

PRODUCTION OF MEANING: SPECTACLE AS VISUAL RHETORIC IN THE
AUTO SACRAMENTAL

by

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To my wife, Debra, and children, Gabriela, Isabella, Erik, and Samuel who inspire me to be a better person each day.

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ABSTRACT

Few would refute the didactic nature of stained glass windows, paintings, and sculptures used in Spanish cathedrals during the Counter-Reformation. For hundreds of years the artistic renderings of biblical narratives and of Catholic dogmata had aided both the literate and illiterate alike to internalize the teachings of the Church. In contrast, the seemingly complex web of semiotic signs that form part of the aural and visual spectacle of the *auto sacramental* has understandably led some to question if such productions could have truly held much meaning for commoners with little formal education. However, as a theatrical genre, the *auto sacramental* does not deviate much from the literal meaning and allegorical symbolism of the more static art forms that adorn cathedral walls and altarpieces. The usage of ships, highwaymen, and courtroom trials represent some of the most prominent symbols utilized by playwrights to create a Counter-Reformatory drama that facilitated the audiences' ability to decode the plays' allegorical meaning. The repeated use of these semiotic signs allowed the culturally literate public in urban centers across Spain to draw upon their intertextual knowledge of such symbols to appreciate and understand these Corpus Christi performances. Modern readers less familiar with these semiotic signs and their meaning experience an additional handicap because of their inability to see the visual spectacle designed, if not as the primary didactic tool of the genre, then at least as an effective complement to the instructive dialogue that takes place between the different characters of the *auto*. In spite of these additional challenges that the modern reader faces, the *auto sacramental* offers some insight into sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain that cannot be found in the

more secular genres of the time. The added effort to investigate and understand the missing links of intertextual knowledge open a window that offers a panorama of a largely unexplored landscape of early-modern, Spanish society.

CHAPTER 1: THE AUTO SACRAMENTAL IN CONTEXT

Each year the festive atmosphere of the Corpus Christi procession and meaning-laden *autos sacramentales* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries drew large audiences to city plazas and other public venues throughout Spain and Latin America. To be sure, the free admission, music, dance, *tarascas*, *gigantones*, and the ornate carts used in the staging of *autos sacramentales* attracted large throngs of curious people, but the allegorical message conveyed by visual and aural means served as the chief justification for the public festivities that took place during Corpus Christi, particularly during the Counter-Reformation and its aftermath. Playwrights, often some of the most well-read individuals in society, strongly influenced the language and culture of the age by creating these allegorical scenarios that served as popular mnemonic reminders of Church doctrine. In the relatively-illiterate Spanish society of the time, these playwrights created and maintained a conduit to vast reservoirs of archived knowledge by incorporating information from their extensive encyclopedic knowledge and reading into their plays. Their constant, repeated allusions to scriptural accounts, iconography, mythology, patristic teachings, current events, and numerous other forms of art and theological doctrines primed the pump that enabled a largely-illiterate contemporary audience to draw from its intertextual knowledge and competently *read* the numerous allegorical symbols found in the *auto*. Much can be learned about this society, its culture, and the concerns of the day by appreciating the context and the semiotics of how the populace understood and enjoyed the complex theological symbolism found in *autos sacramentales* and the accompanying festive atmosphere.

With the increasing number of professional playwrights who began to pen *autos sacramentales* during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the genre quickly evolved in urban centers, becoming increasingly elaborate and popular. The theological doctrines espoused in the genre created a sort of semi-liturgical public production for people of all classes.¹ Despite the actual messages found in *autos*, however, not everyone agrees on their didactic nature. Among other things, the complex nature of the *auto* led Manfred Tietz to declare:

A mi modo de ver no cabe duda de que la representación [de la transubstanciación en los autos] no tenía una intención básicamente didáctica o misionaria. . . . Además, el lenguaje, bastante complicado de los autos calderonianos, impidió —yo diría intencionadamente— una auténtica comprensión por parte del público —no docto— de los *autos*. . . . (57)

In simple terms, Tietz's postulation assumes that the illiterate segment of society lacked the education and discernment necessary to adequately understand and interpret these performances, thereby nullifying many doctrinal benefits that the common person could possibly take away from the *auto*. This somewhat pessimistic view of the playwrights' intentions runs counter to the practices and conventions that so many playwrights celebrated, namely that when the audience is comprised largely of commoners, the play should be written for their benefit and enjoyment.² These authors depended on the

¹ Alexander A. Parker, exploring the *auto*'s integral role and connection with Corpus Christi in celebrating the Eucharist, says of *autos sacramentales*: "They are . . . primarily liturgical, or semi-liturgical, in a way that the Corpus Christi plays of medieval England or of any other country never were" (*Allegorical* 63).

² In his famous and influential *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, Lope de Vega wrote, [E]scribo por el arte que inventaron / los que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron / porque como las paga el vulgo, es justo hablarle en necio para darle gusto (45-48). Although significant differences exist between the *comedia* and the *auto sacramental*, the complexity of the language is not a significant differentiator between the genres, but rather the continuous extratextual references that often require a formidable intertextual knowledge for modern readers.

approval of both their audience and public inspectors for their livelihood, and the repeated allegorical symbols and their accompanying dialogic glossing strongly suggest that the playwrights of *autos* had every intention to write intelligible plays for people of all classes. If considered in an intertextual vacuum, independent of Spanish culture, other performances, sermons, and imagery, the *auto sacramental* would indeed present a daunting challenge for anyone to interpret. But while modern readers may possess the ability to read these plays in such a void, the contemporary Spanish audiences of these performances did not. The rich “cultura de oídas” sufficiently prepared urban audiences, who had a broad yet possibly shallow knowledge of the theological themes and symbols, to appreciate the didactic messages found in the *autos* of the day, if not in a profound manner, at least in general terms.³

The language and culture in which an individual lives greatly impacts the cognitive processing of information. It can also induce blind spots or unwarranted prejudices toward cultures separated by time and space.⁴ Such interpretive deficiencies often lead outsiders to view the actions of other societies as odd. David McCullough, a

³ Urban centers in Spain, like the rest of Europe, became the focal points of the numerous different forms of art. Their increased exposure to didactic art forms better enabled urbanites to decode the web of symbols presented in an *auto sacramental*. Meanwhile, the common rural citizen would not have enjoyed the same degree of familiarity with such symbols.

⁴ Partisan politics and radical religious factions are examples of prejudices formed by an unwillingness to objectively consider other points of view and the possibility of compromise. The generally more benign blind spots are more prevalent and reveal themselves in countless manners. The journals of Christopher Columbus and numerous other explorers reveal numerous misunderstandings caused by language and cultural differences. In more modern times, a conversation with a tourist who has spent a few days in a different culture might reveal similar misunderstandings as the person talks about all the oddities of the society. In all these cases the individuals superimpose their perspectives and cultural viewpoints on those of others, often with little effort to negotiate meaning by seeking proper understanding of the “foreign” culture.

historian noted for his captivating narratives about people and events, addresses this idea as it relates to some of his studies:

One might . . . say that history is not about the past. If you think about it, no one ever lived in the past. Washington, Jefferson, John Adams, and their contemporaries didn't walk about saying, "Isn't this fascinating living in the past! Aren't we picturesque in our funny clothes!" They lived in the present. The difference is it was their present, not ours. They were caught up in the living moment exactly as we are. . . .

In terms of *autos sacramentales*, this implicitly suggests that we as readers can better understand them and their surrounding culture by approaching the surviving scripts as normal, popular manifestations of the society rather than some peculiar phenomenon that undermined and circumvented the justification for its existence and hid its meaning from a considerably large percentage of contemporary audience members.

The negotiation of culture and meaning necessary to appreciate the nature of the genre in its contemporary context requires thought-provoking questions. Bruce W. Wardropper, who like Tietz notes the complexity of *autos*, asks one such question, “¿Cómo es posible que un público, en su mayor parte analfabeto y sin cultura literaria ni teológica, asistiera de buena gana y con provecho espiritual a obras dramáticas de las más difíciles e intelectuales que se hayan escrito?” (77). After pondering the question for several pages and suggesting a number of possibilities, he presents a view that contrasts significantly with that given by Tietz: “La verdad, desde luego, puede ser que un público más enterado de cosas de teología que el de hoy tuviera siempre que esforzarse por comprender las ideas presentadas en el drama del Corpus” (84). Wardropper’s theory associated with the frequent exposure that Spaniards had to the theological ideas and references found in *autos*, suggests that in spite of the high illiteracy of the contemporary

audiences of these elaborate, complex plays, they are perhaps the most qualified public in terms of their ability to grasp the didactic lessons and nuanced meanings contained in *autos sacramentales*. The theological education, albeit informal, of Spanish peasants in regard to the themes and symbolism found in the *auto* during the Counter-Reformation helped them to better appreciate these performances and their messages, which relied heavily on a wealth of intertextual literary, oral, and cultural references.

The study of semiotics and the general knowledge that the public had of the signs, both verbal and visual, that appear in these plays can serve as a useful tool in understanding and appreciating *autos sacramentales*, the means by which the Church and state effectively disseminated doctrinal propaganda, and the manner in which their contemporary audiences received them at the time. Keir Elam provides a simple definition of semiotics in his book, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*: “Semiotics can best be defined as a science dedicated to the study of the production of meaning in society. As such it is equally concerned with processes of *signification* and with those of *communication*, i.e. the means whereby meanings are both generated and exchanged” (1). In order to understand this creation and exchange of meaning, semiotics relies on the *sign*, which is composed of a *signifier* or *sign vehicle*—“the form that the sign takes”—and a *signified*—“the concept to which it refers” (Chandler 18).⁵ Mary Carruthers explains that “signs make something present to the mind by acting on memory” (222).

⁵ Daniel Chandler further explains, “For the semiotician, a ‘text’ can exist in any medium and may be verbal, nonverbal, or both, despite the logocentric bias of this distinction” (2). This common-sense definition recognizes that meaning is generated and exchanged in a variety of manners and not through speech alone. The use of semiotic terms, however, becomes somewhat problematic since semioticians occasionally use different words or definitions to refer to the same general concept. The terms used here will have definitions within the text or footnotes to avoid any confusion.

Semiotic signs, in large part, receive their meaning as a result of this memory or intertextuality, which in the case of *autos sacramentales* implies that audience members had a shared theological culture of meaning. Consequently, the most common signs or symbols conveyed the most meaning-laden messages to their audiences. Jindřich Honzl declares, “The constancy of a structure causes theatrical signs to develop complex meanings. The stability of signs promotes a wealth of meanings and associations” (79). Julia Kristeva further refines this idea stating, “Whatever the semantic content of a text [. . .] its condition as a signifying practice presupposes the existence of other discourses. . . . This is to say that every text is from the outset under the jurisdiction of other discourses which impose a universe on it” (Culler 105).⁶ Therefore, in addition to expanding the meaning of signs beyond the actual script of a play, intertextuality also limits their meaning, causing them to fit, to a certain degree, pre-existing significations.⁷

The words *text* and *discourse* in terms of intertextuality convey a broader meaning than just words on a page or audible dialogue. They represent the sum of all the previous cognitive experiences that influence how individuals interpret and apply meaning to their surroundings, particularly as they relate to the five senses of the human body. Although many of the people in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain were illiterate, their inability to read did not stop them from understanding and developing a profoundly rich

⁶ While I readily concur with Culler’s translation of the original French text, an apparent typographical error refers to the wrong pages in Julia Kristeva’s *La révolution du langage poétique*. He actually cites pages 338-39 as opposed to 388-89. “Quel que soit le contenu sémantique d’un texte, son statut en tant que pratique signifiante présuppose l’existence des autres discours. . . . C’est dire que tout texte est d’emblée sous la juridiction des autres discours que lui imposent un univers” (Kristeva 338-39).

⁷ Diana Taylor addresses this same idea in her book *The Archive and the Repertoire*: “The framework [of a scenario] allows for occlusions; by positioning our perspective, it promotes certain views while helping to disappear others” (28). The context of a play allows for the public to understand which views a given scene or scenario emphasizes or pushes aside.

theological culture. At the heart of the Counter-Reformation, the Catholic Church compensated for the general illiteracy by providing regular sermons and by fostering one of the most aural and visually symbolic cultures in history. Summarizing Emile Mâle, Mary Carruthers writes, “The Gothic cathedral . . . was essentially a Bible in stone and glass, its images designed to substitute for the written word in communicating the stories of the Bible to a lay congregation which could not read. . . .” (221). Among numerous other sources of theological information, the biblical stories and religious symbolism portrayed on tapestries, in theatrical performances, in paintings, and on cathedral walls and altars effectively served as a religious *text* for all with sight to *read*.⁸

It has often been suggested that the study of the culture of a foreign country goes hand in hand with the study of its language. One of the primary premises of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages is that language and culture are mutually beneficial, if not inseparable, in the educational process. The same idea applies to the *auto sacramental*: To more fully appreciate the Spanish society and culture of the Golden Age, it is beneficial to learn and understand the language and underlying meaning of the *auto sacramental*, which among other things, consists of the spoken word, physical movement, costumes, props, personification, allegory, and the intertextual knowledge to make sense of it all.

⁸ Frederick Danker admirably summarizes the intertextual nature of *autos* and their reliance on other forms of art:

Those art critics who have spoken of the Gothic cathedral as a “living theater” and as essentially dramatic have in mind the interplay of altarpieces, sculpture, stained glass windows, painted walls, and sculptured façades which provided a sort of *mise-en-scène* for men of all classes. Surely, the *auto* of sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain should be regarded as a communal drama whose techniques drew on and were reinforced by centuries of religious art. (42)

Borrowing from Diana Taylor's study of performing cultural memory, a vast array of resources that can aid in the study of *autos* fall into two general categories: the *archive* and the *repertoire*. She suggests that a rift exists "between the *archive* of supposedly-enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)" and that societies tend to give more credence to one than the other (19). Largely illiterate, Golden Age audiences relied as much on the repertoire as the archive to make sense of the social message or knowledge imparted by an *auto sacramental*. Modern audiences, however, must rely predominantly on the archive to help understand the same subject matter and to gain the necessary intertextual knowledge.

Using the term *scenario*, defined as "a sketch or outline of the plot of a play giving particulars of the scenes, situations etc.," Diana Taylor implicitly addresses the intertextual, cultural aspects that anchor the audience's understanding and appreciation of a given scene (28). She lists six manners in which *scenario* can help understand social structures and behaviors, all of which can also be applied to better comprehend the different sign vehicles and intertextual references found in the *archive* of *autos sacramentales*.⁹

1. The scene/Physical location or environment—"the material stage as well as the highly codified environment that gives viewers pertinent information . . . contribute to the viewer's understanding of what might conceivably transpire there" (29).

⁹ Sign vehicle is a term that has grown in popularity as the field of semiotics has expanded over the years. Daniel Chandler summarizes its meaning: "A term sometimes used to refer to the physical or material form of the sign (e.g. words, images, sounds, acts or objects). For some commentators this means the same as the *signifier* (which for Saussure himself did *not* refer to *material* form). The Peircean equivalent is the *representamen*: the form which the sign takes . . ." (241).

2. Embodiment of social actors—“The scenario requires us to wrestle with the social construction of bodies in particular contexts,” which requires the reader or spectator to pay attention to visual details concerning the attributes of the characters (29-30).
3. “Formulaic structures that predispose certain outcomes and yet allow for reversal, parody, and change” (31).
4. “The multiplicity of forms of transmission reminds us of the multiple systems at work” (31-32).
5. “[We must] situate ourselves in relationship to [the scenario]; as participants, spectators, or witnesses, we need to ‘be there,’ part of the act of transfer” (32).
6. “Scenarios conjure up past situations, at times so profoundly internalized by a society that no one remembers the precedence” (32).

For those seeking to better understand the historical and sociopolitical significance of *autos sacramentales* and the manner in which playwrights “historicize[d] specific practices” and doctrines, each of the points of Diana Taylor’s paradigm direct the reader or spectator’s attention to the context of the action within the play itself and in society in general (33). In this manner the modern audience can better appreciate how Spaniards witnessing an *auto sacramental* lived in their present rather than in our past.

The turbulent sociopolitical era in which *autos sacramentales* came about contributed significantly to the selection of symbols and themes found in the genre. In order to combat the growing threat to the status quo caused by Martin Luther and the expanding Protestant movement, the Council of Trent, held during the nascent years of the *auto sacramental*, drafted carefully-worded declarations designed to bolster and celebrate Catholic doctrine, while at the same time, anathematize divergent teachings. The lofty language specifically encouraged elaborate public celebrations of the Eucharist in order to combat heresy:

The holy council . . . declares that it was with true religious devotion that the custom was introduced into the church of God whereby every year, on a special fixed day of festival, this sublime and venerable sacrament

should be hailed with particular veneration and solemnity, and carried with reverence and honour in processions through streets and public places . . . And thus indeed must truth, the victor, celebrate a triumph over falsehood and heresy so that, confronted with so much splendour and such great joy of the universal church, her enemies weakened and broken may fall into decline or, touched by shame and confounded, may in time come to repentance.¹⁰ (*Tanner* 695-6)

In his *Loa entre un villano y una labradora*, Lope de Vega provides a definition of *autos sacramentales*, that if not directly influenced by this proclamation given at the Council of Trent, at least stems from the same Counter-Reformation fervor in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain.

¿Y qué son Autos?—Comedias
a honor y gloria del pan,
que tan devota celebra
esta coronada Villa:
porque su alabanza sea
confusión de la herejía,
y gloria de la fe nuestra. . . . (143)¹¹

In explicit terms, these elaborate, ornate processions and performances were designed to confound heretics and to glorify the Catholic faith.

¹⁰ Pope Urban IV published a papal bull in 1264 calling for the universal celebration of the Eucharist through the feast of Corpus Christi. Numerous subsequent popes and councils have reaffirmed the decree.

¹¹ In addition to Lope's explanation of the *auto*, scholars often cite Calderón and Covarrubias when attempting to define *autos sacramentales*. Unlike the works of many of these critics, this study makes no attempt to suggest that any of the definitions is perfect or that one definition is better than the others. Labradora, in the *Loa* to Calderón's *La segunda esposa*, calls *autos sacramentales*:

Sermones
puestos en Verso, en Idèa
representable, Questiones
de la Sacra Theologia,
que no alcançan mis razones
a explicar, ni comprehender,
y el regozijo dispone
en aplauso deste Dia. (291)

Covarrubias defines the more general term, *auto*: “[L]a representación que se haze de argumento sagrado, en la fiesta de Corpus Christi y otras fiestas.”

Jiří Veltruský asserts that “All that is on the stage is a sign” (84). Everything from simple gestures, pacing, and intonation to the type of props, costumes, and set pieces used in theater are signs that convey meaning to the audience. The former, as part of the ephemeral repertoire have largely been lost, but the archive of manuscripts and publications has preserved a relatively large amount of information related to the latter signs. Concerning the emblems used to convey meaning in a genre like the *auto sacramental*, Bradley Nelson explains that they become a mode of educating the masses: “[They] become a constitutive element of virtually every religious and political spectacle and discourse in Spain, where they largely serve the purpose of making present the universal and transcendental guarantees of Counter Reformation thought, while educating subjects in the reception and production of an allegorically-based knowledge” (12). The *auto sacramental* provided the public with numerous signs or symbols designed to instruct them on religious doctrines, particularly those that had come under attack from the growing Protestant splinter groups in parts of central and northern Europe.¹² To maximize the impact that the message would have on the audiences of these performances, playwrights saturated them with common allegorical symbols or emblems with which the public could relate. The wealth of verbal and visual symbols drawn from popular literature, art, and current events provided spectators with the necessary background information to decode the doctrinal message of the plays with limited

¹² The constantly-evolving nature of the boundaries of the different countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth century make it impossible to say that the Reformation took place in two or three countries. In terms of modern-geography, England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands, Switzerland, France, and Germany were some of the regions of northern and central Europe that embraced Protestantism at different times throughout the sixteenth century.

effort.¹³ Such performances, often drawing from centuries-old ideas originating outside the peninsula, yet rooted in national values, appealed to a sense of pride in the country's sovereignty and its lead role in the Counter-Reformation, thereby becoming effective tools in safeguarding against some of the domestic dissensions that had followed in the wake of the Reformation in many countries to the north.

Not even Spain was immune to the doubts and questions that intellectuals posed in their writings, as evidenced by the popularity of Erasmus's ideas among many prominent members of society. Despite the general knowledge that the people had of theological matters, Robert L. Fiore notes, "In Spain of the sixteenth century, secularism and insistent questioning of doctrine began to penetrate orthodoxy; this tendency was accelerated by the Reformation" (3). In response to the growing skepticism throughout Europe, the Council of Trent assumed responsibility for clarifying Church doctrine and addressing the points of contention between Catholics and Reformers. The Council admonished Catholic officials in their different spheres to:

. . . feed with the words of salvation the people committed to their charge. This they should do . . . by teaching at least on Sundays and solemn feasts, according to their own and their hearers' capacity, what it is necessary for all to know with a view to salvation, by proclaiming briefly and with ease of expression the vices they must avoid and the virtues they must cultivate

¹³ Explaining the intertextual richness of *autos sacramentales* and the playwrights' use of other sources to creatively address Catholic doctrine, Piedad Bolaños Donoso exclaims:

Cierto es que, aparentemente, la necesaria exaltación eucarística parecía dejar escasos resquicios a una fabulación compleja y variada, pero los autores abrieron las puertas a la imaginación, ideando sobre la estructura rígida del acontecimiento sacramental todo un conglomerado de símbolos y alegorías, que gracias a la tradición de las fábulas moralizadas surgidas en época medieval, determinó la creación de múltiples argumentos cuya materia procede prácticamente de todos los ámbitos de la cultura, desde la Biblia y las historias de la inventiva grecolatina, hasta la narrativa caballeresca, las narraciones folklóricas, las propias obras literarias contemporáneas e incluso los hechos de la vida cortesana, política, y hasta de lo cotidiano. (44)

so as to escape eternal punishment and gain the glory of heaven. (Tanner 669)

Personified virtues and vices, along with other allegorical figures, abound in the *auto sacramental*, serving as visual symbols of the spiritual battle between good and evil.

