate his or her own short list of contemporary bad girls. The exercise served at once as an entertaining culmination to the course and a provocative corollary to our semester-long discussion. Later that night, I decided to cross-review their lists and note the names of any women who appeared multiple times. The range of the overlaps were both surprising and suggestive, featuring pop stars (Britney Spears, Lady Gaga, Beyoncé, Rihanna, Amy Winehouse, Cristina Aguilera, Miley Cyrus, Madonna), politicians (Hilary Clinton, Michelle Obama, Sarah Palin, Nancy Pelosi), an array of major and minor celebrities (Angelina Jolie, Kate Gosselin, Chelsea Handler, Nancy Suleman "Octomom", Lindsay Lohan, Kim Kardashian, Tiny Fey, Paris Hilton, Nicole Richie, Oprah, Pamela Anderson, Ellen DeGeneres), as well as another iconic figure: "the working mom."

While the list certainly reflects the particularities of my Emory University classroom, they also demonstrate an array of characteristics that are suggestive in the context of this project. How might we compare the rumors (real or alleged) circulating around early modern Spanish actresses to the kind of celebrity gossip surrounding these

pop stars, also critiqued for their overt display of sexuality and lewd moral code? How can we take into account the relationship of these political figures to the figure of the *mujer varonil* and vice versa? In what ways are their political voices (although wildly varied) bolstered or mediated by displays of masculinity and femininity?

Similarly, the array of celebrities nominated in the third group offer yet another set of important characteristics for the bad woman. Encompassing a wide range of behaviors, these women are jointly antagonized for their performances concerning, for example, their sexuality, mothering, drug and alcohol use, wealth, prominence or even comedy. Wouldn't Calderón or Lope de Vega love to write three-act *comedias* documenting their notorious transgressions? How might marriage and/ or rehabilitation be written into these plots' end? Finally, I was surprised at the inclusion of the working mom as another deviant figure elected by my students, demonstrating the shared perception that the conflict between the expectations of motherhood and the workplace is still very present. It likewise reflects their continued preoccupation with gender inequality in the workplace.[114] As a group, these contemporary examples largely serve to highlight the various ways women are stigmatized and/or punished because they defy gender norms, true for the early modern period as well as today. In other words, according to my students, these women are perceived as bad, but really it's not their fault.

Conspicuously absent from this list is the woman as active criminal agent, "bad" because she chooses to be so. In our time, cases such as those of Megan Ambuhl, Sabrina D. Harmon, Lynndie England, Susan Smith, Rosemary West and Aileen Wuornos, continually unsettle gender norms, implicitly challenging the very feminist

[114] Students were also animated in discussion over the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Restoration Act (2009), which supports victims of pay discrimination, most frequently women.

concept of violence as masculine.[115] Barbara Ehrenreich, for example, expressed shock at the torture committed by US soldiers at Abu Ghraib, especially because women were involved as actors in the crime. She writes, "what we have learned from Abu Ghraib, once and for all, is that a uterus is not a substitute for a conscience" (2). Ehrenreich's statement echoes the predominant liberal feminist perspective on women and violence, which emphasizes the idea of women as victims of patriarchy, where women are passive and men are active. This view has enabled us to clearly examine the oppression of, and violence against, women. And yet, it also seems to position woman as victims of violence to the point where the idea of a violent woman is often viewed as paradoxical. If women are by nature caring, peaceful, morally superior subjects, the violent woman is the anomaly, manly, maybe even not-a-woman. What does it mean to deny women the capacity to be "bad"?

In an attempt to answer this question in the context of global politics, Caron Gentry and Laura Sjoberg argue for the necessity of *seeing* bad women: "we, as scholars and political actors, must be willing to embrace and study the agency of not only the best of women but also the worst of women" (223). They argue persuasively that popular narratives in the mass media on women's acts of violence enforce gendered stereotypes and effectively limit women's freedom. They argue, "this is not to say that we dream of a world where all women are allowed to engage in suicide bombings and incite genocide…however, idealized notions of femininity which trap (any) woman into an

[115] Ambuhl, Harmon and England were three of eleven US military personnel convicted in 2005 for torture and prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad. Smith is an American woman sentenced to life in prison for drowning her two children in 1995. Wuornos was an American woman sentenced to the death penalty for the murder of seven men between 1989-1990. She is frequently dubbed "the first female serial killer," because she was the first woman to be classified as such by the FBI. West is an English woman sentenced to life in prison in 1995 for her murder of 10 people.

idealized role based on gender are a threat to, if not a reversal of, the 'rising tide' of gender equality" (222). Instead of viewing violence – or bad behavior – as an exception to the rule, they argue for the construction of new narratives on women's acts of violence, where femininity is not implicitly or inevitably good.