Professional playwrights, many of whom held ecclesiastical offices, used these allegorical performances to provide succinct lessons that fulfilled, at least in part, the mandate by the Council of Trent to teach according to the capacity of their hearers.

To a reader or viewer of *autos sacramentales*, the plays become a crossword puzzle of sorts, full of clues and intertextual references based on classical mythology, the Bible, patristic literature, current events, popular literature, and numerous additional sources. Symbols that playwrights used to craft the moral lessons of their *autos* to the capacity of their public include ships, highwaymen, and courtroom trials, each of which had played an increasingly visible role on the peninsula since the inception of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 under Ferdinand and Isabel and their subsequent patronage of Christopher Columbus's exploratory voyage. Because of the large archive of information available for these three allegorical representations, this study will use them as a window into the *auto* and its role during the Counter-Reformation.

As mere objects, people, or scenes on the stage, these symbols convey little or no significant meaning without an intertextual knowledge of the Bible, theological teachings, cultural factors, and different modes of art related to the era. Petr Bogatyrev declares, ". . . on the stage things that play the part of theatrical signs can in the course of the play acquire special features, qualities, and attributes that they do not have in real life. Things in the theater, just as the actor himself, are transformable [and] may acquire a

new, hitherto foreign, function” (35-36). For example, in Catholicism, the Eucharist, in this case the sign vehicle, could invoke the mental concept of Christ, the signified.¹⁴ For those familiar with Christ and the role of the Eucharist, little effort is required to see a connection between the two. Less-common theatrical signs could pose a greater challenge. Keir Elam recognizes this potential dilemma, summarizing the thesis of one of Jindřich Honzl’s studies, “. . .any sign vehicle can stand, in principle, for any signified class of phenomena: there are no absolutely fixed representational relations” (13). This can lead to conflicting and even contradictory associations. For example, the form of a snake could draw to mind the concept of the devil, of Christ, of medicine, or of any other meaning with which society might endow it.¹⁵ Clearly a reader or spectator can conjure

¹⁴ Some might argue that Christ is not the signified because of the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this case, the sacramental host literally is Christ and not just an object that stands for or represents Christ. However, anyone unfamiliar with the concept of transubstantiation or of the sacrament itself would simply see a wafer. They would not associate that wafer with Christ. Furthermore, the actual Eucharist may have never made it to the stage. Dale Pratt notes, “The ‘Eucharist’ present at the end of many (but not all) of the *autos* is an icon of the Eucharist presented at the end of the Mass, but it is not iconically identical to the Eucharist. Iconic identity between the theatrical world and the real world obtains only when a sign represents itself” (44). Because of the veneration and reverence shown toward the Eucharist, the actors probably never handled the actual host and wine in the festive, allegorical play, but rather an imitation of it.
¹⁵ In the book of Genesis, a serpent (Lucifer) tempts Eve, causing her to partake of the forbidden fruit. In a later Old Testament passage, a serpent takes on an entirely different meaning when the Lord instructs Moses to set one up as a sign to heal those who would look upon it:

6 Wherefore the Lord sent among the people fiery serpents, which bit them and killed many of them. 7 Upon which they came to Moses, and said; We have sinned, because we have spoken against the Lord and you: pray that he may take away these serpents from us. And Moses prayed for the people. 8 And the Lord said to him: Make a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign: whosoever being struck shall look on it, shall live. 9 Moses therefore made a brazen serpent, and set it up for a sign: which when they that were bitten looked upon, they were healed (Numbers 21:6-9).

A New Testament Scripture indicates that this serpent was a type, representing Christ: “And Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believes in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting” (John 3:15-16). As shown here, the same sign vehicle had two completely different signifieds, Lucifer and Christ.

Another ancient society, the Greeks, also associated the snake on a rod or staff with healing. Today we still identify the rod of Asclepius and the snake entwined about it with the medical field (Asclepius is the Greek god of medicine). Often, as is the case with the rod of Asclepius, the semiotic signs that societies employ have a long history of use, which readily allow their exploitation as instructional symbols since the populace already recognizes some of the meanings associated with the representation.

up one signified after another when considering a given sign vehicle. However, even though the decoding of certain meanings may prove to be a daunting task with some ambiguous texts or with a text produced within some remote and obscure culture, the abundance of religious art in Spain preconditioned contemporary spectators of seventeenth-century *autos* to understand the significance of almost any given object on stage.

In regard to a scene in one of Calderón's *autos*, *No hay más fortuna que Dios*, Frederick Danker explains, "[T]he entire scene is an emblematic *tableau* conveying meaning at our initial sight wholly by visual means" (46). The scenario or tableau of the play includes two trees. Mal enters the stage from one, and various characters representing different social classes sleep below the other. The visual instruments that hang above their heads symbolize the profession and economic status they will have when they awake. The tree also contains a cross. Mal tells each of the characters that they owe their status to Fortuna. As a result, most accept Fortuna as their god. Mal and Bien get their cloaks mixed up when they go to retrieve them after a fight. The allegorical significance of the exchanged clothing represents the biblical reference of good viewed as evil and evil as good (Isaiah 5:20). When Discreción changes the cloaks back after another brawl between Mal and Bien, the different characters experience a moment of

These commonly-used signs effectively communicate information to both the literate and illiterate segments of society.

Similarities between sign vehicles, however, can also lead to confusion and their inappropriate use. The *Caduceus* looks a lot like the rod of Asclepius, but it has two snakes entwined about a rod instead of one. In many instances in the last century, hospitals and medical practices have erroneously used the *Caduceus* instead of the rod of Asclepius, so much so that, amazingly, some have even felt it necessary to defend the use of the two-serpent rod. In a somewhat playfully-sarcastic article, Stewart L. Tyson points out that the *Caduceus* belonged to Hermes (Mercury) and that it would be more ". . . suitable for certain Congressmen, all medical quacks, book agents and purveyors of vacuum cleaners . . . [or] on a hearse than on a physician's car" (495).

disillusionment that restores Bien and Mal to their rightful places, and everyone sees that their position in life had nothing to do with Fortuna, but rather with the distributive Justice (*Justicia distributiva*) of God. The dialogue of the play corroborates and elucidates the meaning conveyed by the visual tableau, as each of the characters is verbally identified, and the trees, loosely representing the two trees in the Garden of Eden, are referred to as the *Árbol de la muerte* and the *Árbol de la vida*. The theme of this scenario, much like *El gran teatro del Mundo* and other plays by Calderón, stresses the capacity of each individual and the importance of doing good regardless of circumstances or social and economic status. In the closing lines of the play, singers emphasize this idea: “El mas infeliz estado / puede el hombre hacer feliz . . .” (160). In this sense, the play also reaffirms the idea that the *auto sacramental* is a genre for people of all classes and that by abiding by the precepts taught in the Catholic Church such happiness can be obtained regardless of one’s position.

Denker’s description of this tableau could also be applied to the vast majority of seventeenth-century *autos* and closely relates to Diana Taylor’s first three propositions of how to use *scenario* as a paradigm. The codified visual information provided in *No hay más fortuna que Dios* and many other *autos sacramentales* enables the audience to recognize the context and place of the play and speculate about the ensuing action. The external attributes of the characters aid in the interpretation of the social construction of the play, and intertextual elements allow spectators to see how the *auto* follows common stereotypes or how it changes them.

The ships in *autos sacramentales*, like the scenario in Calderón's *No hay más fortuna que Dios*, serve as perfect examples of the liturgical significance contained in a simple yet polysemous sign vehicle. In terms of their visual capacity to disseminate a wide variety of allegorical meanings, few symbols can rival their efficiency. In several *autos* that appear in this study, nearly every imaginable part of the ship depicted in the play relies on the audience's intertextual knowledge to successfully decode or interpret the numerous sign vehicles that make up the vessel. The sails, rigging, crewmembers, flags, masts, lantern, and even the crow's nest convey a didactic message to the public of many of these performances. Because of the economic and political position of Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a relatively large percentage of Spaniards had firsthand experience aboard ships or at least knew people who did, serving as merchants, soldiers, fisherman, and even pirates. Their familiarity with the functions and purposes of the different parts of a ship would have better enabled them to appreciate the creative genius of the playwrights and understand the significance of the different sign vehicles. Some of the allegorical symbolism related to the ships in these *autos* dated back nearly two millennia and had enjoyed renewed interest in countries throughout Europe. Playwrights like Lope de Vega, José de Valdivielso, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca used and expanded upon the pre-existing allegories containing a ship to impart Catholic dogma and to reaffirm the correctness of doctrine that Reformer's had challenged.

Highwaymen, commonly referred to as *salteadores*, *bandoleros*, or *ladrones*, also played a conspicuous role in Spain during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation as they plundered the country's trade routes. Antoni Mączak indicates that highwaymen

often frequented mountainous regions or borders between states, where they could ambush travelers and better evade pursuit (159). He further points out, “The dangers increased in time of war: . . .the eighty years of strife between Spain and the Netherlands (1568-1648) or the later conflicts there towards the end of the seventeenth century. It was the Thirty Years War, however, which made life especially difficult for tourists” (160). As evidenced here, banditry in Spain reached its climax at the same time as *autos* continued to gain popularity. With more shipments from the New World, added traffic on the trade routes, and war, highwaymen saw an opportunity to enrich themselves or wreak havoc in favor of the countries sponsoring them. The prevalence of theft along the nation’s highways served as perhaps the most significant factor in determining how the public viewed thieves on the stage. It was their reality. The allegorical highwayman as portrayed in many *autos sacramentales* does not enjoy the same depth of intertextuality as the ship in regards to the number of visual sign vehicles related to it, but, like the ship, highwaymen and robbers appear in a number of biblical and patristic verses and parables.¹⁶ Many of the *autos* that portray bandits as characters allude to myths, legends, or scriptural accounts of thieves, and as is the case with many other sign vehicles, the audience members’ familiarity with these different accounts better enabled them to understand the play.

Judgment scenes as portrayed in the *auto sacramental*, like ships and highwaymen, drew heavily from the state of affairs at the time. In addition to the civil

¹⁶ A few examples from the Bible that refer to thieves include: Proverbs 29:24-A partaker with a thief hateth his own soul, Matt. 6:19-Lay not up treasures on earth where thieves break in and steal, Matt.27:38 or Mark 15:27 thieves crucified alongside Christ, Luke 10:25-37-Parable of the Good Samaritan; John 10:1-10-A thief entereth not by the gate, but the Good Shepherd enters by the gate and knows His sheep.

tribunals, the Spanish Inquisition contributed to the number of judicial cases throughout the country. Additionally, the punishment of criminals was arguably more public than the present day because of public executions and *autos de fe*.¹⁷ Along with the Inquisition's enforcement arm that swept up Erasmists and *Alumbrados* in the sixteenth century, enforcing what officials viewed as the proper practice of Catholicism, the highly charged Counter-Reformation stressed the importance of closely adhering to the doctrine of the Church in order to successfully stand before Christ at the Final Judgment to give an account of one's faith and works while in mortality.

The prevalent role of the three symbols mentioned here: ships, highwaymen, and courtroom scenes, had a certain malleability as playwrights placed them in different *scenarios* to teach Catholic dogma, particularly in regards to contentious points of doctrines challenged by early Reformers. As the Reformation gained traction in central and northern Europe, the Catholic Church increasingly sought to market itself as the single vehicle designated by Christ to lead mankind through the spiritual perils of mortality. Meanwhile, reformers such as Martin Luther and John Calvin had begun to question Catholic dogma with increasing frequency, often basing their arguments on their interpretation of scripture or the teachings of early Christians like Augustine and Constantine. Their sermons and letters were preceded and, in part, influenced by the teachings of John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, and even by the more conciliatory and moderate voice of Desiderius Erasmus, who declined invitations to break from the Church and join

¹⁷ The *auto de fe* should not be confused with the theatrical performances that also use the word *auto* in the nomenclature of the genre (e.g. *autos sacramentales* and *autos de Navidad*). The trial and the public punishment or penance required of those condemned by the Inquisition was known as an *auto de fe*. In this manner, the didactic purposes of *autos de fe*, like the *auto sacramental* relied on a public performance of sorts.

the Protestants in spite of disagreements he had with certain practices in the Catholic Church.

At the Diet of Worms in 1521, Martin Luther defended his teachings on the basis of *sola scriptura*—scripture alone, essentially challenging the council to refute him, not through traditions and patristic literature, but rather with the scriptures and nothing more. Martin Luther was neither the first nor the last to challenge the Catholic Church to disprove teachings using the scriptures. Although not generally considered a proponent of *sola scriptura*, Jan Hus had issued the same demand when on trial. In its decree at the Diet of Worms, the council wrote, “[Luther] has fallen into such madness of spirit as to boast, that if Hus were a heretic he is ten times a heretic” (Vedder 421). Emboldened by the Diet’s inability to apprehend Luther because of influential protectors, Reformers broadened the scope of their doctrinal attacks on the Catholic Church, yet they declined to accept the safe passage offered by the Council of Trent several year later to discuss doctrinal differences, perhaps mindful of the fate of the same Jan Hus to whom Martin Luther reportedly referred at the Diet of Worms.¹⁸

In light of the religious tensions brewing during the early sixteenth century, particularly those manifested in Martin Luther’s “Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences” (The Ninety-five Theses), the Catholic Church would gradually see the futility of trying to reform Protestants through persuasion and reasoning and would instead shift its focus to staunching the spread of what it perceived as a heretical movement. This undertaking took many forms, not the least of which included the

¹⁸ Jan Hus had received the promise of safe passage to the Council of Constance, but just a month after his arrival he was imprisoned, tried, and later executed on charges of heresy.

formation of the military order of the Jesuits by Ignacio de Loyola, the aforementioned Council of Trent, the growing Inquisition, various wars, and on the cultural front, the *auto sacramental*. In all of these, and in many other Counter-Reformation activities, Spain arguably led the way as the defender of the Faith.

Regarding the role of theater in Spain in contrast to other nations, Henry Sullivan notes:

[W]hile religious division in the sixteenth century and the problem of freedom created a universal need in Western civilization for drama, Spain differed from the rest of Europe in presenting a monolithic façade of Catholic unity and reaffirmation towards the world and communicated this spirit outward on the stage. Since the ideas of Spanish, Christian and Catholic were virtually synonymous to the Spaniard of the Counter Reformation, the drama became an ideal medium for the reaffirmation of popular national values. (169)

This was especially true in the case of the *auto sacramental*. While the *auto* did not solely focus on polemical issues associated with the differing doctrines between Catholicism and Protestantism, these points of conflict did indeed serve as the principal themes found in many *autos*. As a genre, the *auto sacramental* often focuses primarily on the preeminent sacramental role of the Eucharist as a sacred rite designated for the use of the penitent followers of Christ. The nature of the Eucharist and the six additional Catholic sacraments had come under attack by a number of Protestant leaders, and the increasingly-popular *auto* served as a valuable tool to reaffirm the transubstantiated presence of Christ in the Eucharist. By means of carefully-crafted *scenarios*, it also defended Mariology, the veneration of saints, the necessity of good works and other dogmata of the Church that were under attack by Reformers.

While the *auto sacramental*, by most definitions, should deal primarily with the Eucharist, this list of doctrinal conflicts between Catholics and Reformers represents just a small part of the Counter-Reformation themes encountered in the genre. Because of these themes, and in an apparent argument of semantics, numerous critics have questioned whether or not *autos* represent a reaction to Protestantism and whether the Council of Trent directly influenced the genre.¹⁹ Challenging the assertion that *autos* represent a reaction to the Reformation, critics can, and have pointed out that the first *auto* was written before Lutheran ideas could have gained much traction in Europe, as if a few early, primitive performances preclude any subsequent *autos* from challenging ideas posited by the Reformation. In other words, the argument suggests that if a few *autos* predate the widespread unrest caused by the Reformation or if most do not explicitly lambast Protestantism then the genre as a whole cannot lay claim to having many of its roots in the Counter-Reformation movement. Although *autos* may have emerged chronologically before Lutheranism and the Council of Trent made lasting marks in the theological landscape of Europe, it is important to note that these important events did not come about *ex nihilo*. The ideas they reflected had already come into circulation to varying degrees both in literature and public sermons. Additionally, *autos* adapted their material to correspond with the most urgent and pressing issues of the day. In cases where Heresy, Lutheranism or the Council of Trent is specifically mentioned in the plays,

¹⁹ See Bruce W. Wardropper's *Introducción al teatro religioso del Siglo de Oro*, pages 109-17, for a summary concerning the arguments about the influence of the Council of Trent on the *auto* and for and against referring to the genre as a reaction to the Reformation. Phyllis Mitchell, in her doctoral dissertation, provides a convincing argument with supporting evidence to refute Wardropper's assertion that the *autos* of the seventeenth century had little to do with the Counter-Reformation (Mitchell 180-85). Wardropper had declared, "[E]l peligro de la herejía se veía totalmente desarraigado de la España de la Contrarreforma" (28).

one can easily make an argument, but only for those specific *autos*. Perhaps the brush strokes of the picture painted by the terms “reaction” and “influence,” in strictly technical terms, might be too broad to do justice to the many nuances of the *auto sacramental* as a whole. In many instances it is impossible to determine if the presence of themes associated with the Counter-Reformation appear as a conscious reaction by playwrights against Protestant ideas or if they merely intended to expound on Catholic doctrine, taking little conscious thought of reformist ideas. Regardless, the prominent role that these subjects played in the society at the time unequivocally predisposed the playwrights to treat them in their sacramental dramas.

Eucharist and Transubstantiation

Individual interpretation of the scriptures lies at the root of numerous Catholic and Protestant disagreements. Some of those conflicting interpretations date back to the early days of Christ’s Church, which should come as no surprise, since the Apostle Paul himself, in his epistles to the Christians in different regions, repeatedly taught against false doctrines and incorrect interpretations that Church members had proposed. The doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Council of Trent reaffirmed as the change of the substance of the bread or Eucharist into the substance of the body of Christ and of the wine into his blood, seems to date back at least to the early second century. St. Ignatius of Antioch, who died toward the end of the first century or start of the second century, wrote about certain heretics in an Epistle to the Smyrnæans: “They abstain from the Eucharist

and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ . . .” (89).²⁰ When Christ administered the Last Supper to his apostles, he said, “Take and eat: This is my body, which shall be delivered for you. This do for the commemoration of me” (1 Cor. 11:24).²¹ The Catholic Church interpreted this scripture in a literal sense, while many Reformers increasingly suggested that it, like many other biblical teachings, was figurative in nature. Far from having a united voice, however, Reformers failed to reach an accord concerning the nature of the Eucharist, as evidenced by the Marburg Colloquy. In response to the growing doubts and questions raised by Reformers, the Council of Trent firmly and resolutely claimed that the Catholic Church’s function was to “pass judgment on the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred scriptures” (Tanner 664).²² This decree and others like it may have strengthened Catholicism in some states, but its assertions severed all possibilities of bridging the doctrinal chasm that had formed in the wake of Martin Luther’s posting his *Ninety-five Theses*. With respect to the doctrine of transubstantiation, Reformers almost universally

²⁰ John Calvin and a number of others repeatedly questioned the authenticity of the writings attributed to Ignatius. Calvin declared, “Nothing is more disgusting than those vile absurdities which have been put forth under the name of Ignatius” (*Institutes* 20: 158). Other writers from the second century also preached the concept of transubstantiation, meaning that even if Ignatius’s writings to the Smyrnæans were spurious, some prominent Church members clearly taught the idea during that general time.

²¹ Other scriptures giving an account of the Last Supper include Matt. 26:26-28, Mark 14:22-24, and John 6:54-58. These accounts do not include the phrase, “This do for the commemoration of me.”

²² In its broader context, the Council states the reason that the Church should be the sole authoritative interpreter of scripture:

[I]n order to control those of unbalanced character, that no one, relying on his personal judgment in matters of faith and customs which are linked to the establishment of christian doctrine, shall dare to interpret the sacred scriptures either by twisting its text to his individual meaning in opposition to that which has been and is held by holy mother church, whose function is to pass judgment on the true meaning and interpretation of the sacred scriptures. . . . (Tanner 664).

denounced it, offering different theories instead.²³ As one of the primary topics of many *autos sacramentales*, however, playwrights often wove the theme of the transubstantiated Eucharist throughout their works, frequently displaying the sacrament in a large, ornate monstrance or chalice. The spectacle and purport of the presentation gave credence to the intent announced by the Council of Trent and Lope de Vega that the event should be done with great splendor and give glory to the Host and the Catholic faith. As the name of the genre suggests, *autos sacramentales* unequivocally championed the transubstantiated

²³ Erasmus's view on the doctrine of transubstantiation, officially recognized by the Church in 1215 by the Lateran Council, remains somewhat vague. At times he seems to reject the idea, but at others he appears to defer to the Church's authority. A. G. Dickens and Whitney R. D. Jones provide an account of Erasmus's treatment of the subject in their 1994 publication, *Erasmus the Reformer*, pages 105-10. Though Erasmus cannot be considered a Reformer in the same sense as Martin Luther, John Calvin, Ulrich Zwingli, and others, he clearly questioned some of the longstanding traditions of the Catholic Church.

Martin Luther refers to the doctrine of transubstantiation as the second captivity of the sacrament and championed the idea of consubstantiation instead: "[I]t is real bread and real wine, in which Christ's real flesh and real blood are present in no other way and to no less a degree than the others assert them to be under their accidents" (*Luther's Works* 36: 29). According to Aristotelian thought, an object has substance and accident. The accident constitutes the form of the object. According to the doctrine of transubstantiation, the bread and wine are the accidents, while the invisible substance is the actual blood and body of Christ. In short, Luther declared that the real substance of the bread and wine existed in the sacrament along with the real substance of the body and blood of Christ.

John Calvin expressed his own view concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation in the following manner:

[W]e reject not only the common reverie in regard to what is called transubstantiation, but also what was decided at the Council of Tours, viz., that we chew with our teeth and swallow the body of Christ. . . . We conclude, then, without doubt, that the bread and the wine remain as the sign and the pledge to testify to us that the flesh of Jesus Christ is our heavenly bread and his blood our true drink. In the second place, to imagine that we swallow the body of Jesus Christ, and that it passes into us as material bread, is a thing which cannot be received by Christians, and is altogether at variance with the reverence with which we ought to regard the sacred union which we have with the Son of God. (*Selected* 159)

Ulrich Zwingli wrote, "For what is darkness if not the delusion that the bread is flesh and the wine blood, and that we partake of the flesh and blood really or essentially?" (*Lord's Supper* 186). Stressing the importance of Christ's counsel to take the sacrament in remembrance or commemoration of Him, Zwingli further argues, "A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing. When I say: The sacrament of the Lord's body, I am simply referring to that bread which is the symbol of the body of Christ who was put to death for our sakes. . . . Now the sign and the thing signified cannot be one and the same. Therefore the sacrament of the body of Christ cannot be the body itself" (188). Like Calvin, Zwingli adamantly rejects the idea that those who partake of the sacrament tear apart and masticate the body of Christ with their teeth. If they did, he argues, they would perceive it to be flesh and blood, not bread and wine (190).

Eucharist; however, these plays also touched on numerous other doctrinal issues, many of which were at variance with Protestant teachings.

Saints, Relics, and Images

The veneration and honor of Saints, like the doctrine of transubstantiation, enjoyed a long tradition in the Catholic Church. However, unlike the interpretation of scriptural passages to support transubstantiation, the veneration of saints and the relics and images associated with them largely lacked textual support in the Bible. For most Reformers who championed *sola scriptura*, traditions like the prayers to saints and obeisance to relics and images deviated from the true gospel of Jesus Christ. They often rejected traditions for which they found no scriptural support, regardless of their longstanding practice in the Catholic Church, from which many of the early Reformers had defected. Many Reformers rejected the veneration of Saints (*dulia*) as an erroneous modification of the worship rightly owed to God (*latria*).²⁴ In response, the Council of

²⁴ Erasmus, who wished to continue his association with the Church, had to walk a fine line concerning his discourses on saints, relics, and images, particularly after the Reformation had begun. In his *Enchiridion*, a relatively early publication in his career, he wrote, “[D]o not tell me . . . that charity consists of frequent church attendance or genuflecting in front of the images of saints or burning candles or repeating a specific number of little prayers. God is not impressed by such routines” (122). In the same publication, he also gave a particularly scathing rebuke to those who superstitiously prayed to particular saints:

Some men worship certain saints with certain rights . . . This fellow pays fasts in deference to Apollonia so that his teeth will not ache. That one looks at images of godly Job in order to avoid the itch. Some offer a certain portion of their money to the poor to keep from losing their goods in shipwreck, or they burn a little candle in front of Jerome to effect the recovery of lost property.

In fine, the number of things we either fear or hope for is matched, according to this program, by the number of saints we put in charge of those things. And these saints themselves vary with different nations. (99)

In later years, Erasmus found it necessary to carefully defend and restate this position, particularly against one of his chief critics, Alberto Pio.

Trent defended Masses in honor of the saints, saying, “[The priest] implor[es] their patronage, that they may deign to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we recall on earth” (Tanner 734).²⁵ In addition to the honor paid to the saints, the Council defended the use of relics and images corresponding to individual saints saying that “the honour showed to them is referred to the original which they represent: thus, through the images which we kiss and before which we uncover our heads and go down on our knees, we give adoration to Christ and veneration to the saints, whose likeness they bear” (Tanner 775). In Spain, where Zwinglianism and Calvinism never took root, the production of images and statues of saints increased significantly with the massive output of art that accompanied the Golden Age.

The following chapters illustrate how playwrights frequently included the saints in their *autos* to provide additional visual reinforcement to a theme or moral concept conveyed in the play. The authors frequently chose saints whose deeds and reputation

John Calvin staunchly rejected the veneration of Saints, declaring, “[T]he distinction between latria and dulia, as they called them, was invented in order that divine honors might seem to be transferred with impunity to angels and the dead” (*Institutes* 20: 118).

Zwingli, referring to Josse van Clichtove, whose pamphlet, *De veneratione sanctorum*, he mocks, wrote, “I see so great a theologian taking the Holy Scriptures in hand like a donkey running a solemn ceremony, as the saying goes” (*Commentary* 268). He firmly rejected Clichtove’s arguments for the veneration of saints, asserting, “For how could it be that while they were still under the weakness of the flesh they should arrogate nothing to themselves, and now when they are utterly removed from all such weakness should have changed their minds, and having previously led men to the one and only God should now bid them come for refuge to themselves?” (*Commentary* 270). He similarly condemned the veneration of images and statues as idolatry, citing nearly forty passages of scripture to defend his position (*Commentary* 330-37).

²⁵ For years Luther had demanded that the Catholic Church use the scriptures, rather than tradition, to prove the doctrinal errors that its leaders had asserted he made. Consequently, the *Apocrypha*, became a focal point in the heated debate. Martin Luther valued the *Apocrypha*, just not as a canonical work. “[His] reticence concerning the *Apocrypha* was clearly influenced by its support for several practices he condemned, such as prayers for the dead (Tobit 12:12, 2 Macabees 12:39-45 ff.; cf. 1 Corinthians 15:29), intercession of the saints (2 Macabees 15:14), and intermediary intercession of angels (Tobit 12:12, 15)” (Melton 37). The Catholic Church responded by granting canonical status to the *Apocrypha* during the Council of Trent.

mirrored the moral message. The character of a saint in any given play created a *scenario* that drew upon the intertextual knowledge of the audience to add further significance to the development of a concept portrayed in the *auto*. The audience familiar with the patron saints of specific days, localities, and professions, could readily understand the inclusion of a particular saint in relation to a given *scenario*. In many *autos*, particularly those that include judgment scenes, the saints often perform supporting roles to another important figure in nearly all Christian sects of the time, the Virgin Mary.

The Virgin Mary

The cult of the Virgin Mary, like the veneration given to saints, had grown dramatically in the centuries leading up to the Spanish Golden Age. Of particular interest in Spanish medieval literature are the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa María* and *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, influential volumes that frequently portray the Virgin as a mediatrix of the human race. The long history of reverence toward the mother of Christ gave her a prominent role in Church theology and made her a central character in many *autos sacramentales*. In the twelfth century Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) regularly championed the intervening role of the Virgin, influencing many after him. Saint Lawrence Justinian (1381-1456) asked, “How can she be otherwise than full of grace, who has been made the ladder to paradise, the gate of heaven, the most true mediatrix between God and man?” (Liguori 128). Many others did, and have since referred to the Virgin Mary as a mediatrix and advocate who pleads the case of

individuals who turn to her for recourse. In this role she intervenes on behalf of mankind before her son, Jesus Christ, and he, as St. Anselm and St. Bernard put it, receives those whose case she pleads on account of his mother's merits (Liguori 470). This increasingly popular veneration of Mary as a mediatrix and advocate drew harsh criticism from Reformers, including Martin Luther, who tended to be more accepting of Catholic dogma concerning the saints and of the Virgin than other Reformers.²⁶ Scriptures like 1 Timothy 2:5 and 1 John 2:1 led Zwingli, Calvin, and Luther to all denounce the belief that Mary could mediate or advocate on someone's behalf.²⁷ Instead, they viewed Christ as the only possible mediator and advocate, despite objections by Catholics that Mary did not replace Christ in these roles but rather served as an intermediary whose requests Christ would honor.

²⁶ Martin Luther, in a scathing commentary on the pope's doctrine, said that priests drove people from Christ by depicting him as a "terrifying Judge." He further asserted, "They taught us to call upon the dear mother of Christ and to urge her, for the sake of the breasts which she gave her son, to plead against His wrath over us and to obtain His grace" (*Luther's Works* 13: 326). In his commentary of the first epistle of Peter, Luther declared:

St. Peter wants to lead us to the Father through the Lord Christ and sets Him up as the Mediator between God and us. Up to now preachers have told us to call upon the saints in order that they may be our intercessors before God. Then we hid ourselves to Our Dear Lady, made her our mediatrix, and let Christ remain an angry judge. Scripture does not do this; it insists on going to the truth of the matter and praises the Lord Christ as our Mediator through whom we must come to the Father (*Luther's Works* 30: 10).

In a passage addressing the veneration of Saints, including the Virgin Mary, Calvin decried, "To obtain God's benevolence [people] repeatedly thrust forward the merits of the saints, and for the most part overlooking Christ, entreat God in their names. Is this not, I ask you, to transfer to the saints that office of sole intercession which, as we affirmed above, belongs to Christ?" (*Institutes* 879). He further indicated that "there are very many who do not refrain from the horrid sacrilege of calling upon the saints now not as helpers but as determiners of their salvation" (*Institutes* 2: 880). In a passage referring specifically to the Virgin, he wrote, "[M]any prayers have been forged full of horrible blasphemies, such as those which request the Virgin Mary to command her Son, and exert her authority over him—and which style her the haven of salvation, the life and hope of those who trust in her" (*Selected* 146).

²⁷ 1 Tim. 2:5 "For there is one God: and one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 John 2:1 "My little children, these things I write to you, that you may not sin. But if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just."

Autos sacramentales portray Mary in a variety of different roles, reflecting the popularity of Mariology in Spain at the time. A number of *autos* portray Mary as a defense attorney for the character representing mankind. As such, she advocates the salvation or the opportunity of a second chance for her client. Her central role in the judgment of mankind and her success in obtaining favorable rulings for those who beseech her assistance emphasize her prominent role in the religious context of the Counter-Reformation. In short, these *autos* suggest that those who ask for and accept her loving mediation will receive whatever the Virgin requests of her Son.

The Pope

The frequent intervention of the saints and of the Virgin in *autos sacramentales*, while a central part of Catholic doctrine, does not address the temporal leadership of the Church and the important role of the pope in safely directing adherents in a constantly-changing cultural backdrop. As the leader of the Catholic Church, the pope claimed a continuous line of succession dating back to the Apostle Peter himself. St. Irenæus (2nd Century) declared,

[O]ne must hear the presbyters who are in the church, those who have the succession from the apostles . . . and with the succession in the episcopate have received the sure spiritual gift of truth according to the good pleasure of the Father. As for all the others who are separate from the original succession . . . They are heretics with false doctrine. . . . (157-58)

Under this sentiment, the pope was the rightful leader of the Church, and as such, was the ultimate authority on doctrinal matters. It should come as no surprise then that many

Reformers, who had come to disagree with a number of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, viewed the pope in a particularly negative manner, even calling him the Antichrist.²⁸ Martin Luther, among others, also rejected the pope's claim to a continuous line of succession, thereby offering Protestant supporters the opportunity to sever their ties with the Catholic Church in good conscience.

The pope, as a character on stage, appeared in a number of *autos sacramentales*; however, as depicted in some of the plays in this study, he has no lines. Instead, the pope often fulfills an entirely visual, allegorical role in a context that signals to the audience the direct line of succession through which the pope received his authority. The plays clearly indicate that he directs the affairs of the Church, and that by following him individuals can safely traverse the perilous sea of life. The allegorical significance of the pope in these plays stands in stark contrast to the descriptions that Reformers gave of him, and it is only after the protagonists of these *autos* suffer through the deceits and vices of the Devil that they come to enjoy the refuge provided by the Church, which the Roman pontiff directs. In several *autos* the pope works alongside the apostle Peter or Christ himself, thereby showing the close association that he shared with the leaders of the primitive Church.

²⁸ Martin Luther declared, "Beware of the Antichrist, the pope!" (*Luther's Works* 32: 42). At another time he wrote, "And in His place they [papists] erect a beautiful bewitchment, by which men are so demented that they do not acknowledge Christ as the Justifier, Propitiator, and Savior but think of Him as a minister of sin, an accuser, a judge, and a condemner, who must be placated by our works and merits" (*Luthers Works* 26: 200).

Using language perhaps even more critical than that of Martin Luther, John Calvin exclaimed, "Daniel [Dan. 9:27] and Paul [II Thess. 2:4] foretold that Antichrist would sit in the Temple of God. With us, it is the Roman pontiff we make the leader and standard bearer of that wicked and abominable kingdom." He further stated, "[W]e by no means deny that the churches under his tyranny remain churches. But these he has profaned by his sacrilegious impiety, afflicted by his inhuman domination, corrupted and well-nigh killed by his evil and deadly doctrines, which are like poisoned drinks" (*Institutes* 2: 1052-53).

Faith vs. Works

The dichotomy in the debate between Catholics and Reformers concerning faith and works necessarily includes a number of related, and similarly contested, doctrines, such as those concerning grace, free will, and justification. According to the tenets of the Catholic Church, free will and works are closely related, and individuals can exercise their free will or agency to accomplish good or bad works. Those works, combined with the faith of a person, determine the merits of salvation or the justification that an individual receives. In defense of this doctrine, the Council of Trent declared, “[N]o one should yield to complacency in faith alone, thinking that by faith alone he has been established as an heir, and that he will obtain that inheritance even if he has not suffered with Christ so as to be glorified with him” (Tanner 675).²⁹ Although the Inquisition eventually targeted many Erasmian ideas and teachings in Spain, his staunch defense of the doctrine of free will led to a heated argument between him and Martin Luther found

²⁹ Defenders of the doctrine that mankind could not be justified without the tandem of faith and works frequently turned to James 2:17-20. “17 So faith also, if it have not works, is dead in itself. 18 But some man will say: You have faith, and I have works. Show me your faith without works; and I will show you, by works, my faith. 19 You believe that there is one God. You do well: the devils also believe and tremble. 20 But will you know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?”

Reformers, on the other hand, frequently turned to Romans 11:5-6 in defense of the argument that grace alone could merit justification. “5 Even so then, at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace. 6 And if by grace, it is not now by works: otherwise grace is no more grace.” Martin Luther took issue with the Epistle of James and its use to defend the importance of works along with faith. He called it an “epistle of straw . . . for it has nothing of the nature of the gospel about it” (“Preface” 398). Luther’s subjective acceptance and rejection of certain scriptures made it difficult to contend with him using *sola scriptura*.

in Erasmus's *De libero arbitrio* and *Hyperaspistes* and Luther's *De servo arbitrio*.³⁰ The disagreement, although very informative in regards to the differences of belief between Catholics and a number of Reformers, ended all hopes that Luther had previously harbored of uniting with Erasmus against the perceived abuses of the Church.

The impassioned debate over the relevance of works, in addition to faith, as a condition to meriting the salvific grace of Christ continued well into the seventeenth century, if not beyond, and became one of the central themes in *autos sacramentales*. Just as Paul had taught the Philippians to work out their salvation, the protagonists of *autos* often have a similar task that requires self-control and the proper employment of their free will (see Phil. 2:12).³¹ The three faculties of the soul (known as *facultades* or *potencias* in Spanish) that frequently factor into the decision process of protagonists are known as Understanding, Memory, and Will.³² Although influenced by all three, the protagonists must control their free will in order to worthily partake of the Eucharist and subsequently enter into the kingdom of God. In other words, they must align their will

³⁰ Martin Luther offered lavish praise as well as harsh censure of Erasmus in *De servo arbitrio*. At times he accused him of blasphemy and impiety, asking that the Lord would have mercy on him, while at other times he acknowledges his indebtedness to Erasmus in many things (*Bondage* 85, 319). Luther further thanked Erasmus for not wearying him with “extraneous issues about Papacy, purgatory, indulgences and such like,” but on the point of free will he offered no such gratitude (*Bondage* 319). On this matter he declared, “For if we believe it to be true that God foreknows and foreordains all things; that He cannot be deceived or obstructed in His foreknowledge and predestination; and that nothing happens but at His will (which reason itself is compelled to grant); then, on reason’s own testimony, there can be no ‘free-will’ in man, or angel, or in any creature” (*Bondage* 317).

Erasmus argued that God’s foreknowledge of events did not cause them to take place; it simply meant that He knew they would happen (*Discourse* 49). Concerning free will and works, Erasmus argued, “If man could effect nothing, why do they admonish us to work? If man can effect something, why say that God alone works all things in all? By utilizing and distorting one set of passages, man appears impotent. By emphasizing in partiality the other set, man will be doing everything. Now, if man could do nothing, there would be no room for merit and guilt; consequently also none for punishment and reward” (*Discourse* 59).

³¹ In the second book of *Don Quijote*, the duchess’s words to Sancho reflect the perception that the Catholic Church had concerning works: “y advierta Sancho que las obras de caridad que se hacen tibia y flojamente no tienen mérito ni valen nada” (869).

³² *Entendimiento, Memoria, and Voluntad*.

with that of Christ in order to overcome temptations and gain his favor. The frequently recurring reference to the three faculties of the soul, particularly the faculty of will, indicates that the playwrights and the public had become very familiar with this tripartite division of the forces directing the soul as taught by Saint Augustine (354-430) in his *De Trinitate*.³³

The *auto sacramental*: A window into the past

In a time of great political and theological upheavals throughout Europe, the Spanish *auto sacramental* proved itself as perhaps the most popular tool to reinforce Catholic doctrine. In spite of the high illiteracy in comparison to the norms of today, the intertextual knowledge that audience members of all classes had of the themes and allegories found in the plays provided them with the key to decode many of the seemingly difficult visual and aural manifestations presented during the course of the performance. A study of the existing archive that preserves the *auto sacramental* and many of its intertextual referents for modern readers helps shed some light on how Golden Age audiences viewed and understood both the archive and the repertoire of the genre. It also calls into question the assertions that the Counter-Reformation played an insignificant role in the *autos* of the seventeenth century or that the playwrights

³³ Augustine also wrote *De libero arbitrio*, but like their readings of biblical passages, Catholics and Reformers disagreed on how to interpret the text. Saint Bonaventure (1221-74), like Augustine, also addressed the three faculties of the soul in his *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, particularly focusing on the role of the will. Numerous others expounded on the three faculties of the soul in religious treatises and in literature, making a large intertextual corpus on which Golden Age audiences could rely for their understanding of the subject.

intentionally hid the meaning of *autos* from commoners, who constituted a large percentage of the plays' viewers. In short, the vast archive available on the subject can illuminate how Golden Age audiences lived and perceived according to their present rather than our past.

Pedro Calderón de la Barca, widely considered the preeminent author of *autos*, did as much as any author to reveal through visual and dialogic methods the allegorical significance of his plays and their counter-reformatory themes. For example, in *A Dios por razón de estado*, Ingenio goes from one religion to the next in an effort to find the one *Ignoto Deo*. For the audience's benefit, Pensamiento uses the Spanish translation, *Dios ignorado*, to clarify Ingenio's reference to the Unknown God referred to in Acts 17:23. The play clearly lays out a historical and allegorical framework of Ingenio's search for the truth as he approaches Gentilidad, Ateísmo, África, and Sinagoga. Accompanied by Pensamiento, and evidently from a Catholic perspective, Ingenio makes use of reason and revelation to discredit the beliefs and practices of the different allegorized characters he questions.³⁴ As he discredits one allegorical figure after another, his reasoning leads him closer and closer to the tenets of the Catholic Church. In an effort to teach or reinforce the audience's knowledge of the subject, the *auto* explicitly explains and enumerates the natural and written laws, followed by the law of Grace. In honor of the seven sacraments, allegorized characters representing each of the seven sacraments surround a fountain that has as its crowning element the Host and a chalice. The central

³⁴ Robert Fiore notes, "In this *auto sacramental* Calderón dramatizes an ethical problem related to natural law—man's knowledge of God as the first cause by use of natural reason complemented by divine revelation obliges him to acknowledge and worship God" (79).

position of the Eucharist portrays it as the central sacrament of Catholic theology. In the final minutes of the performance, *Ley de Gracia* and the sacraments reinforce the visual scenario by stating their origins and *raison d'être* and by explicitly commenting on the Eucharist's preeminent status. In this manner, Calderón makes full use of the dialogue to celebrate Catholic doctrine and to complement the visual tableau, thereby providing audience members with all the information necessary to make use of their intertextual knowledge and interpret the meaning of the scene before them.