The *comedias* in this present study raise similar questions about the implications for the agency of women's bad behavior. The shape-shifting widow Ángela in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La dama duende* (1629), the backstabbing girlfriend Fenisa in María de Zayas's *La traición en la amistad* (1630) and the amazon-like hunter turned man-hating murderess Gila in Luis Vélez de Guevara's *La serrana de la vera* (1613) certainly appear to be bad women at first glance. And yet, the plays raise a series of difficult questions: Does Ángela's defiance imply an active critique of patriarchal norms or is she merely putting on a show? Does Fenisa intentionally harm her female friends or is she duped by the charms of new love? Does Gila justly choose to become a murderess or is it her father's fault for not properly instructing her? Should we attempt to rationalize these heroines' actions because they are atypical, and not-womanly, or can we in fact read them simply as bad women, no explanation necessary?

The distinct rehabilitative strategies depicted by each of the plays provide a secondary framework for contextualizing women's bad behavior. Each playwright communicates a unique experience of rehabilitation to their audiences: Ángela's happy marriage, Fenisa's exclusion from marriage, and Gila's exemplary murder. Varying dramatically in seriousness and tone, the punishment ascribed to each heroine provides a key for unlocking the play's moral code, where the severity of the outcome matches the gravity of the crime. In the case of *La dama duende* and *La traición en la amistad*,

rehabilitation is depicted as both a practice of containment and protection for women. And yet, the case of *La serrana de la Vera*'s exemplary murder at the end of the play troubles this framework of rehabilitation. Has her violence moved her outside of the realm of rehabilitation? Is rehabilitation possible for women who are "truly bad"?

As the last three chapters have shown, close study of each heroine's bad behavior often raises more questions than it answers. And yet, as these previous chapters have made clear, the plays I have selected for analysis demonstrate the process of rehabilitation, not simply the outcome. Thus, I argue that the dramatic rehabilitative solutions proposed by these plays alone in fact do not offer a definitive frame for contextualizing these women's behavior. The same is true for historical rehabilitative solutions; strict analysis of punishment only will certainly not provide insight into the lived experiences of real women. This present study instead attempts to construct a narrative of bad girls on stage in early modern Spain that will allow women to be bad while also recognizing that this real figure has been significantly shaped by social fantasies and anxieties. The fact that the bad girl dominated the early modern theatrical imagination not only reflected the harsh cultural climate of the period, but also Spain's changing social and political landscape. Her presence on stage speaks to concerns with women's changing public role, rehabilitation systems predicated on female submission, and sexualized expositions designed to entertain and feared to disrupt social norms.

The comparative nature of this project has allowed for the study of multiple genres. Broadly combining fiction with the archive, the project encompasses theatrical texts, institutional manuals, personal correspondence, legal documents, and economic

records.[116] As the introduction and first chapter of this study make clear, public theater and early modern custodial institutions had an interdependent relationship. Although moralists claimed that public theater, especially the display of the actress' body, caused bad behavior, or illness, at the same time its popularity funded custodial institutions. By studying bad girls on stage, this present study makes apparent the sexual and spiritual economy of the early modern theater, where the wages of sin are used to pay for the rehabilitation of women.

Thus bad women are featured not only in the public theater but also in Madrid's custodial institutions, where the drama of gender-specific punishment took center stage. Through a comparative analysis of the rehabilitation narratives displayed in the *comedias* of the period, readers can begin to appreciate the ways in which spectacle also infused (monetarily and systematically) the institutional and spiritual practices of *recogimiento*. While the city of Madrid was newly designed around the concept of shared public spaces and the ideal of social order, custodial institutions of the period were also impacted by the classificatory power of spectacles. Both inside and outside of their institutional confines, *la casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* and Magdalena's *la galera* explicitly dramatized the rehabilitation and/or deviance of its residents for exemplary purposes.

Although we now have a better understanding of these institution's history and practice, unfortunately to date we have no records (apart from names or numbers) concerning the specific women who passed in and out of these spaces. There is still significant work that needs to be done on these specific institutions as well as their neighboring institutions in Madrid, throughout Spain and across the Atlantic. It is

[116] Fiction and archive are certainly not separate from one another; Natalie Zemon Davis's affirmation of *Fiction in the Archives* (1990) is certainly true for this project, and especially in the genre of the institutional manual.

important to keep in mind that the custodial institution took a variety of forms across the early modern period, encompassing the jail and magdalen house as well as, for example, orphanages, (syphilitic) hospitals, and homes for widows and/or abused wives.[117] Likewise there are a number of additional *comedias* focusing on the rehabilitation of women that would benefit this study. Chief among them are the *entremés*, *las Mozas de la Galera* (1663) and *La Baltastara* (1652), as each of these plays speaks to specific concerns regarding women's rehabilitation. As this limits of this study come to a close, the early modern stage is overcrowded with a band of bad girls, both real and fictional. Next to Ángela, Fenisa and Gila stand, for example, the early modern widow, María de Zayas, Jusepa Vaca and Magdalena de San Jerónimo, each woman clamoring for her piece of the spotlight.

[117] According to Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, the specific function of each institution narrowed throughout the 18th century. As Enlightenment projects took hold in Spain and across the Atlantic, institutional practices were more clearly defined and articulated. Teresa Fuentes Peris's *Visions of Filth* provides an interesting overview of the problem of social deviancy in nineteenth-century Spain, as it reads the novels of Galdós through the lens of industrialization and urban growth.

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