Calderón's ability to creatively address a wide array of doctrinal issues in meaning-laden *autos* like *A Dios por razón de estado* has justifiably attracted a relatively large number of readers to his *autos*. Unfortunately, the creative genius of authors like Calderón can cause scholars to get too caught up in what constitutes good or bad literature. In regards to the *auto* as a genre, this dichotomy usually deals with the perceived talents of the playwrights themselves rather than their individual works. The short-sighted nature of lumping playwrights or their works into categories of good or bad often fails to recognize the value of each work and the manner in which its spectators perceived and understood the plays, not to mention that the value of a given work or playwright often varies considerably from one reader or spectator to the next. This study analyzes several plays from a variety of authors with little concern for seeking out a canon of *autos sacramentales*. The three common themes (ships, highwaymen, and courtroom trials) reflect the playwrights' attempt to communicate a message to the public with which it can readily relate and understand. This is further evidenced in how the

authors recycled common ideas from biblical accounts, patristic teachings, current events, and even other *autos*.

The creative genius of the playwrights of the *auto* drew people of all ages and social strata to witness these meaning-laden, spectacle-rich dramas that were performed in city plazas throughout Spain. And why not? By the end of the sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century, some of the most renowned professional *comediantes* had taken up the quill to write *autos*. And while the *comedia* and *entremés* unquestionably stand as invaluable resources to help the modern reader or viewer to appreciate certain aspects of secular entertainment and of the society during the Spanish Golden Age, the *auto sacramental* serves as an equally priceless window into some of the religious and sociopolitical affairs of Spain at the peak of the Counter-Reformation.

CHAPTER 2: THE POLYSEMOUS SHIP

Owing to its cultural, socioeconomic, and political significance to the country, Spain's long seafaring history inevitably led a number of playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth century to turn to pre-existing myths and emblematic stories involving ships for the allegorical basis of their *autos sacramentales*. Central to that history is the year 1492, a pivotal time in the history of Spain and a watershed year for the rest of the world. When the Catholic Monarchs agreed to sponsor the exploratory venture of Christopher Columbus, they unknowingly ushered in a long period of Spanish naval dominance. The ensuing maritime success of Spain, and later its sixty-year union from 1580 to 1640 with another seafaring country, Portugal, lent itself to the literary genius of playwrights across the peninsula. Renowned authors like Miguel de Cervantes and Lope de Vega, having served in the Spanish Armada, had an intimate knowledge of the naval vessels of the time and referenced them repeatedly in several of their works.

Perhaps no Spanish author before or since Lope de Vega and Cervantes has managed to capture the popular imagination of a society quite like these two authors did: Lope with his poetry and theater and Cervantes primarily with his prose. Each possessed an uncanny ability to captivate their target audience with their words, but Lope, and later Calderón, also utilized the *auto sacramental* to bring those words to life, and not just in the imagination of a reader. On carts large enough to carry a number of actors, replicas of ships graced city plazas for a number of *autos sacramentales* performed in front of nobility and the common man, using visual and verbal symbolism to show people of all classes the importance of wisely exercising agency during their mortal sojourn on earth.

In a statement that mirrors David McCullough's assertion that history deals with the present time of a past society, Francisco Ruiz Ramón attributes part of Lope's success as a playwright to the themes of his plays, saying, "[E]staban pensados y sentidos desde el hoy de todos los españoles y para ese hoy" (149). The same can be said of Calderón's *autos*. The Spanish populace could readily identify with the themes—whether rooted in mythology, patristic literature, or some other source—in the *autos sacramentales* of these two authors because of the playwrights' ability to write for the "today" of their audience. In a nation where thousands of soldiers, merchants, and fishermen had an intimate knowledge of seafaring vessels and maritime life, what better way to capture the attention of spectators than by turning their life's profession into an allegory?

Long before these two Golden Age authors began referring to ships in their books and plays, however, the ship or boat had acquired a variety of allegorical connotations. In Greek mythology, Charon ferried the dead across the Acheron River to Hades in a boat. The boat, in this case, served as the means by which the dead arrived at their final destination. A pseudo-Clementine text of the first century uses a somewhat different allegorical representation of a ship by comparing it to the Church conducting its followers over the violent sea of life rather than a vessel to transport the dead (Clement 220-21). These two narratives and their derivatives have influenced symbolic representations used in a great number of images, religious treatises, and literary works.

Well before Lope and Calderón began writing *autos*, Gil Vicente wrote three *autos* in Spanish and Portuguese in which he moralized or allegorized "pagan" texts and ideas to make them better conform to the Christian standards of the region in which he

lived. In these *autos*, he borrows the idea of a post-mortal boat, like that of Charon, ferrying the deceased to their final destination. In the *Autos das Barcas*, however, the deceased are judged before boarding a boat rather than after their passage over the sea,³⁵ and Vicente juxtaposes two antipodal ferries that will transport mankind to Heaven and glory (*Glória*) or to Hell (*Inferno*) instead of using just the one depicted in Greek mythology.

Gil Vicente's three boat-themed *autos* are commonly known by the names found on the surviving manuscripts: *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, *Auto da Barca do Purgatório*,³⁶ and *Auto da Barca da Glória*. These three plays, while not *autos sacramentales*, may have very well influenced a number of sacramental productions that also used the ship or boat as a sign vehicle.³⁷ Unlike many of the early *autos*, however, Vicente's trilogy of plays was intended performed for Portuguese royalty, and likely enjoyed better funding than the early sacramental plays written for the masses. Francisco Ruiz Ramón, recognizing the plays' intermediary role between earlier, yet still evolving, mystery, morality, and miracle plays and the *auto sacramental* that began to evolve during this

³⁵ The three *autos* use the words *rio* and *mar* interchangeably as evidenced in *Purgatório*.

Pois nam se pode escusar
a passada deste rio
nem a morte s'estorvar
que é outro braço de mar. (66-69)

It appears that Gil Vicente may actually mean that the river is a tributary to a lake, which would account for the use of both terms. Either way, the body of water, though deep, cannot be very large based on the small size of the boats.

³⁶ A number of scholars have correctly indicated that the *Auto da Barca do Purgatório* is inappropriately named since no such boat exists in any of the three plays. Each play has a boat that leads to Hell and another that goes to Heaven. Purgatory refers to the beach along which the two boats have docked. Andrés-José Pociña López, a translator of the works, attributes the problems in the nomenclature of this *auto* to one of several errors made by Luís and Paula Vicente while editing their father's works (19-20).

³⁷ Vicente wrote the three plays just before the appearance of what is widely recognized as the first *auto sacramental*, Hernán López de Yanguas's *Farsa Sacramental en coplas*, written in 1520.

time period, writes, “[L]a *Trilogía de las Barcas* es un excelente retablo dramático en donde Medievo y Renacimiento se funden felizmente” (86). With its two symbolic boats, much like the later ships wheeled about on carts for the *autos* of playwrights like Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, and José de Valdivielso, even the staging of these three plays foreshadows the grand spectacles of the Corpus Christi *autos sacramentales*.

Each of the *Autos das Barcas* has a simple setting with two boats moored along the shores of a lake. The text does not suggest that the boats are elaborately filled with symbolic props and visual aids contained in later Corpus Christi performances. Instead, the vast majority of the didactic message appears to be conveyed by the dialogue of the actors. In all three plays, the deceased first approach the ship destined for Hell. In *Barca do Inferno*, ten individuals approach Diabo (the Devil), but upon learning the destination of his voyage, they inquire at Anjo’s (Angel’s) boat to see if they may travel with him. Only Parvo (Idiot) may enter since he never sinned out of malice. The rest, who feel the prayers of the living, the frequent visits to Mass, their confessions, the religious habit that they wear, and other religious rites should save them, are surprised to learn that their actions in life play as much a role as their religious observances in regards to their salvation. Instead of enjoying the joyous voyage to Heaven, they must row on Diabo’s boat. Judeu (Jew), apparently the only one who actually desires to travel with Diabo, offers to pay for his own passage, yet he is the only one denied passage on either boat.³⁸

As Diabo commands the occupants of his boat to perform different tasks, four knights

³⁸ The Jews were expelled from Portugal in 1496-97. The representation of the Jew in this work portrays the continued animosity toward the Jewish faith in Portugal during this period even though the Portuguese Inquisition did not officially start for another nineteen years. Interestingly, in a possible reference to the scapegoats or emissary goats of the Old Testament, Judeu brings a goat when he tries to board Diabo’s boat, and like the scapegoats, he is cast out.

(*hidalgos*) arrive and gain permission to board Anjo's boat for having fought and died valiantly for Christ.

Like the *autos sacramentales* of the seventeenth century, *Barca do Inferno* deals with some of the controversial issues of the time period. Gil Vicente wrote the first play about the same time that Martin Luther posted his "Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences."³⁹ As previously stated, some of the concerns that Martin Luther and John Calvin would express in the coming years germinated in the teachings of such predecessors as John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, and Desiderius Erasmus, although the latter declined invitations by Reformers to join them.⁴⁰ Church and State leaders had worked for centuries to maintain a unified dogma, yet after significant schisms and "heretical teachings" by several clerics who challenged specific doctrines and traditions of the Church and of patristic literature, the pre-Tridentine voice of the Church was anything but unified and clear, as evidenced by Gil Vicente's plays when viewed together.

Barca do inferno complies well with a specific point of doctrine upheld by the yet-to-be-convened Council of Trent: "If anyone says that a justified person, of whatever degree of perfection, is not bound to keep the commandments of God and of the church but only to believe, as if the gospel were simply a bare and unqualified promise of eternal

³⁹ *Auto da barca do Inferno* was performed to the queen of Portugal, María de Aragón shortly before her death in 1517. Later that same year, Martin Luther posted his ninety-five theses.

⁴⁰ Erasmus's Latin and Greek publication of the New Testament had been influential in Luther's own studies and may account in part for the respect that some of the early reformers initially showed him. In the ensuing years, Catholics and Reformers alike inevitably sought the support of this influential humanist much like politicians seeking the endorsement of a prominent individual in an election year. In a letter to Laurinus in 1523, Erasmus writes, "I doubt that either side in the dispute can be suppressed without grave loss. . . . But both sides reproach me and seek to coerce me. Some claim that since I do not attack Luther I agree with him, while the Lutherans declare that I am a coward who has forsaken the gospel" (González 18). Erasmus's desire to remain neutral angered both sides and attracted accusations that made his position increasingly precarious.

life without the condition of observing the commandments: let him be anathema” (Tanner 680). The play strongly emphasizes the necessity of good works in addition to faith. It also deals with sensitive topics such as the declaration that a priest gives when he offers forgiveness to a condemned man about to be executed, telling him that he will go to Paradise. Enforcado (Hanged), mocking the use of the incomprehensible Latin that priests use in religious rites for those about to die, says, “[E] com isto mil latins / como s’eu latim soubera” (771-72). Despite the lack of respect he shows for the clergy, however, he feels betrayed when he learns the promise of Paradise he received before death was a lie. The play also makes an argument against the belief that the outward appearance of piety or even the prayers of the living will benefit people after death.⁴¹ While it was commonly believed in Catholicism that prayers aided those in Purgatory, Diabo merely laughs at Fidalgo when the man offers that as an excuse for not having to enter the boat. Diabo’s response sets the record straight: “[S]egundo lá escolhestes / assí cá vos contentai” (56-57). In other words, he will have to make do with the consequences that come from his choices in life. Unlike the unworthy monk in Gonzalo de Berceo’s “El sacristán impúdico,” who in spite of his frequent fornications received the intervention of the Virgin Mary because of his devotion to her, the sinners who arrive at Diabo’s boat do not receive a second chance after their death.⁴²

⁴¹ In the spirit of Erasmian thought, those who seek to display an outward appearance of piety and gain public favor are motivated by the flesh and not the spirit (Erasmus 82). Several moral lessons in *Auto da barca do Inferno* closely resemble Erasmus’s rules-to-live-by as published in *The Enchiridion*, leaving one to wonder to what degree Gil Vicente may have been influenced by the book or the ideas of Erasmus that had begun to percolate through the society of the upper-class and the clergy of Europe.

⁴² When the Virgin comes to the aid of the sacristan in “El sacristán impúdico,” one of the devils declares, Escrito está que el hombre, allí donde es hallado, sea en bien, o sea en mal, es por ello juzgado;

In *Auto do Purgatório*, the spectator learns that those who entered Diabo's boat in the initial play of the trilogy became shipwrecked and drowned, a representation of the hopeless state of the damned. This second play, in contrast, portrays a new hope for those who die. From the dialogue, the reader or spectator learns that the play takes place on the night of Christ's birth, which event, according to Anjo, crushed the oars of Diabo's ship. This allegorical representation stands as a reminder to the public of the central role that Christ plays in their salvation. Nevertheless, the setback does not discourage Diabo, who more encouraged than before by the depraved state of mankind, ponders the possibility of obtaining a larger vessel to carry all the sinners who will soon appear.

The ensuing scenes depart considerably from the first play. Only Tافل (Gambler) has to board Diabo's boat. Menino receives permission to enter Anjo's boat, while the rest must purge their sins in Purgatory. Here, Gil Vicente draws once again on Greek mythology to draw a parallel to the doctrine of the Catholic Church.⁴³ Anjo refuses passage to a number of deceased persons and tells them that they will suffer dearly in Purgatory in a state of penance before the Lord permits them to one day enter Anjo's boat. Purgatory, however, is not a boat, as the erroneous title often given to this *auto* would suggest. Instead, Purgatory is the shore of the lake. In some Greek and Roman literature, the unburied and those buried without a coin in their mouth to pay for passage

y si un decreto tal por ti fuera falseado
el Evangelio todo quedará descuajado. (Berceo 91-94)

The special handling that the case of Berceo's sacristan receives because of the Virgin's intervention varies significantly from the treatment Sapateiro, who faithfully attended Mass, received in *Barca do inferno*.

⁴³ Although a number of critics believe Gil Vicente had a very limited knowledge of literature outside of what he wrote himself, his modification of Greek mythology in these scenes demonstrate his genius in seamlessly weaving the literature he did know into his own works.

had to wander the shores of the Acheron or Styx River for a period of time before finally receiving passage. In Virgil's *Aeneid*:

The ghosts rejected are the unhappy crew
Deprived of sepulchers and funeral due.
The boatman, Charon; those, the buried host
He ferries over to the further coast.
Nor dares his transport vessel cross the waves
With such whose bones are not composed in graves.
A hundred years they wander on the shore;
At length, their penance done, are wafted o'er. (6.445-52)

Those sentenced to purge themselves in the Vicentine text serve penance in the same allegorical location: on the shores of the lake. One important difference between Vicente's plays and ancient mythology's reference to Charon and the underworld, however, lies in the fare required to enter the individual boats. Ancient literature often portrays Charon accepting a low-denomination coin often called Charon's obol.⁴⁴ Anjo and Diabo in Vicente's trilogy of plays do not accept coins in exchange for passage even though one of the deceased asks to return for his fortune so he can pay the fare for Anjo's boat. Even Diabo denies Judeu admittance to his boat when offered money. In place of a coin, good and evil works make up the fare required to gain passage on the two boats. As Anjo tells Pastor, "Folgarei de te levar, / se te ajuda o bem obrar, / que as obras remos são" (520-22). Without good works to propel them toward heaven, the deceased whose sins are considered relatively minor must purge themselves in Purgatory. Those whose sins are of a more grievous nature must man the oars themselves and row to Hell like

⁴⁴ In "Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice," Susan T. Stevens explores the different references to Charon's obol and the variations and similarities among the different texts. She also explores similar practices in early Christianity using the term *viaticum* (i.e. the fare required by Charon) as the point in common between some early Christian practices and mythology: "[V]iaticum is the eucharist, the *communio Dei*, which was placed in the mouth of the faithful at the moment of death to provide for the soul in its passage to eternal life" (220-21).

galley slaves. At the point of death, all excuses are rendered void and the manner in which each of the individuals chose to exercise their agency during their mortal existence determines their final destination. In these first two plays, Vicente clearly portrays the Catholic doctrine, later clarified and championed by the Council of Trent, that extols the necessity of good works in addition to faith as part of the fare required to enter Paradise.

The third, and final, *auto* of Vicente's trilogy differs from the previous two in a variety of ways, the most obvious difference being the language in which Gil Vicente wrote the play, in Spanish rather than the Portuguese used for the first two. A new character, Muerte, joins Diablo and Ángel (respectively known as Diabo and Anjo in the former plays) as one of the primary characters in the play. In *Auto da barca da Glória*, Muerte specifically targets the wealthy, the upper-class, and those holding high positions in church and state. Conde, Duque, Rey, Emperador, Obispo, Arzobispo, Cardenal, and Papa are all condemned for their actions and denied passage on Ángel's boat. As Ángel pushes off from shore, the condemned offer prayers to Christ pleading for his intervention. In an apparent about-face from the previous two plays that required good works for salvation, Christ appears and takes the condemned with him. This form of *Deus ex machina* appears to contradict Catholic doctrine that the Church would so ardently defend during the upcoming Counter-Reformation, since Christ saves the men in spite of their lack of good works.⁴⁵ The conclusion of the play causes Andrés José Pociña López

⁴⁵ It should be remembered, however, that the doctrines of the Catholic Church were not set in stone; although, various Church councils and colloquy's over the years sought to establish a well-defined consensus concerning doctrine. The sermons of one clergyman could very well appear to contradict the teachings of another on any number of points. Reformers, in particular, argued that the evolving traditions of the Catholic Church often lacked biblical support and should not be allowed to change the doctrine of Christ—or at least what they perceived the doctrine of Christ to be. Differing viewpoints among the clergy

to declare, “Nos parece un planteamiento típico de una espiritualidad protestante . . .” (28). He also notes the noble public for which Vicente’s *autos* were performed, which could explain the need of the *Deus ex machina* in order to satisfy his audience (26-27). In this way Vicente can criticize moral decadence at all levels while still appeasing his wealthy patrons.

Gil Vicente wrote the *Autos das barcas* on the cusp of the Reformation. Although most of the didactic content of the plays already conformed with post-Tridentine standards, some points approximated popular Erasmian and even the budding Reformation line-of-thought. Two years after the performance of *Auto da barca da Glória*, Martin Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms. Carlos V and other officials at the proceedings viewed Luther’s refusal to recant several of his teachings as an intransigent attitude that could harm the Church if left unaddressed. The next twenty years saw entire countries pull away from Catholicism, thereby necessitating a more concerted effort on the part of the Church to properly educate and indoctrinate its followers in matters of religious importance. The Council of Trent’s promotion of public festivities in honor of the Eucharist gave added impetus to the nascent genre of the *auto sacramental*, which rapidly evolved from its origins in miracle, mystery, and morality plays. The *auto sacramental* still closely resembled its predecessors in a number of aspects, but its added focus on presenting an impressive pedagogic visual spectacle in addition to the message contained in the dialogue helped distinguish it from the earlier morality plays.

should come as no surprise, but the exceptional treatment offered to the sinners in *Auto da barca da Glória* might bewilder some readers or spectators of the other two plays in Vicente’s trilogy.

After the performance of Gil Vicente's *Autos das barcas*, a number of years would pass before an *auto sacramental* prominently portrayed two ships representing the antipodal entities of good and evil. In 1604 Lope de Vega published a *novela de aventuras* by the name of *El peregrino en su patria*. The work contained four religious metaplays, including *El viaje del Alma*. George Ticknor, one of the earliest critics to write about *El viaje del Alma* in the nineteenth century, associates it with Gil Vicente's *Autos das barcas*: "[T]he three *Autos* on the three ships that carried souls to Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, evidently gave Lope de Vega the idea and some of the materials for [*El viaje del Alma*]" (291).⁴⁶ He also notes that the "general idea of the two fictions is almost the same" (291). Theophilo Braga writes,

Lope de Vega, o maior escriptor dramatico dos tempos modernos, conheceu o theatro de Gil Vicente, e d'elle se aproveitou nas suas primeiras composições. . . . Lope de Vega, como verdadeiramente fecundo e creador, aproveitou-se simplesmente da ideia, dando-lhe uma forma original e mais perfeita; os diferentes personagens de Gil Vicente, foram por Lope de Vega personificados na Alma, e o Diabo, que nas *Barcas* trabalha só, aqui é ajudado pela Memoria, pelo Apetite, pelos Vicios, etc. (195)

Although Ticknor duly notes some of the similarities in the plays, he overstates the degree to which the plays resemble each other. Braga's suggestion that Lope borrowed some of Vicente's ideas and created a relatively original play from them offers a more accurate reflection of the connection between the works. Like Gil Vicente, Lope uses two antipodal ships to represent good versus evil, but he draws from different sources, thereby making the play notably distinct despite the occasional similarity with Vicente's trilogy.

⁴⁶ See footnote 36.

In most aspects the *Autos das barcas*, as pre-Tridentate morality plays, stayed fairly close to the doctrinal precepts of the Catholic Church, and since they were written for the royal court, the visual and performative aspects of the play probably exceeded those of the *autos sacramentales* written and performed over the next sixty or seventy years. During that time several *autos* or *farsas* continued to briefly refer to ships as part of the allegorical message. In the anonymous *La esposa de los cantares*, Alma exclaims, “[P]asame al puerto en la nave / de la Yglesia militante” (81-82). Yglesia, in a *villancico* near the beginning of *Farsa del sacramento del Pueblo Gentil*, sings, “Quien navegare en mi nave / arribara con bonança / a la bienaventurança” (16-18).⁴⁷ The ships referred to in these performances and many of the later performances are not the afterlife boats found in Gil Vicente’s plays. Instead, they represent the Catholic Church and use some of the same sources that Lope and Calderón would later employ when they portray the ship of the Church and the ship of the Devil in order to juxtapose the idea of Good versus Evil.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century audiences readily recognized the symbolic association between the representation of a ship and the Church because of its common usage. The ship as a symbol has a long history in Catholic tradition.⁴⁸ Authors had allegorically referred to ships and boats as the Church for over a thousand years. One of

⁴⁷ Both these plays come from the *Código de autos viejos*, which Léo Rouanet renamed and published in 1901 under the title *Colección de autos, farsas, y coloquios del siglo XVI*. Although the exact date in which the nearly one hundred plays were written is unknown, most critics place the date of authorship of these plays during the second half of the sixteenth century.

⁴⁸ While some semioticians, including Saussure, avoid using the word *symbol* in relation to their studies, I believe its use is appropriate in this context. Susanne Langer says, “Symbols are not proxy for their objects but are *vehicles for the conception of objects* ... In talking *about* things we have conceptions of them, not the things themselves; and *it is the conceptions, not the things, that symbols directly mean*” (Chandler 20).

the oldest references comparing a ship to the Church comes from the Clementine

Homilies in which Clement writes to James:

For the whole business of the Church is like unto a great ship, bearing through a violent storm men who are of many places, and who desire to inhabit the city of the good kingdom. Let, therefore, God be your shipmaster; and let the pilot be likened to Christ, the mate to the bishop, and the sailors to the deacons, the midshipmen to the catechists, the multitude of the brethren to the passengers, the world to the sea; the foul winds to temptations, persecutions, and dangers; and all manner of afflictions to the waves. . . . In order, therefore, that, sailing with a fair wind, you may safely reach the haven of the hoped-for city, pray so as to be heard. But prayers become audible by good deeds. (220-21)

This allegorical representation expands beyond the ship itself to include its crew, its passengers, and the forces of nature against which it must sail. Each element associated with the ship becomes a sign, a mnemonic device designed to instruct and help the reader of Clement's letter to better understand the purpose and role of Church hierarchy, the challenges that it faces, and the ultimate goal that it seeks.

Authors, artists, and theologians continued to use the allegorical ship to serve as a mental reminder of the Church's role in society. Sometime during the sixth century Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus comments on a passage in Psalms 106:23 that says, "They that go down to the sea in ships" In relation to the verse he says the ships are the churches that navigate the tempests of the world on the wood of the cross (Arellano 158). In addition to his Vergilian allusions in *Autos das barcas*, Gil Vicente also makes a similar allusion to that of Cassiodorus, omitting any direct reference to the Church, however. In Vicente's *Auto da barca da Glória*, Obispo refers to the cross of Christ as a ship:

Yo confio

en Jesú redentor mío
 que por mí se desnudó
 puestas sus llagas al frío,
 se clavó naquel navío
 de la cruz donde espiró. (521-26)

In this sense, the cross, representative of the atonement of Christ while on the cross, becomes the allegorical ship or vessel designed to redeem mankind.

An image in the *Belleville Breviary*, a fourteenth-century illustrated manuscript, provides an early visual representation of a boat representing the Church. The waves of the sea push the boat (the Church) to and fro as Peter implores God for divine intervention. In answer to his supplications, the Lord blesses him from above (Avril 62-63). The tradition of the cross/ship serving as the metaphorical



Figure 1. *St. Peter, in the boat representing the church, implores the Lord's intervention (Avril 63).*

equivalent of the Church becomes even more prevalent in the architecture of the cathedrals themselves. Numerous gothic cathedrals take the shape of the cross, while the large and spacious area reserved for worshippers becomes known as the nave (from the Latin *navis*, meaning ship). On a semantic and visual level, the Church becomes the designated ship through which the atonement performed on the cross gains efficacy in redeeming mankind.

These figurative seafaring vessels became the real ships of the Spanish conquistadors. The indoctrination of the “heathen” natives served as one of the primary

official justifications for the conquest of the New World. Ships carrying the word of God left Spanish and Portuguese ports to sail around the world where the conquistadors and those traveling with them would proselytize those who they considered to be languishing in ignorance and unbelief. The Church, or in this case, the ship carrying the word of God, served as the primary weapon in the Spanish arsenal to overthrow the chains of unbelief. Only through the Church could the pagan nations obtain redemption.

Though these examples can hardly be considered comprehensive in scope, they evidence the longstanding association between the allegorical ship and the Church. By the time Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca began writing, the ship as a sign vehicle had become well entrenched in the theological fabric of Spanish society. Because of the vital role that ships played in Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a modest percentage of the population could claim more than just a passing knowledge of maritime terminology concerning the parts of the ship and their functions as well as the roles of the crewmembers.⁴⁹ This intimate knowledge of seafaring vessels allowed many members of Golden Age audiences to better read or decode the semiotic signs of these performances.

Late in the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century, Lope did what he does best: He took a pre-existing, popular idea—that of the ecclesiastical ship—and expanded on it to create a spectacle fit for the masses. Previous *autos sacramentales* had referred to the Church as a ship, but such references were limited to one or two lines of the script.

⁴⁹ See Appendix A for an English/Spanish vocabulary of some of the maritime terms used in these *autos*. This section also includes a side view of a labeled reproduction of a ship. I have based the design on numerous engravings and paintings from the time period, including those portraying the sea battle of Lepanto.

For a work that came about so early in Lope's career writing *autos sacramentales*, *El viaje del Alma* holds up very well in terms of imagery, iconology, and a strong plot when compared to later plays that used a similar allegory with many of the same semiotic signs. It appears to have even influenced Calderón's *La nave del Mercader* either directly or indirectly. Owing to the relative obscurity of non-Calderonian *autos*, few critics realize how much Calderón de la Barca borrowed from his predecessors. For example, in Antonio Regalado's admirable *Calderón: Los orígenes de la modernidad en la España del Siglo de Oro*, he notes in regards to the ships in *La nave del Mercader*, "[A]unque Calderón parte de ciertos motivos iconográficos desarrolla una original iconología dramática" (48). Lope de Vega, however, had already developed most of artistic symbolism that Calderón later used in *La nave del Mercader*. In this sense, Calderón de la Barca, like Lope de Vega and other renowned playwrights of the seventeenth century, used pre-existing ideas as a springboard to his works.

In *La nave del Mercader* and *El viaje del Alma*, free agency allows Hombre and Alma to choose their fate. Hombre, deciding the path he will take in life, declares, "Ya digo que la mejor / senda es esta" (Calderón, *Nave* 484-85). Mercader (Christ) responds, "También digo / yo que no lo es, sino esotra" (485-86). In relation to this verse, Ignacio Arellano points out a common sign used in medieval and early-modern Europe that represents the decision that mankind must make: "Tiene aquí Calderón en mente el motivo del bivium simbolizado igualmente en la Y pitagórica" (Calderón, *Nave* 131). Whether implicitly or explicitly, a large percentage of *autos* presents the concept of the Pythagorean Y mentioned by Arellano.

The Pythagorean Y represents the decisions one must make in life, particularly the choice between virtue and vice. Traditionally, artists and authors represent the path of virtue as the right-hand branch of the letter Y. They reserve the broader, easier path on the left as a representation of vice. A pseudo-Virgilian text in *Anthologia Latina* expresses the idea of the common perception of the Pythagorean Y:

Littera Pythagorae, discrimine secta bicorni,
 Humanae vitae speciem praeferre videtur.
 Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua callem
 Difficilemque aditum primo spectantibus offert,
 Sed requiem praebet fessis in vertice summo.
 Molle ostentat iter via laeva, sed ultima meta
 Praecipitat captos volvitque per aspera saxa.

Quisquis enim duros casus virtutis amore
 Vicerit, ille sibi laudemque decusque parabit.
 At qui desidiam luxumque sequeter inertem,
 Dum fugit oppositos incauta mente labores,
 Turpis inopsque simul miserabile transiget aevum. (Maximini)

The Pythagoric Letter two ways spread,
 Shows the two paths in which Man's life is led.
 The right-hand track to Sacred Virtue tends,
 Though steep and rough at first, in rest it ends;
 The other broad and smooth, but from its Crown,
 On rocks the Travelers is tumbled down.
 He who to Virtue by harsh toils aspires,
 Subduing pains, worth and renown acquires:
 But who seeks slothful luxury, and flies,
 The labour of great acts, dishonoured dies.⁵⁰ (*language modernized*,
 Stanley 565)

Sixteenth-century engravings by Jean Jacques Boissard and Geofroy Tory show how closely the poetic descriptions of the Pythagorean Y and the artistic renderings resemble

⁵⁰ This 1687 translation by Thomas Stanley, though somewhat loose, appropriately conveys the meaning of this poem. For a modern, more thorough translation see George Hugo Tucker's *Homo Viator: Itineraries of Exile, Displacement and Writing in Renaissance Europe*, page 92. Pages 89-99 provide a good overview of the history of the Pythagorean Y, including a brief history of its use in medieval Europe.

each other.⁵¹ The symbol readily lent itself to Catholic teachings and closely mirrors Matthew 7:13-14: “Enter in at the narrow gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leads to destruction, and many there are who go in thereat. How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leads to life: and few there are that find it!” The images, like these texts, show the narrow trail or gate of virtue and the wide path of vice.

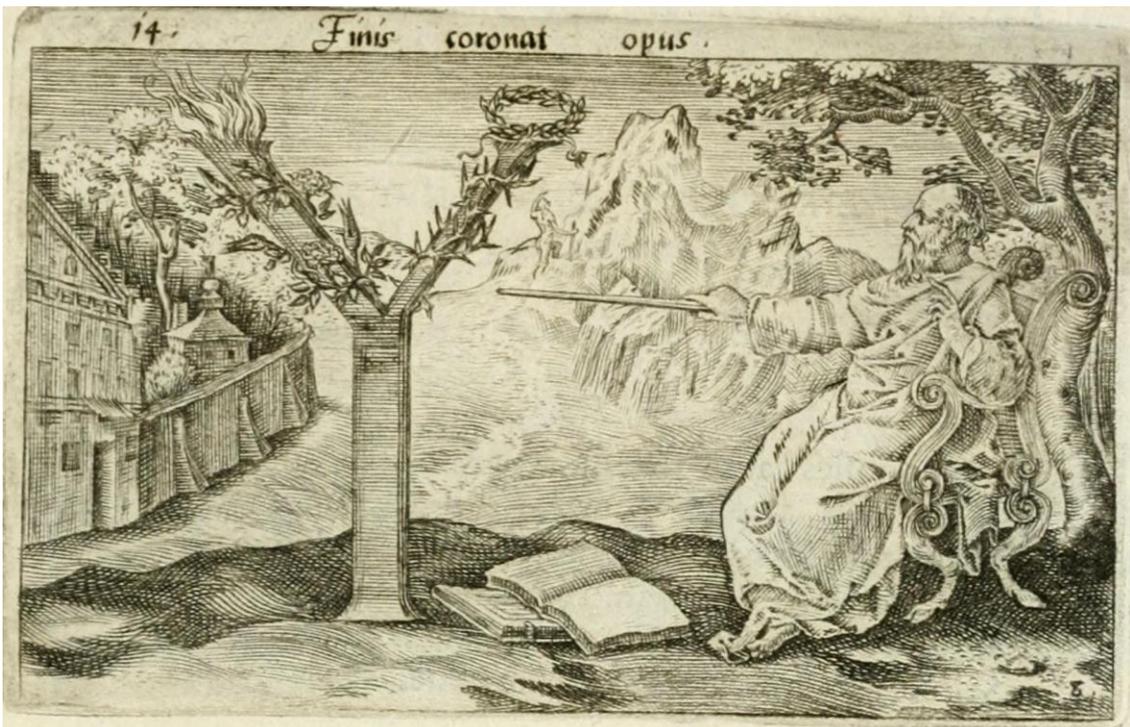


Figure 2. *The Pythagorean Y*, represented here from Jean Jacques Boissard’s *Emblematum Liber*, portrays the two choices available to mankind as well as the consequence of that decision. Alison Adams summarizes this depiction stating, “The wider arm of the Y is decked with flowers but culminates in flames, whereas the narrower arm is surrounded by thorns but crowned with a laurel wreath. In the background, the

⁵¹ The Pythagorean Y was used as a model for a variety of lessons. Geofroy Tory, one of the pioneers of modern typeset who once had as his assistant Claude Garamond, used the pseudo-Virgilian text cited here as a lesson that children should learn to properly form their letters:

Look well to it, therefore, young children, & leave not behind you the knowledge of well-made letters—the true buckler against adversity and all ills, and the means to attain to the supreme felicity of this mortal life, which is perfect **virtue**; which at the last bestows upon us the prize of honour, the wreath & the palm, leaving the slothful & the vicious behind, to perish wickedly in their ordure & their execrable life. (emphasis added, Tory, *Champ* 152)

man climbing the mountain represents the one choosing the hard but better path" (*11). *Finis coronat opus, the inscription above the image means "The end crowns the work."*

Unlike Calderón, Lope chose to make direct reference to the well-known Pythagorean Y as part of the allegorical lesson in *El viaje del Alma*. Memoria, one of the three faculties of the soul, declares to Alma,⁵²

Advierte de Dios tocada
 En que son los mares dos
 De nuestra humana jornada.
 Y así hay dos puertos á entrar,
 Y dos playas al salir,
 En una te has de embarcar,
 Que del nacer al morir
 Todo es llanto y todo es mar.
 Hubo un sabio antiguamente
 Que una letra fabricó,
 Cifra del vivir presente,
 Y símbolo, en que mostró
 De los dos fin diferente.
 Era Y griega, que te advierte
 Dos sendas hasta la muerte,

 En estrecho fin paraba,
 Alma, aquel ancho camino,
 Y el que estrecho comenzaba,
 Ancho, glorioso y divino
 El dichoso fin mostraba.

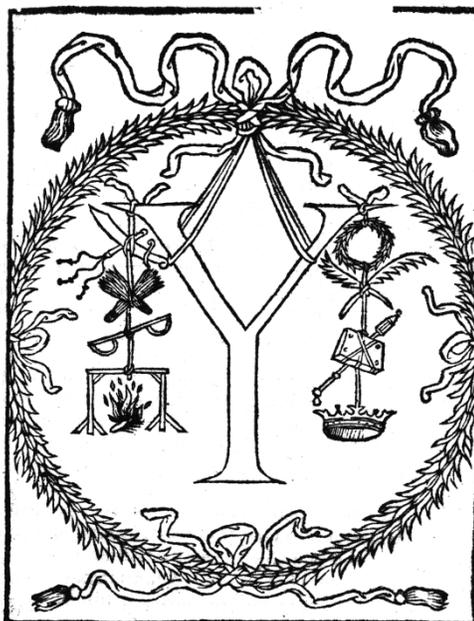


Figure 3. *Geofroy Tory, an engraver of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, depicts the path of vice with a sword, a scourge, flames and other instruments of punishment. The path of virtue ends with a wreath, palm fronds, a scepter, and a crown (Tory, Pythagorean).*

⁵² The faculties of the soul, known as *facultades* or *potencias del alma* in Spanish, are memory, understanding, and will (*memoria, entendimiento, and voluntad*). Because of the allegorical nature of *autos*, authors often used one or more of the faculties of the soul as characters in their plays. Ignacio Arellano recognizes the three faculties of the soul and the five senses as “elementos fundamentales en el universo del auto sacramental” (Calderón, *Nave* 92). Lope uses all three of the faculties in *El viaje del Alma*. *Voluntad*, driven by carnal pleasures, tends to lead Alma astray, while *Entendimiento* and *Memoria* reason with Alma to help her remember her obligation to God and to encourage her to act prudently. In Calderón’s *La nave del Mercader*, Demonio expresses his role in relation to the faculties and senses of Hombre:

[H]aré también que el sol vea,
 que siendo del Mundo amigo,
 si él va tras ti, yo tras él;
 porque tras mí al tiempo mismo
 venga también la que es
 alma en que los dos vivimos
 como principal estrago
 de potencias y sentidos. (106-13)

.....
 Acuérdate lo que debes
 Á Dios, para que no lleves
 Su santo camino errado. (5-6)

Memoria, with this moral exposition on free will, attempts to persuade Alma of the wisdom in taking the narrow path, or in other words, leaving from the port that will lead to salvation. Voluntad, however, uses the lesson on free will to tell Alma that she may choose whatever she wants: “Id, Alma, como queráis, / Pues que Dios os dió albedrío” (6). As a popular symbol, the Pythagorean Y serves as a valuable tool to succinctly provide a background for the rest of the performance. It also emphasizes the accountability of individuals for the choices they make. The two seas on which they can choose to sail lead to specific ports, one offering peace and rest, while the other metes out misery and pain.

In the dualistic universe of medieval and early modern Spain, Lope’s *El viaje del Alma* and Calderón’s *La nave del Mercader* are characterized by binary opposition: the surface versus the “hidden” messages inherent in allegorical plays and good versus evil as portrayed in the Pythagorean Y. Since these two plays portray life as a sea, rather than a path, opposing ships represent the vehicles by which mankind may cross the waters of mortality. The similarities shared by each of the ships in *El viaje del Alma* and *La nave del Mercader* clearly show a shared cultural context that expands, yet limits their meanings. In this sense, audience members identify specific stage signs and mentally associate them with similar semiotic signs with which they are familiar. These additional semiotic signs influence how each individual interprets what he or she sees and hears.

In addition to the simple representation of opposing ships that their plays provide, both authors add numerous additional signs in the form of the ships' architecture, contents, passengers, and crew to enhance the *autos*' allegorical significance.

El viaje del Alma

Descubrióse en esta sazón la nave de la Penitencia, cuyo árbol y entena eran una Cruz, que por jarcias desde los clavos y rótulo tenía la Esponja, la Lanza, la Escalera y los Azotes, con muchas flámulas, estandartes y gallardetes bordados de Cálices de oro, que hacía una hermosa vista: por trinquete tenía la Columna, y San Bernardo abrazado á ella: la popa era el Sepulcro, al pie del cual estaba la Magdalena: San Pedro iba en la bitácora mirando al aguja, y el Pontífice que entonces regía la Romana Iglesia, estaba asido al timón. En lugar de fanal iba la custodia con un Cáliz de maravillosa labor é inestimable precio; junto al bauprés estaba de rodillas San Francisco, y de la Cruz que estaba en lugar de árbol bajaban cinco cuerdas de seda roja, que le daban en los pies, costado y manos, encima del extremo de la cual estaba la Corona de Espinas á manera de gavia. (14)

La nave del Mercader

El primer carro ha de ser una nave, rica y hermosa, adornada de sus jarcias y velas; el farol ha de ser un cáliz grande con su hostia y en su proa un serafín; sus flámulas y gallardetes blancos y encarnados, pintados todos de cálices y hostias. En su árbol mayor ha de tener una elevación en que pueda subir hasta el tope una persona, y ha de dar vuelta, y tener bajada para el tablado. (11-12)

The descriptions of both ships give added meaning to Jiří Veltruský declaration, “All that is on the stage is a sign” (84). Both playwrights seem to have considered every detail of the scenario to maximize the didactic significance of each sign vehicle.

The ship of Penitencia in *El viaje del Alma* contains numerous signs concerning the crucifixion, the Eucharist, saints, and the leadership of the Church after Christ's death and resurrection, yet all the signs fit in naturally with the physical design of the ship. In this manner, each sign vehicle plays an integral role in helping spectators comprehend the

larger, more encompassing sign of the ship or Church, particularly in the context of the Counter-Reformation. As previously noted, many of these concepts represented in these allegories had become lightning rods of discontent for Lutherans, Calvinists, and a host of other Protestant schisms during the Reformation. With this spectacle, Lope de Vega answers the call of the Council of Trent to honor the Eucharist with such splendor that truth might overcome what the Church considered “falsehood and heresy” (Tanner 695-96).

The cross of the ship takes the place of the main mast while banners and flags carry the insignia of the Eucharistic chalice to represent the flag under which the ship sails. Just as many ships today sail under the flag of their country of origin, the ship of *Penitencia* sails under a banner of similar purport: the flag of the Eucharist, which represents ongoing communion with Christ. Sailors use such flags to determine the direction and strength of the wind so they can better adjust the sails to propel the ship in the right direction. Referring back to the letter of Clement to Jerome, the Eucharistic flags or the communion with Deity that they represent suggest a manner for the sailors (Church leaders) to gauge the direction and strength of the “foul winds [of] temptations, persecutions, and dangers” in order to better set the course of the ship and to protect its occupants—penitent Catholics (221). Pope Gregory I writes, “[A] picture is for the simple men what writing is for those who can read, because those who cannot read see and learn from the picture the model which they should follow. Thus pictures are above all for the instruction of the people” (Tatarkiewics 104-05). In this manner, the visual

picture or image presented by the ship of Penitencia becomes a didactic text that reiterates a mnemonic allegory of theological significance.

The elevated stern of the ship provides enough space to serve the role of Christ's tomb with Mary Magdalene at its base. Saint Peter naturally serves the role of the ship's pilot as he charts the direction in which it (the Church) sails. This serves as a particularly appropriate sign since Christ left the direction of the church in the hands of Peter. The script of the play does not provide a physical description of Peter, but he likely held several large keys so the audience could better recognize his identity.⁵³ The contemporary pope of the *auto* captains the ship under the directions given by Peter. In other words, in his navigating role on the ship, the pope guides the Church based on the example of Peter, who Catholics recognize as the first pope. The juxtaposition of these two figures signals the continuous line of succession claimed by the Catholic Church dating back to Peter, a succession which Protestants rejected.⁵⁴ This visual representation suggests that each pope from the time of the original twelve apostles has exercised the authority to lead the Church, and in terms of the Counter-Reformation it implies that the Catholic Church

⁵³ Many *autos sacramentales*, particularly those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depicted saints and other religious articles as part of the stage setting. The dialogue of the play only refers to these meaning-laden portrayals once or twice, if at all. Consequently, the external, visible signs used to identify the actor or object become especially important. José María Díez Borque enumerates some of the significant external signs that correspond to individual actors: "Podrían incluirse dentro de este aparato [signos externos] todos los significantes producidos no por la actividad del actor sino por la actividad ejercida sobre el actor: maquillaje, peinado, traje, objetos caracterizados (no de la indumentaria), etc." (223). Agustín de la Granja, in an introduction to Mira de Amescua's *autos*, writes, "Otros santos se pasean por sus autos, cada cual con su <<virtud>> o símbolo más característico y en el contexto más adecuado" (9). This same description could be applied to the saints found in the works of other playwrights as the authors sought to provide the audience with the information necessary to interpret or decode the scenario before them.

⁵⁴ While seemingly a simple portrayal of Peter and the Pope, this juxtaposition lies at the heart of Catholic and Protestant claims. The authority of the Pope and the validity of the Catholic Church rely on the continuous line of succession. If Protestants were to accept Peter as the first Pope and the ensuing chain of popes, they would in essence be admitting they had left Christ's Church.

is the only institution authorized to perform the sacred rites instituted by Christ or established through tradition.

The monstrance provides another significant visual lesson as it replaces the *fanal* or lantern at the back of the ship. According to Covarrubias in the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* a *fanal* is “El linternón que lleva en la popa la nave o galera capitana, para que en la escuridad de la noche la puedan seguir las demás, guiadas por su luz.” By replacing the *fanal* with the monstrance, Lope de Vega emphasizes the central role of the Eucharist in guiding the faithful. The allegorical meaning indicates that the Catholic Church (the ship) both leads and serves as a beacon for those seeking safe passage over the sea of life. In order to partake of the Eucharist, one must enter the Church, where the Lord’s designated servants impart the sacramental host.

The public can easily recognize the founder of the Franciscan Order, Saint Francis of Assisi (San Francisco) by the stigmata traced to the distant cross of Christ’s crucifixion by cords of red silk.⁵⁵ His presence, along with that of Mary Magdalene and Saint Bernard, reaffirms the significant role of saints in Catholic theology. In order to represent this readily recognizable sign, yet still have it fit the physical parameters of a ship, the red silk replaces the standard ropes that make up the rigging that extends from the mast of the ship. As the first known Catholic to bear the stigmata, the thirteenth-century Assisi stood as a model of pious living who shared, to a small degree, in the sufferings of Christ. Mary Magdalene’s presence at the tomb readily identifies her to the public because of her well-known visit to the tomb of Christ shortly after his resurrection. Of the three saints,

⁵⁵ Francis of Assisi was the first and most prominent Catholic on record to bear the stigmata of Christ. Since then, several hundred instances have been recorded.

Bernard presents the biggest challenge for a modern audience or reader. Using his first name, the dialogue itself identifies him just twice, and the stage notes do not explicitly identify which Saint Bernard appears in the play; the physical sign of the column and the dialogue are the only aids provided to positively ascertain his identity. For the play's contemporary audience, this information was sufficient. Saint



Figure 4. A sixteenth-century engraving by Cornelius Cort depicts Saint Bernard with the different symbols of the Passion of Christ, including the column. (Tone and perspective modified for clarity.)

Bernard of Clairvaux, who Thomas Merton identifies as the greatest figure of the Church during the twelfth

century, is widely recognized as the last of the Fathers of Catholicism (9). Although early modern art often portrays him with the Virgin Mary, Catholics also associated him with the Passion of Christ because of the sympathy that he expressed in his writings for the suffering of Christ.⁵⁶ The simple portrayal of Bernard and the column provides a perfect

⁵⁶ Norman F. Cantor declares, "St. Bernard played the leading role in the development of the Virgin cult, which is one of the most important manifestations of the popular piety of the twelfth century. In early medieval thought, the Virgin Mary had played a minor role, and it was only with the rise of emotional Christianity in the eleventh century that she became the prime intercessor for humanity with the deity" (341). Concerning Mary, Bernard taught, "By thee, O Mary, was heaven opened; by thee was hell emptied; by thee was paradise restored; and through thee, in fine, is eternal life given to so many miserable creatures who deserved eternal death" (Liguori 217). In the spirit of Berceo's "Sacristán impúdico," he states, "This Queen [Mary] is so compassionate and benign, that when a sinner whoever he may be, recommends

example of how other “discourses” impose a universe or a preconditioned meaning on semiotic signs.⁵⁷ In other words, the contemporary audience would see more than just a man and a column. They would see Saint Bernard, the column on which Roman soldiers scourged Christ, and a variety of other mental images of teachings given by or about Bernard of Clairvaux, including the well-known lactation of Saint Bernard. Taken as a whole, the ship and its contents could occupy the spectators’ attention for some time as they attempt to decode the multiple sign vehicles on the allegorical ship of Penitencia.

Seventy years later Calderón de la Barca adopts a similar allegorical ship designed as a visual tableau or scenario conveying meaning to the spectators of the play. His white ship in *La nave del Mercader* contains fewer, though no less significant, signs than the ship of Penitencia. Like his predecessor Lope de Vega, Calderón uses the Eucharist chalice in place of the *fanal* on Mercader’s ship, and like the ship of Penitencia, images of the Eucharist cover the banners and flags on the sailing vessel. From one of Culpa’s lines, the audience learns that Amor serves as the ship’s pilot (898). In other words, the love of God directs his Church. The seraphim extending from the bowsprit of the ship signifies the divine role of the Church in leading mankind safely through life’s trials and temptations. The whiteness of the ship further aids the audience in decoding the

himself to her charity, she does not question his merits, or whether he is worthy or unworthy to be attended to, but she hears and succors all” (Liguori 227-28). Lope chose a less-common representation of Saint Bernard to help the audience identify the saint, but this would not stop spectators from associating Bernard with the more common depiction of him in the “Lactation of Saint Bernard.” While Reformers generally had a favorable opinion of Bernard of Clairvaux, they censured his strong support of Mariology. A number of paintings, including ones by Alonso Cano (1601-67) and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618-82), portray the Virgin, or a statue of the Virgin Mary, providing him with milk in a scene reminiscent of Pedro Machuca’s (1490?-1550) painting that depicts Mary and the Christ child offering her milk to the souls in Purgatory.

⁵⁷ See Culler, Jonathan. *The Pursuit of Signs: Semiotics, Literature, Deconstruction*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1981. 105. Print.

signs by immediately conjuring up the concept of goodness and purity with which the color is often associated.

While the acoustics of these performances would have made it difficult for some in the audience to hear and understand all the actors' lines, each of the signs in these two *autos* provides a script that a largely illiterate public could readily read. An engraving from a 1622 publication in Spain can help a modern reader or audience better visualize and understand the signs of the ship of Penitencia and that of Mercader. It, along with the visual spectacle created in these *autos*, fits the mold of what Karen Pinkus calls an "ideal Tridentine emblem," which she says "would be valued for its economy of expression and for its powers to exclude questionable attributes" (54). Regarding emblem books and those related to it, she concludes that they "metaphorize, reduce, transcribe, discursive figures into concise pictorial language" (54). Alardo de Popma's emblematic *Ecclesia navis*, found in Melchor Prieto's *Psalmodia eucharistica*, does exactly that by effectively reducing a lengthy allegorical sermon into a concise pictorial representation. Furthermore, it shares numerous characteristics with the ships of Penitencia and of Mercader, including the cross in place of the mast. Although Popma's image contains Latin text, there are enough cognates to begin to read or decode the signs.

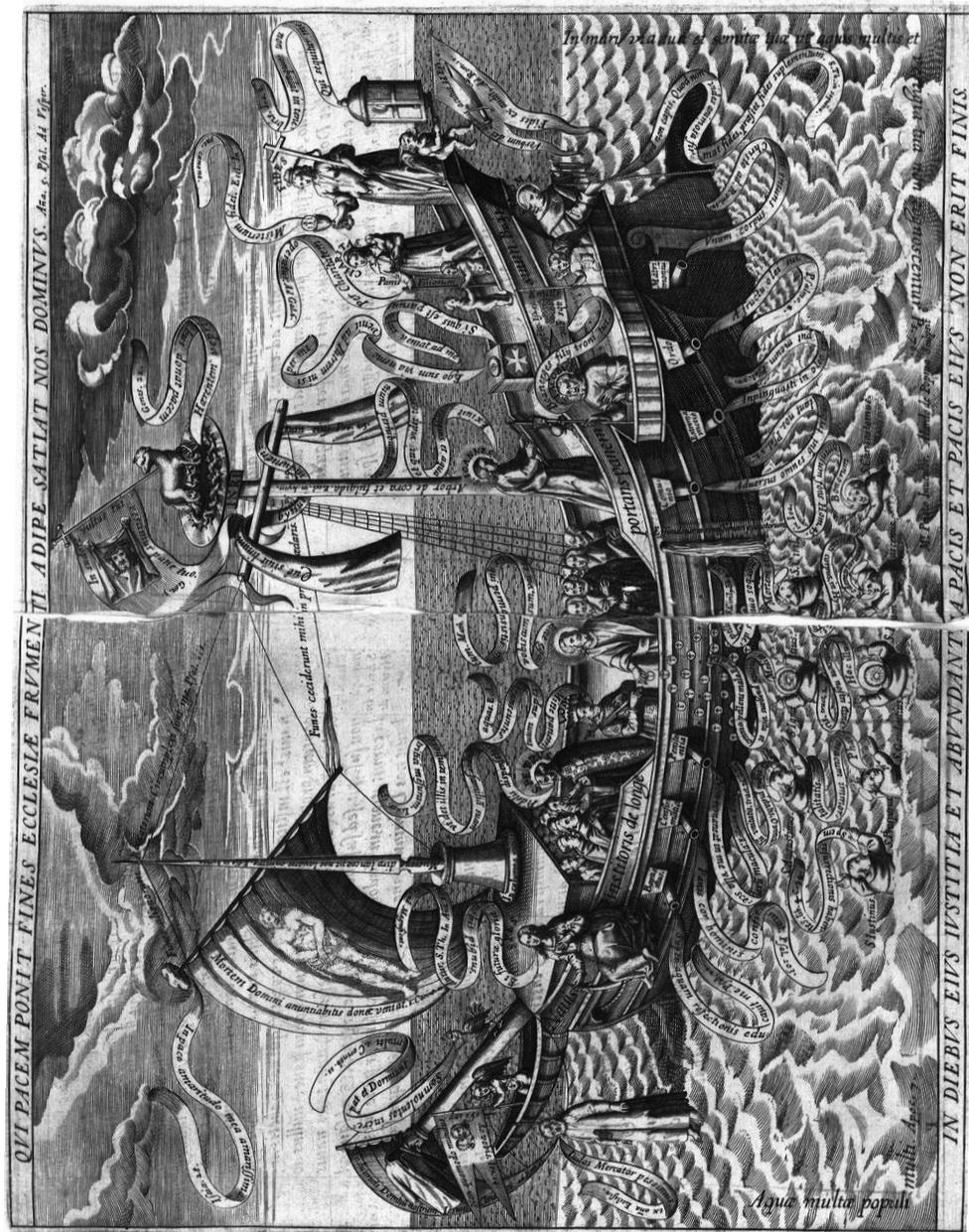


Figure 5. This 1622 image comes from the *Psalmodia eucharistica* by Melchor Prieto. In it, Saint Peter distributes the sacramental host. The seven canons on the side of the ship represent the seven sacraments. (n. pag.)⁵⁸ A close inspection of the image reveals a number of similarities with the iconography used in *El viaje del Alma* and *La nave del Mercader*.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Although there are no pages for this image, it appears immediately after page 172. A few more pages follow after this image of the *ecclesia navis* before the book continues its regular pagination with page 173.

⁵⁹ The inscription INRI on the main mast of the ship is the abbreviated form of “Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudæorum” or “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews,” which Pontius Pilate had placed on the cross of

While this image from the *Psalmodia eucharistica* proves very useful in better understanding and visualizing the ship of Penitencia and that of Mercader, it also lends itself as a practicable counterpoint to the two other ships mentioned in the script of the *autos*. The ship of Deleite and Culpa's black ship (*nave negra*) complete the metaphorical representation of good versus evil. In direct opposition to the ships representing the Church, these two ships carry out the will of the Devil as they seek to either entice mankind into a life of sin or to cause humanity to languish under the weight of guilt. As the binary opposites of the two good ships, they also contain a wealth of symbolic imagery that forces the spectator to decode the signs they provide in order to fully understand the didactic significance of the constant struggle between good and evil as the two forces seek to persuade mankind that life will be more worthwhile serving under their respective banners.

El viaje del Alma

Entró á esta sazón el Demonio en figura de marinero, todo él vestido de tela de oro negro bordado de llamas (7)

. . . comenzaron dentro á hacer una faena de nave con la zaloma que se acostumbra, haciendo el Demonio y el Deleite oficio de piloto y contramaestre (10)

Corrieron á este tiempo una cortina, descubriéndose la nave del Deleite, toda la popa dorada y llena de historias de vicios, así de la divina, como de la humana historia, encima de la cual estaban muchas damas y galanes comiendo y bebiendo, y alrededor de las mesas muchos truhanes y músicos. Los siete pecados mortales estaban repartidos por los bordes, y en la gavia del árbol mayor iba la Soberbia en hábito de brumete (12)

La nave del mercader

El segundo carro ha de ser una nave negra con un dragón en la proa y por farol un árbol, a cuyo tronco ha de estar enroscada una culebra. Sus

Christ (John 19:19). This sign (*rótulo*) and the crown of thorns in place of the crow's nest also appear in Lope de Vega's *El viaje del Alma*.

banderolas han de ser negras y pajizas; ha de tener su elevación, su torno y su escalera, y en los gallardetes, pintados áspides. (11-12)

As with the other two ships, Lope's offers the more elaborate spectacle with a greater number of signs to decode. Calderón's, though simpler, comes closer to visually representing the exact opposite of its antipodal rival.

As evidenced by the description of Deleite's ship in *El viaje del Alma*, Lope does not attempt to minimize its visual appeal. Instead he portrays the ship as an attractive locus of revelry. Consequently, when decoding the sign of the ship, the spectators immediately recognize the sinful nature of the merrymaking portrayed on the vessel, but the meaning they extract from the spectacle must also include the appeal that such temptations have on mankind. Demonio, the ship's pilot, has flames sewn onto his sailor clothes to make his characterization readily identifiable to the audience. The gold-colored stern, full of representations of different vices, represents the love of money or gold, while the *historias de vicios* indicate the sinister mission of the ship of Deleite. The passengers of the ship live a riotous life of gluttony and drunkenness, and while the personified characters of the seven deadly sins remain on the edges of the boat to draw attention to their number and their intended sign, Soberbia's lofty placement in the crow's nest also helps the audience identify her characterization. Although Lope does not describe the attire of these characters, they undoubtedly resembled the time period's conventional visual characterizations of the seven deadly sins. Each of these symbols on the ship of Deleite allows audience members to *read* a visual sermon that enumerates the alluring sins that ensnare society.

Culpa's ship in *La nave del Mercader* depicts a similar, but simpler, counterpoint to its rival vessel piloted by Amor. The black ship stands in stark contrast to its white adversary. The dragon on the bowsprit and the serpents painted on the banners allude to biblical passages that refer to the devil in this manner.⁶⁰ In place of the *fanal*, or lantern, the tree and the serpent represent Lucifer's temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden and the subsequent Fall.⁶¹ The staging conventions during the time period in which Calderón wrote this *auto* allows him to disperse his props and scenery more than Lope could. After 1647 Calderón uses four large, decorative carts or wagons to carry stage machinery and props, including the two carts designed as ships.⁶² Previously, *autos* had only used two carts. This may explain why Calderón chose not to use as many symbols on each of his carts. If he had, the audience members may have been overwhelmed with the number of semiotic signs that they could not have sufficiently decoded all of them.

Both these *autos* skillfully juxtapose the signs of good and evil by using the common visual representations of theological subjects, particularly the image of the ship to represent the journey mankind makes through life with the assistance of the Church or the deceptions of the devil. While both *autos* also demonstrate the superiority of the forces of good, *El viaje del Alma* does so in such a dramatic fashion that even the most

⁶⁰ Revelations 12:9 uses both these terms as metaphors of the Devil: "And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and Satan, who seduces the whole world."

⁶¹ In the critical edition that Ignacio Arellano did of *La Nave del Mercader*, he points out the clarity of the symbolism represented by replacing the *fanal* with the tree of knowledge: "[S]ubrayamos la excelencia de la imagen calderoniana, en tanto sirve de guía descaminada" (Calderón, *Nave* 83). This same clarity applies to the ships of Penitencia and Mercader. The object replacing the *fanal* unequivocally signals to the audience the ships' good or evil intent in guiding mankind.

⁶² N. D. Shergold and J. E. Varey provide an informative history of the transition from the use of two carts to four in the following study:

Shergold, N.D. and J.E. Varey "A Problem in the Staging of *Autos Sacramentales* in Madrid, 1647-1648." *Hispanic Review* 31.1 (1964): 12-35.

illiterate spectator could *read* the meaning of the scene when the ship of Penitencia comes to free Alma from Deleite's vessel. At the point of maximum climactic tension in the fight for Alma's soul, Penitencia's ship opens fire with *versos*, *medias culebrinas*, and *falconetes*, but only after Alma pleads with Voluntad: "Volvamos, Voluntad mía: / Ea, volvamos, acaba" (12). Memoria, Entendimiento, and the sailors on Penitencia's ship will not force Alma to change her ways. Instead they reveal her options to her and allow her to use her free agency to choose her path in life. Aside from entertaining the audience with such a spectacle, Penitencia's superior firepower demonstrates the power of repentance in cleansing mankind of sin. Alma completes the repentance process by boarding Penitencia's ship (the Church) where Cristo (Christ) asks, "Hay quien se quiera embarcar / Al puerto de salvación" (13). The Church enables Alma to commune with Deity during her journey through life by partaking of the Eucharist.

Undoubtedly the grand liturgical spectacle offered by these *autos* caused their audiences to reflect on the different signs and their meanings. The spectators' intertextual knowledge of visual theological representations allowed them to proficiently *read* or decode many signs related to the ships that a high percentage of readers and audiences of different eras or geographic locations would struggle to *read* and appreciate as a significant Counter-Reformation *text* designed to celebrate Catholic doctrine, particularly those points that had come under attack by Reformers. As modern readers figuratively *watch* these performances, they must seek to see everything on stage as a sign full of meaning, not just as another prop. They must seek to *read* or decode the theological symbols that largely defined a society. In so doing, plays like *El viaje del Alma* and *La*

nave del Mercader will take on a new life as they illustrate how the goals of the Counter-Reformation found their way onto the stage of the Spanish Golden Age.

CHAPTER 3: HIGHWAYMEN ON LIFE'S PERILOUS ROADS

The presence of two elaborate ships in José de Valdivielso's *La amistad en el peligro* could easily justify its inclusion in the previous chapter, but the more prominent role of another common subject in the events of the time manifests a different, noteworthy sign vehicle of didactic importance used throughout the genre's history: the highwayman. According to Antoni Maćzak, "In the early days of the modern era, danger was an inseparable component of travelling. It took on many forms. It threatened the traveler on the road and at the inn, on land and at sea, from the hand of the professional highwayman or marauding soldier" (159). Such were the conditions of Spain during the Counter-Reformation. Because of their prevalence during the early modern era, the acts of plunder and violence committed by highwaymen or bandits inevitably found their way onto the stage and into the texts of Golden-Age Spain.

One of the most prominent examples of highwaymen in Spanish literature can be found in a night scene in *Don Quixote*. On the road to Barcelona, Sancho Panza stumbles across some legs and arms hanging from the trees in the vicinity of their campsite. Frightened, he exclaims to Don Quixote that all the trees are full of human arms and legs. After a brief pause to confirm Sancho's declaration, Don Quixote replies,

No tienes de qué tener miedo, porque estos pies y piernas que tuestas y no vees, sin duda son de algunos forajidos y bandoleros que en estos árboles están ahorcados; que por aquí los suele ahorcar la justicia cuando los coge, de veinte en veinte y de treinta en treinta; por donde me doy a entender que debo de estar cerca de Barcelona. (Cervantes 1052)

Their subsequent encounter with the bandit, Roque Guinart, outside of Barcelona confirms his inference.⁶³ A number of travelers in Spain at this time fell victim to marauding highwaymen, but even those who did not, would have been well-aware of the constant threat bandits posed on the open road. Just as in other states throughout Europe, bandits in Spain could face a brutal public execution designed to deter others from following in their footsteps. The bodies of the bandits left hanging from trees and gallows served as a visual reminder to all passersby of the severe consequences of a life of crime.

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings and engravings of cities throughout Europe portray comparable gallows' scenes, albeit with fewer convicted criminals in most cases than described in *Don Quixote*. In their remarkable *Civitates orbis terrarum*, Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg depict numerous gallows, identifiable as two or three vertical posts connected by one or more transverse beams. In many instances these images also include a breaking wheel where the condemned suffered a cruel, ignominious death. In most cases, these instruments of execution appear on a hill near the city or just off a public road. The prominent location of these executions further emphasized the dire consequences faced by those who broke certain laws. This practice placed the criminal before the public much like modern newspapers often prominently place articles about crime on their front page. Such a public display might cause an overly pessimistic outlook on the state of society, making people believe that crime lurks in every dark alley or on every open road in the countryside, yet at the same time, it makes society more vigilant and aware of crime.

⁶³ The figure of Roque Guinart is a clear reference to the real-life bandit, Perot Rocaguinarda.

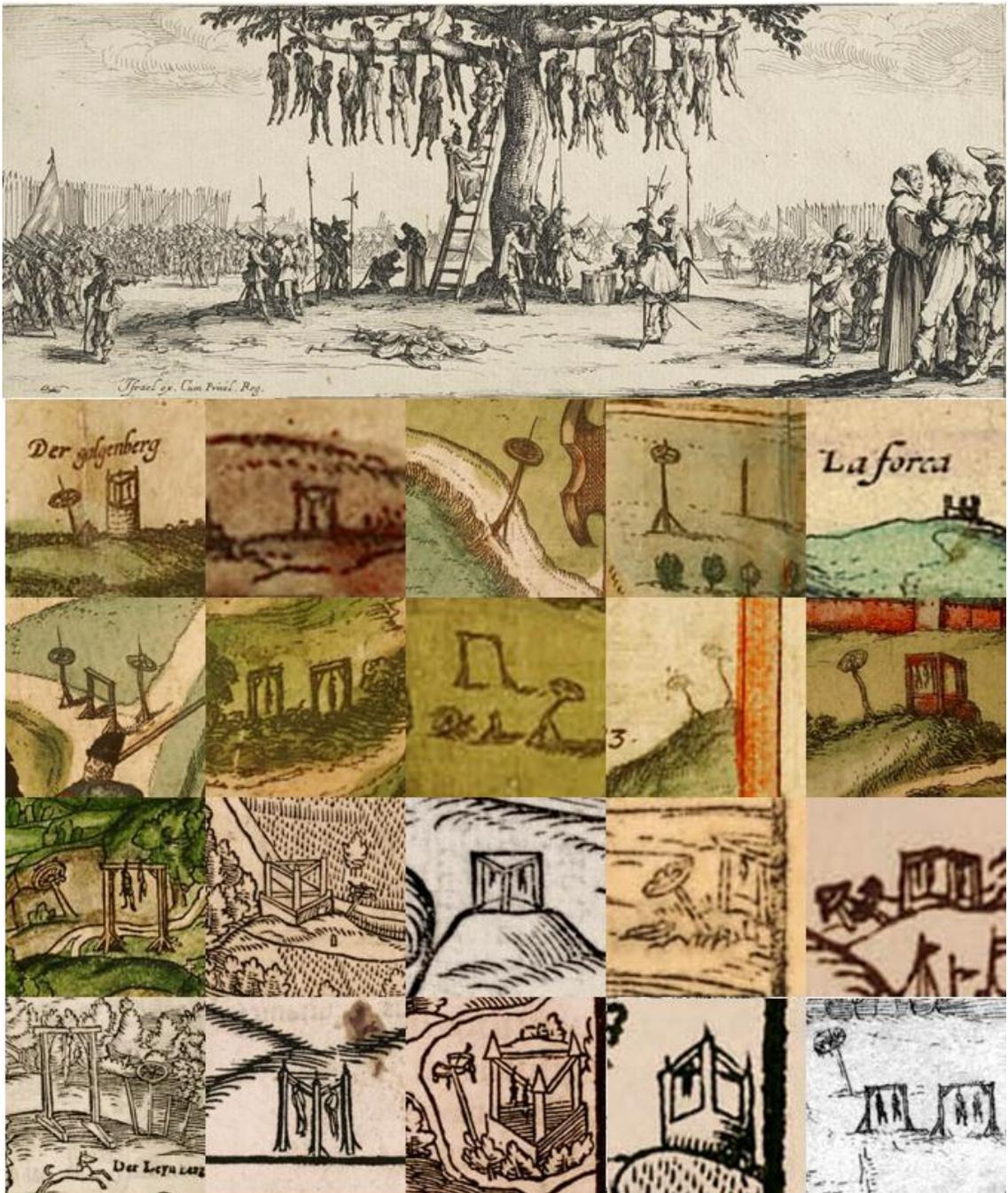


Figure 6. The topmost image, by Jacques Callot, was printed in *Les miseres et les malheurs de la guerre* in 1633. The following ten images, from left to right, come from Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*. The nine images that follow come from *Cosmographiae Universalis* and *La Cosmographie Universelle* by Sebastian Munster. The final image appeared in *Relation journaliere du voyage du levant . . .* (Historic Cities).

José de Valdivielso and Lope de Vega, fully aware of the exposure their audiences had to the stories of crime by means of public executions, personal experiences, rumor, and theatrical performances, scripted highwaymen into a number of their *autos*. These disreputable characters strengthened the plot of plays by providing tension and conflict. Much like the stereotypical western of the forties, fifties, and sixties that would often pit cowboys against Indians in a fight between the perceived good and bad, the highwayman in *autos sacramentales* often served as a foil to those who traveled the perilous paths of life hoping to one day obtain salvation. They robbed their victims of their possessions, often beating or incarcerating them, thus obstructing the path to salvation.

The presence of a highwayman, a regular character, in an allegorical performance would form part of a scenario, which Diana Taylor says “contribute[s] to the viewer’s understanding of what might conceivably transpire” (29). The audience’s familiarity with “discourses” that make use of similar signs allow it to better anticipate and understand the role of highwaymen in *autos sacramentales*. Stereotypes, the Bible, local myths, and a variety of literary sources are some of the intertextual sources that have particular relevance in helping the public decode the meaning of the different scenarios involving the highwayman.

Las cortes de la Muerte, often attributed to Lope de Vega, may be the most recognizable *auto* whose characters include highwaymen. It largely owes its prominence to *Don Quixote*, since it shares the same title as the *auto* mentioned in the second book of Cervantes’s epic masterpiece. The actors that Don Quixote and Sancho meet on a remote

road between two small towns also match the description of the characters in the play, in many instances word for word. One persuasive discursive analysis of the scene in *Don Quixote* and *Las cortes de la Muerte* appeared in the *Revista Hispánica Moderna*. It argues that of the two known *autos* bearing the name of *Las cortes de la Muerte*, only the one attributed to Lope de Vega could possibly be the play referred to in *Don Quijote* (Mades). A more recent study uses similar arguments to prove that Lope de Vega did indeed write *Las cortes de la Muerte* and to suggest that Cervantes intended the allusion to the play as one of the numerous antagonistic volleys between him and the *monstruo de la naturaleza*. In short, it and another inferred reference to Lope de Vega constitute a “paliza crítica que le está administrando a Lope de Vega,” or in other words, a “risueña pero aguda crítica por inferencia dirigida al dramaturgo” (Percas 71, 73). The Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes displays it as just one of a handful of electronic texts of Lope’s *autos* available on its web site. In 2007 Linkgua Ediciones published the play in a book by itself, a rarity for non-Calderonian *autos*. Numerous other studies and recently-compiled *cancioneros* directly reference the *auto*, which has developed an elaborate intertextual meaning of its own since its first publication in 1893.

In spite of the strong name recognition of *Las cortes de la Muerte*, however, its spurious nature disqualifies it from inclusion in an intertextual, semiotic analysis of how audiences would have viewed and understood it in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Two relatively obscure studies of the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century, “Degli ‘Autos’ di Lope de Vega Carpio” by Antonio Restori and “*Las cortes de la muerte*” by George Irving Dale, definitively rule out the possibility that Lope could have

written the play. Dale rightly concludes that the compiler of the play put it together in 1664 or later—quite possibly in the nineteenth century itself (280). Unfortunately, it appears that few have seen the articles by these two scholars.⁶⁴ One scholar who knew of George Irving Dale’s study still quotes from the spurious *Las cortes de la Muerte* rather than find the original quote in *Las aventuras del Hombre* (Fothergill-Payne 40).⁶⁵

Although Dale supplies an airtight argument that disclaimed Lope’s authorship of this well-known *auto*, he cannot understand why the forger would create such a work: “Some one, for what purpose it is impossible to determine, exercised his ingenuity by taking extracts from four or more published works containing *autos* . . . and formed an

⁶⁴ In 1961 Jean-Louis Fleckniakoska, one of the few to cite George Irving Dale’s article, indicated the lack of articles echoing the message about the spurious nature of the falsely-attributed *Las cortes de la Muerte* (45). Perhaps even more surprising is that fifty years later, with far superior technology to aid research, the play appears in so many works and is available through various mediums, including the *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* and the recent edition by Linkgua Ediciones—in both cases without any reference to the impossible or even doubtful nature of its authorship. Karl Siegfried Guthke represents one of the few scholars in the last few decades who has appropriately recognized George Irving Dale’s definitive rejection of the *Las cortes de la Muerte* attributed to Lope de Vega (Guthke 90). The numerous incorrect attributions to Lope de Vega since George Irving Dale’s article suggest that academia should not focus so much on the quantity of publications that a scholar produces but rather on the quality. In what constitutes a disservice to both the scholar and the reading public, those forced to publish too quickly do not have time develop a broad and deep knowledge about the articles they write.

⁶⁵ Just five years after Menéndez y Pelayo became the first person to publish *Las cortes de la Muerte*, Antonio Restori discovered several sections of *Las cortes de la Muerte* that had been plagiarized almost verbatim. The sources he found for the spurious play include Lope de Vega’s *Las aventuras del Hombre*, *El pastor lobo*, *El tirano castigado*, the *loa* to *La vuelta a Egipto*, and the *entremés*, *La muestra de los carros* (xvii). George Irving Dale added a number of works to that list: the *loa* to *La perseguida Amaltea* by Francisco Tárrega, *La gran casa de Austria* by Agustín Moreto, *El niño pastor* by Lope de Vega, *La madrina del cielo* by Tirso de Molina, and *Auto del caballero del Febo* by Francisco de Rojas, which was first published in 1664 (278-79). I have found a few additional works whose lines form part of the *auto*, leaving just a small number of lines unaccounted for in the counterfeit *auto*. Other sources used to compile *Las cortes de la Muerte* include Lope’s *Quien más no puede*, *Las paces de los reyes y Judía de Toledo*, *Los torneos de Aragón*, Tirso de Molina’s *El vergonzoso en palacio*, and Agustín Moreto’s *Industria contra finezas*. It seems that G. I. Dale focused his search primarily in *loas* and *autos*, disregarding the thousands of *comedias* that the “pastiche artist” could have used.

It is somewhat surprising that Menéndez y Pelayo, who edited and published several of the works used in the creation of *Las cortes de la Muerte*, did not realize that hundreds of verses from other plays he published just the year before had been directly plagiarized to create the spurious *auto*. The paucity of critics who have recognized the fraudulent nature of *Las cortes de la Muerte* has been overwhelmed by the large number of scholars who are oblivious to the hoax and who have continued to cite the work as if Lope de Vega really had written it.

auto which he called *Las Cortes de la Muerte*” (280). One does not have to look far, however, to find the answer to that doubt. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, introducing the play in its first publication, writes, “Todos hemos leído en el capítulo XI, Parte 2.^a del *Ingenioso Hidalgo*, la memorable aventura que sucedió á D. Quijote con el carro ó carreta de las Cortes de la Muerte, que llevaba por los campos de la Mancha la compañía de Angulo el Malo” (xxiv). He uses the next page and a half to discuss the relation between *Don Quixote* and some work bearing the name of *Las cortes de la Muerte*. Since Menéndez y Pelayo first published the *auto*, the misguided analyses of the play wrongly attributed to Lope de Vega have continually associated it with *Don Quixote*. Although sloppy at times, the creative impostor has managed to immortalize “his” or “her” work by tying it to one of the most significant novels of all time, two of Spain’s greatest authors, and the overstressed feud between the two writers. The often identical descriptions of the characters in the two works leave no doubt that the compiler intended to affiliate his patchwork *auto* with *Don Quixote*.

Nearly three hundred verses found in *Las cortes de la Muerte* originate in an *auto* that Lope did actually write, *Las aventuras del Hombre*. The highwaymen found in *Las cortes de la Muerte* match those found in the original source, although the compiler of the fraudulent *auto* attempted to insert another bandit into the scene (599).⁶⁶ The stage directions in *Las aventuras del Hombre* describes the three thieves: “Vanse y salen en

⁶⁶ For bibliographic purposes *Las cortes de la Muerte* is listed under Lope de Vega’s name in the Works Cited. In no way, however, does this suggest he may have actually produced the work. For ease of finding the book, the authorship in the Works Cited needs to match the claims of the work from which the idea or quote was drawn.

forma de salteadores, con capas vasconas⁶⁷ y sombreros de plumas, espadas y arcabuces, el Tiempo, el Pecado, la Muerte, con medias máscaras: el Tiempo, dorada, el Pecado, negra, la Muerte, difunta” (286). While they await an opportunity to waylay the youthful Hombre, who has unwisely entered Locura’s house, they give their own general history and origin by referencing Biblical stories. Pecado first appeared on Earth when Hombre (Adam and Eve) sought to be like God. Muerte first entered history when Cain killed Abel. Tiempo gives an understandably longer narration of Biblical events since he has passed through everything. This practice of the personified characters alluding to Biblical events, saints, and other parts of Catholic history to better explain their identity and role is very common in *autos* and aids audience members in their effort to decode relevant information. It allows the playwrights to briefly mention an event or person from the Bible or the history of the Church in order to call to mind a much broader incident. This allowed them to maximize the profundity and scope of the message conveyed by the *auto* while minimizing the amount of words needed.

Like any traveler of the time, Hombre exercised his free will and chose the road he would travel. By forgetting God and temporarily choosing Locura, he laid aside his understanding for a time. Louise Fothergill-Payne writes of the three faculties of the soul, “El teatro barroco se ha aprovechado de la idea de la mala compañía que la Voluntad puede escoger y la responsabilidad que el Entendimiento y la Memoria tienen de

⁶⁷ For one reason or other, perhaps to associate the *auto* more with Spain, Menéndez y Pelayo changed this word from its original “gasconas,” as found in the 1644 publication *Fiestas del Santísimo Sacramento*, to “vasconas” when he published the work in 1892 (*Fiestas* 67). A *capa gascona* is a common name used to refer to a hat designed to protect against rain. *Gascona* refers to Gascony, the name once given to a province in southwest France. *Vascona*, a former province in nearby-northern Spain, derives from the same root word as *gascona*; however, the adjective does not enjoy the same general use as its French counterpart when referring to a water-resistant hat.

impedírsele” (151). Although the play only contains a few explicit references to the three faculties of the soul, its meaning still relies heavily on these well-known influences on the soul. By choosing to follow the more persuasive faculty, will, Hombre has placed himself on the path that will lead him to the three bandits that figuratively strip mankind of youth, innocence, and eventually life.

As Tiempo, Pecado, and Muerte waylay Hombre, Consuelo makes reference to a similar traveler on the road to Jericho, who also fell victim to merciless bandits.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, Hombre declares:

Señores, ya me quitaron,
Quebrando el primer precepto,
De la inocencia el vestido:
Pobre y desterrado vengo.
Perdí la justicia y gracia . . . (288)

By his own admission, Hombre recognizes his culpability in crossing paths with the three highwaymen. He declares that by breaking the first precept, he has lost his innocence, and with it, the favorable effects of justice and grace. Previous to this moment in the play, Hombre had surrendered his innocence twice, first when his actions resulted in his exile from the Garden of Eden and, second, when he entered Locura’s house. In his *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas wrote, “Hence this is the first precept of law, that *good is to be done and ensued, and evil is to be avoided*” (43).⁶⁹ Consuelo recognizes that Hombre

⁶⁸ Luke 10:30-36. This is more commonly known as the parable of the Good Samaritan, but the reference to a traveler on the road to Jericho would have been equally identifiable as perhaps the most recognizable Biblical narrative that refers to bandits, with the two thieves on crosses next to Christ during his crucifixion being the possible exception.

⁶⁹ Modern Catholics may be more familiar with the first precept found in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which requires the faithful participation in Mass, days of obligation, and the Eucharist (493). However, this precept is of a more recent date than that given by Thomas Aquinas. In 1568 Thomas Aquinas was named a Doctor of the Catholic Church, renewing an interest in his writings. The two great

has broken this precept, but he asks that the bandits show some mercy as they rob the man that he seeks to comfort. Perhaps to distract them and draw their attention away from Hombre, Consuelo enters into small talk with the highwaymen. Their conversation serves as a valuable commentary that reaffirms what most audience members would already have deduced: the soul that loses God is black like Pecado's mask and although some may portray life as golden like Tiempo's mask, it is just a thin veneer to cover reality.⁷⁰ Consuelo then makes an allusion to the mythological Moirae or Fates, when he declares to Muerte, "Veréis que la vida es sueño, / Y tela que el dueño corta, / Cuando quiere, por en medio" (288). In these lines Consuelo points out that God, like the three Fates, is the one who ultimately decides when to end life. The tradition of moralizing ancient texts, in particular mythology, would have made the connection between God and the Fates easy to interpret for contemporary audiences of the play. The continued references to the Fates and to cutting the thread of life also make the lines easy to interpret by modern audiences.

The allegorical nature of the play continues as the three highwaymen deliver Hombre, whose face has been branded to indicate his slavery, to his jailer, Culpa (Guilt). In reference to Christ's crucifixion and atonement, and in conformity with his role, Consuelo suggests that God will one day remove the irons that hold Hombre captive. Eventually Amor Divino (Divine Love, or in this case, Christ) comes and delivers Hombre from Culpa's cell. Surprisingly, however, it is Christ's birth, and not his death and resurrection, that frees Hombre. Amor Divino easily explains this unexpected turn of

commandments to love God and to love your neighbor are also commonly referred to as precepts (Matt. 22:37-39).

⁷⁰ The play refers to life as a *retablo de duelos*—stage of grief—and as a *valle de lágrimas*—valley of tears (286, 288).

events and answers Culpa's complaint that not all the prophecies have yet been fulfilled by telling him that the time between his birth and resurrection has turned into hope (*esperanza*). Consequently, Culpa changes clothes and becomes Esperanza. This relatively common practice of a character changing clothes to assume a new identity suggests the transformative effect that Christ can exercise on mankind, converting something negative into something positive.

As the play draws to its conclusion, the closing scene contains its most elaborate and profound intertextual message, which it conveys both visually and aurally. Muerte recognizes that his own death is imminent with Christ's arrival. In other words, Christ's resurrection will overcome death. Amor Divino, Hombre, and Consuelo enter the ship of the Church.⁷¹ Heresy and cruelty will have little success because of the illustrious pilots that guide the ship: Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. The script makes no explicit indication that these pilots are the first four Doctors of the Catholic Church, nor did it need to. For nearly three hundred years, 1298 to 1568, they were the only Doctors of the Church and, therefore, easily associated with their important position in the Catholic faith. On the stern of the ship, protecting against the dogmas of Moors and heretics, Thomas and Bonaventure act as the guiding lanterns in place of the traditional *fanal*. This reaffirms the Church's role in leading its faithful followers, while at the same time, turning away doctrines contrary to Catholic theology, particularly those of the Reformation. As is often the case, the dialogue and explicit stage directions do not

⁷¹ The ship in this *auto* does not play a key role throughout the performance like those mentioned in the previous chapter, but it does help demonstrate the frequent usage of this symbol, particularly in the climax and denouement of numerous *autos sacramentales*.

provide full details, simply referring to the two men at the ship's stern as Tomás and Buenaventura, but it is an unmistakable reference to Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Bonaventure, two Italian theologians whose chronological history positioned them as two pillars of the Church in the thirteenth century. Saint Bonaventure was born just three or four years before Thomas Aquinas, both received their doctoral degree from the University of Paris in the same year, both died in 1274, and the two were named Doctors of the Catholic Church within twenty years of each other in 1568 and 1588.⁷² The renewed interest in these Saints and their teachings at this time positioned the play's contemporary spectators as the ideal target audience to decode or interpret the significance of this allegorical scene.

In spite of the impressive spectacle created by the ship and its rich symbolism, Tiempo, one of the three bandits, still questions how it will survive the tempests, tyrants, and apostates that will face the ship and its pilots during Amor Divino's subsequent absence. Amor Divino replies that even though he must leave, he will remain in the divine Bread that priests will distribute. In other words, Christ's transubstantiated presence will protect the faithful followers of the Church. The stern opens to reveal two angels holding the Eucharistic Chalice, causing Pecado to exclaim, "Si se da en Pan, ¿qué me queda / Que esperar desesperado?" (295). In tandem with Christ's crucifixion and atonement, the ship of the Church represents Hombre's eventual victory over the three

⁷² In 1588 Saint Bonaventure became the tenth Doctor of the Catholic Church. One hundred thirty years would pass before the Church declared another. The small number of Doctors recognized by the Church emphasized their important position in Catholicism. While it took nearly three hundred years to reach ten Doctors, the Church declared nineteen in a period of just less than 170 years during the nineteenth and twentieth century. The increased number makes it more difficult to remember the names and the teachings of all the Doctors of the Church, but such was not the case in the seventeenth century.

bandits who cast him into Culpa's prison and his safe haven from heretical doctrines that assail Catholicism from all sides.

Las aventuras del Hombre, as an orthodox drama examined and approved for performance like other plays of the time, stresses the doctrine of free will. Though just briefly mentioned in the preceding analysis, the play begins with an angel casting Hombre out of the Garden of Eden. The choice that leads to Hombre's banishment results in consequences and further choices on his part. The three bandits, Tiempo, Pecado, and Muerte all come about as a result of the initial choice in the Garden. The three highwaymen would have had no power over Hombre in his preternatural state had he not violated one of the rules given to him. The protagonist, however, does not bear the name of Adam; instead, the allegorical Hombre replaces him. As such, the banishment from the Garden represents original sin and its general effects on all those born into mortality. The subsequent decisions of Hombre stand for the choices that individuals make during their mortal existence. Amor Divino's intervention, representing Christ's grace, allows Hombre to start anew and, in tandem with grace, forge his own salvation through repentance and his subsequent good works. Like many *autos*, *Las aventuras del Hombre*, depicts how people must learn from the good and bad decisions that they make. When they finally accept the protection of the Church, they are placed on a path that will protect them from heresy and that will one day free them from the highwaymen that assail them. In this case, as a mortal person, Hombre is still subject to the effects of time, sin, and death, but Christ's atonement will intervene and overcome each of those if Hombre properly exercises his free will.

Lope's friend, José de Valdivielso, also wrote a number of *autos* that depicted highwaymen in a similar manner to those found in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. Of the different intertextual influences on Spanish playwrights, the Bible serves as José de Valdivielso's primary source. A staunch defender of the quality of Valdivielso's *autos*, Bruce Wardropper notes what he views as one of playwright's greatest strengths, "[S]u fuerza dramática estriba en lo apropiado que es su uso de la Santa Biblia" (285). The footnotes that Ricardo Arias and Robert V. Piluso provide for one of his *autos*, *El peregrino*, show more than 130 Biblical references—some more recognizable than others (421-25). His other *autos* often contain a comparable number of Biblical allusions. In *La amistad en el peligro*, the protagonist is the lost sheep borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd. The story seamlessly transitions to another New Testament parable, portraying him as the prodigal son and later as one of Joseph's brothers who sold him into Egypt to a band of traveling Madianite merchants.⁷³ In their introduction to *José de Valdivielso: Teatro competo*, Ricardo Arias and Robert V. Piluso note, "Es verdad que [el] uso tan frecuente [de la Biblia] llega a veces a oscurecer el sentido de la obra y a hacerla un tanto pesada. Sin embargo, para el lector familiarizado con la Biblia, esto no es un defecto sino una riqueza mayor de significados, alusiones y sentidos" (12). This implicitly recognizes two general audiences to Valdivielso's *autos*: the spectators and readers with little knowledge of the Bible, leaving them with little intertextual knowledge to draw from when deciphering the different sign vehicles and symbolism found in the play, and those

⁷³ The King James Bible refers to the Madianites as Midianites. Consequently, Catholics may be more familiar with the term Madianites, while protestant and restorationist churches tend to use the Anglicized term "Midianites."

who are better acquainted with scriptural histories, who form a sort of interpretive community capable of understanding and appreciating the “meaning” of what they see and hear in the drama. The lines of his *autos*, like the clues to crossword puzzles, would have forced Valdivielso’s contemporary audiences to concentrate to decipher the numerous allusions and meanings contained in the play, but the theological education of the Spanish public of the time, whether formal or informal, prepared it well for the challenge.

In *La amistad en el peligro*, Valdivielso utilizes Biblical references in a Spanish setting in which negatively-stereotyped gypsies band together for a common nefarious purpose. Two gypsy highwaymen take Inocencia captive. Her captivity is a symbolic portrayal of the consequences that come about because of a preceding allegorical scene in which Hombre says he is young and will follow his tastes (*gustos*). Culpa, an enchanting gypsy, ensnares Hombre with her beauty, causing Inocencia to leave, since guilt and innocence cannot coexist in an individual. Inocencia, now captive because of Hombre’s choices, presents a bigger challenge than her two captors, Envidia and Pereza, had anticipated. When Culpa and Hombre reappear, Inocencia soundly berates Culpa, causing Envidia to threaten to bind Inocencia by the neck. Inocencia replies, “No es el perro bueno / si al ladrón no ladra” (543-44).⁷⁴ In a sense, Inocencia’s declaration portrays her as Hombre’s conscience seeking to warn him, as a dog warns of danger, that Culpa is an intruder.

⁷⁴ Valdivielso repeats these lines almost identically in *Las ferias del Alma* when Razón says, “No es el perro fiel / si al ladrón no ladra” (511-12)

The ensuing exchange gets to the heart of one of the primary points of contention between the Catholic Church and Protestants during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. After Culpa tells Hombre that during his life he will have two experiences with water, one of which he has already experienced, Inocencia declares about the first:

Fue la del bautismo
que reengendra el alma;
y por culpa tuya
perdiste la gracia. (599-602)

Catholicism taught the interdependence of works and faith. Jean Calvin, in contrast, taught, “[A]s often as we fall away, we ought to recall the memory of our baptism and fortify our mind with it, that we may always be sure and confident of the forgiveness of sins. For, though baptism, administered only once, seemed to have passed, it was still not destroyed by subsequent sin” (*Institutes* 1305). Inocencia’s declaration that Hombre lost the grace of God because of his actions refutes the viewpoint of many Protestants while conforming to Catholic doctrine. Only his tears, the second experience with water mentioned by Culpa and a symbol of penitence, can wash away his guilt and restore grace lost.

When Culpa tries to convince Hombre not to follow the Church because of its demands of confession, prayers, and fasting, Inocencia suggests that she is a Lutheran:

Pardiez, que es sin duda
vna luterana
la que de la Iglesia
las gentes aparta. (619-22)

Though clearly a sensitive issue by today’s standards, this indictment of Culpa, and by association her two accomplices, reiterates the warning message of the Counter-

Reformation that the doctrines of Lutheranism and Protestantism lead people away from the Church and from truth, often appealing to the senses by requiring fewer rigors from their adherents. When Hombre and Culpa depart, Inocencia once again has to face her two captors. The scenario, like many found in Valdivielso's *autos*, requires an audience that has a solid knowledge of the Bible and of Catholic tradition. In an unambiguous reference to Christ's crucifixion, Inocencia exclaims, "Entre dos ladrones / me miro clauada" (655-56).⁷⁵ Once again with their hands full, Envidia and Pereza seek to bribe Inocencia into silence by offering her such things as apples, pleasures, women, kingdoms, and sceptres.⁷⁶ Their temptations fail, however, to silence her. Instead, she points out the temporal nature of the bribes by calling them "humo, sombra, nada" (694).⁷⁷ Her declaration lets them know that they have nothing of interest to offer. The words "humo, sombra, nada" appears to be a direct intertextual reference to Luis de Góngora's famous poem "Mientras por competir con tu cabello":

goza cuello, cabello, labio y frente,
antes que lo que fue en tu edad dorada

⁷⁵ At Christ's crucifixion, two thieves were also crucified, one on each side of him (Matt. 27:38, 44 and Mark 15:27). In this instance, Inocencia uses the feminine adjective "clavada." Very often it can be difficult to ascertain the gender of a personified character in *autos*, since they do not always have the same gender as the word they personify. For one reason or another, it is not unusual to see both masculine and feminine adjectives describing a character. In this case; however, the adjectives are consistently feminine. The tricky part of determining Inocencia's gender is when Pereza, trying to silence her, says, "Calla y te daré / deleites y damas" (667-68). Unless Pereza is seeking to tempt Inocencia with homosexuality, this offer appears out of place. The following dialogue seems to suggest that Pereza does indeed allude to homosexuality. Inocencia, in response to Pereza's offer, queries, "Y en tanto diluio, / ¿dónde hallaré barca?" (669-70). The answer, "Daréte en Sodoma, / ¡o, qué ginebrada!" (671-72). The reference to Sodom, and implicitly to its neighbor in divine destruction, Gomorrah, alludes to the prevalent homosexuality in the cities.

⁷⁶ The offering of the apple to Inocencia is an allusion to the fruit that, by tradition, Adam and Eve ate in the Garden of Eden after receiving the promise that it would provide them with a knowledge of good and evil. The other items offered to Inocencia allude to a flood (Noah's ark), Lot and his wife's flight from Sodom, and finally with Satan's temptation of Christ in the desert.

⁷⁷ The verse in the play is just one of numerous examples of Valdivielso's ability to make use of non-Biblical, popular literary sources. Luis de Góngora wrote "Mientras por competir con tu cabello" around 1582.

oro, lilio, clavel, cristal luciente,
 no sólo en plata o víola troncada
 se vuelva, mas tú y ello juntamente
 en tierra, en humo, en polvo, en sombra, en nada. (222)

However, Inocencia's use of the words do not share the same *carpe diem* connotation as Góngora's poem. Instead, Inocencia scorns the fleeting pleasures offered as bribes by the gypsy highwaymen, implying that rewards of a more lasting, eternal nature are the only things worth seeking.⁷⁸

When the gypsies, led by Culpa, take Hombre off the road, beating him and taking his purse, Inocencia refers to him as the lost sheep and encourages him to bleat for the Good Shepherd.⁷⁹ Because of the audience's familiarity with the parable of the lost sheep contained in the New Testament, they know that Príncipe will come to his aid. In such a dejected state, Hombre, who has learned from sad experience the consequences of his choices, must listen to Inocencia's counsel. In so doing, he and Inocencia can reunite since repentance washes away guilt (Culpa). To complete the scriptural analogy, Príncipe enters carrying Hombre on his shoulders like a shepherd carries a lamb. On a literal level in which the audience knows nothing of the parable of the lost sheep, the scene might seem odd, but for many audiences, the scene visually reenacts a well-known parable, allowing it to convey the full didactic significance of repentance.

⁷⁸ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz would later give a similar counterargument to Góngora's poem in her sonnet "Este que ves, engaño colorido." The final tercet reads, "[E]s una necia diligencia errada, / es un afán caduco y, bien mirado, / es cadáver, es polvo, es sombra, es nada" (134).

⁷⁹ Matthew 18:12-13 and Luke 15:3-7 contain the parable of the Good Shepherd, wherein the shepherd (Christ) leaves the ninety and nine to find the errant sheep. Isaiah gave a similar parable in his Messianic prophesy contained in Isaiah 40:11.

As in a number of other *autos*, Hombre boards a ship, but it differs some from the vessels found in many other plays. Instead of representing the Church, the ship symbolizes grace, with Iglesia as its captain. In this sense, those who choose to have the Catholic Church as their guide or captain receive the grace of God. Often *autos* end once the protagonist has boarded the ship designed to safely transport them to eternal glory, but just as Tiempo suggested in Lope's *El viaje del Alma*, a variety of hardships await Hombre, and the highwaymen that once beat him hope to get their hands on him again. Príncipe's intervention in rescuing Hombre and taking him to the ship of grace marks the second time that Príncipe has saved him from perilous circumstances; the first rescue took place before the appearance of the gypsy, Culpa. The scene on the ship in this instance suggests that baptism or a single act of repentance do not guarantee the perpetual possession of grace. Instead, Hombre repeatedly falters, and the two gypsy bandits, Pereza and Envidia, persistently endeavor to catch him after he gains passage on the ship of grace. However, their role in the performance changes from active participants to narrators, hopeful that Hombre will come within their reach. The dialogue that takes place between the two bandits helps the audience understand the action and emphasizes the powerlessness of the Devil and his vices when Hombre follows the Pope. Pereza, in dismay, observes that since Hombre "entróse en tierra del Papa; no le podremos prender" (890-91). As Pereza and Envidia furtively watch Hombre from the shore, hoping that he will make a mistake so that they will have the opportunity to lay their hands on him again, they relate to each other their observations and the significance of the two opposing ships that they see. Their narration, like a basic plot summary given to

spectators before a performance, also benefits the audience since the ships that they describe do not appear until after they have given a detailed description of their didactic significance.

The two gypsy highwaymen momentarily become excited when Hombre falls from the ship, but their hopes are dashed when they see him praying for help. The ship's captain, Iglesia, throws him a plank (the cross) to grab hold of while the Virgin tosses the rosary from the crow's nest to the floundering Hombre.⁸⁰ Mary's elevated position in the crow's nest indicates her important station in the Church, while her intervention in casting the rosary out to Hombre is an allegorical symbol of her intercessory role in helping the sinner obtain grace. Hombre's prayers constitute the act of seeking penance for wrongs committed, and the allegorical scene depicted here closely resembles an official declaration by the Council of Trent concerning grace, justification, and repentance:

As regards those who, by sin, have fallen from the received grace of Justification, they may be again justified, when, God exciting them, through the sacrament of Penance they shall have attained to the recovery, by the merit of Christ, of the grace lost: for this manner of Justification is of the fallen the reparation: which the holy Fathers have aptly called a second plank after the shipwreck of grace lost. For, on behalf of those who fall into sins after baptism, Christ Jesus instituted the sacrament of Penance (Waterworth 41)

Hombre's prayers and supplications constitute part of the penance process, but he still struggles to regain the grace lost. From the shore the apostle Peter sees Hombre's plight.

⁸⁰ Pereza offers a rather comical, yet informative explanation of the Virgin's act of throwing the Rosary to Hombre, saying, "[S]us cuentas arroja al Hombre, para que dé buena cuenta" (1034-35). In other words, the Virgin throws the Rosary out to Hombre, who has swallowed "gustos salobres" after falling from the ship, so that he can keep track of how many prayers he has offered. The *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *cuentas* in the following manner: "Se llaman las piezas de que se compóne el Rosario. . . . Llámense assi, porque sirven para contar las Ave Marias, ù otras oraciones que se ván rezando."

As occasionally happens with saints and prominent Church figures in *autos*, little is done to explicitly identify Pedro, but the narrative clues that the two highwaymen observe and give provide ample assistance in helping audience members identify him.⁸¹ Envidia and Pereza note his fisherman's garb and refer to Christ's calling him to be a fisher of men.⁸² In jest Envidia and Pereza point out Peter's weaknesses as revealed in the Gospels. Among the numerous Biblical references to Peter that they make, they suggest that he will not have the courage to enter the water to go to Hombre's aid because of a previous unsuccessful attempt that he made to walk on water.⁸³ Envidia blithely remarks that he is a rock (*piedra*) of little faith that will sink.⁸⁴ Pereza seeks to quiet Envidia and keep him from drawing a knife for fear of the man using a knife of his own to cut off Envidia's ear.⁸⁵ Envidia's mocking "Quiquiriquí," however, immediately stirs Peter to action to help Hombre, who has clung to the cross to reach safety.⁸⁶ All these visual and aural clues aptly identify Peter and presage his role in assisting Hombre.

As Peter goes to Hombre's aid, he calls out:

¡A, buen hombre! Aste a la tabla;
 crucifíxate con ella,
 pues el mar de su pasión

⁸¹ The names of minor characters or those with few lines are often omitted from the dialogue, but the visual symbolism associated with those characters often identifies them as effectively as their name given as a verbal sign vehicle. In other instances, characters in *autos sacramentales* provide ample verbal evidence as to their identity and allegorical significance.

⁸² Matt. 4:19.

⁸³ Matt. 14:29-30.

⁸⁴ Matt. 16:18 And I say to you: That you are Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

⁸⁵ John 18:10 Then Simon Peter, having a sword, drew it and struck the servant of the high priest and cut off his right ear.

⁸⁶ Matt. 26:74-75 relates the three denials that Peter made about knowing Christ, all of which he did before the rooster's crow when Christ was apprehended and accused by the Jews. The onomatopoeic crow fittingly elicits Peter's response here since it caused him a great deal of shame when he realized that his three denials had fulfilled Christ's prophesy that Peter would deny him three times.

passó en otra la luz nuestra. (1084-87)⁸⁷

Peter invites Hombre to vomit all his faults in confession. Envidia and Pereza, in their role as bandits, have one final hope: to prevent him from confessing because of “empacho and vergüenza” (1113). If they succeed in their plan, Hombre will fail to complete the penance process and will eventually die in his sins. In a scene of comic relief, yet true to the personification of the bandit vices, Envidia exclaims, “Vamos volando” (1116). Pereza, less enthusiastic, responds, “Amigo, si quieres, buela / porque vna vez que bolé / me dio dolor de cabeça” (1117-19). Clearly such speed does not suit Pereza’s slothful nature! The bandits disappear, and their failure to return signals their lack of success in waylaying Hombre a second time. The intercessory role of the Virgin Mary, the Church’s involvement in extending the atonement in the form of a cross or plank, and Peter’s authority as the first pope of the Church to hear confession so that Hombre can return to the grace that he has lost all address important points of conflict between Catholics and Reformers.

La amistad en el peligro serves as a traditional allegory of vices, who personified as highwaymen, seek to steal Hombre’s innocence and thwart his progress. This does not mean, however, that it is a carbon copy of other *autos* that have highwaymen as characters. The bandits in each play represent different vices or obstacles in an individual’s spiritual progression, and although the action may occasionally have striking similarities with other works, the sundry identities of the highwaymen from one play to the next promise a new theological lesson with each *auto sacramental*. Additionally, the

⁸⁷ Hombre’s embrace of the cross refers to Christ’s admonition to take up the cross and follow Him (Luke 9:23, 14:27; Matthew 10:38, 16:24; Mark 8:34).

use of gypsy characters as highwaymen, while not observing today's standards of political correctness, fit with some of the prevailing negative stereotypes of the ethnic group and add a local touch to the play.

As demonstrated in *La amistad en el peligro*, José de Valdivielso, like several other playwrights of his time, could seamlessly insert scriptural references into his *autos* in a way that required his audience to pay close attention in order to absorb the profound intertextual significance they provided. Perhaps even more remarkable, he possessed a unique ability, if not propensity, that was unmatched by many of his peers to weave national themes, characters, and myths into his plays. *La serrana de Plasencia*, performed in 1619, is another notable example of this. It draws its inspiration from a long history of plays and *romances* portraying a woman living in the Extremaduran mountains near Plasencia and Garganta la Olla. By 1916 Menéndez Pidal and his wife, María Goyri, had found 21 different *romances* that contained some version of this story (134). Based on the title's inclusion in *El peregrino en su patria* in a list of *comedias* that he had written, Lope de Vega composed *La serrana de la Vera* sometime before 1603. Using the same name for one of his *comedias*, Luis Vélez de Guevara wrote his own version of the mythical legend around 1613.⁸⁸ Five years later, Bartolomé Enciso's *auto La montañesa* or *La serrana de Plasencia*, reached the Spanish stage. *El amante más cruel o la Santa bandolera*, of unknown authorship and date of composition, is yet another *auto* that draws upon this local legend. In modern times the music group Acetre keeps the legend alive among their fan base with the song *La serrana de la Vera*.

⁸⁸ See also *Las dos bandoleras* and *El prodigio de Etiopía* by Lope de Vega and *La ninfa del cielo* by Tirso de Molina. These *comedias* also draw inspiration from the national myth.

The legend of the *serrana* varies considerably from one *romance* to another and from one play to another. Some of them portray her as a strong, vengeful seductress, who like a black widow kills her lovers. Some portray her as half horse, half woman like the Kentaurides of ancient mythology. The denouement of the different *romances*, *comedias*, and *autos* also vary considerably—some with a happy ending, while others imply or tell of her sorry fate. In spite of numerous, often divergent, versions of this story, Bruce Wardropper, suggests that *El hijo pródigo* and *La serrana de la Vera* by José de Valdivielso “tienen defectos causados por la fidelidad con que se sigue la historia original: no es que sean malos dramas alegóricos; lo que pasa es que Valdivielso no saca de sus situaciones simbólicas todo el provecho posible . . .” (296). The meaning behind this critique proves to be somewhat illusory since Wardropper recognizes *La serrana* as a modest allegory but then suggests that it does not take full advantage of the symbolic situations within the play. Unfortunately, he does not offer any examples of where Valdivielso has not taken full advantage of the possibility to maximize the symbolism within his play or how it follows the “original history,” whatever that may be, too closely.⁸⁹

The protagonist in *La serrana de Plasencia*, unlike those in the vast majority of *autos* that have bandits as characters, is not the victim, but rather the perpetrator of the highway holdups. Instead of portraying some personified vice stealing the innocence or virtue of the main character, Valdivielso depicts the protagonist as an active agent in

⁸⁹ Although I may appear overly critical of Bruce Wardropper at times, I view him as one of the foremost scholars of the *autos sacramentales* whose contributions to the genre have proved invaluable in my own research and that of others. Any perceived defects in his critique of plays can likely be attributed more to the customary rules of scholarship practiced during his lifetime rather than to any deficiencies he may have had as a literary savant.

plundering her own rectitude. Alma, known as Serrana throughout the majority of the play, leaves her faithful husband, Esposo (Christ), to chase after Placer.⁹⁰ At some point she partners up with Engaño, becoming a bandit who waylays men and women on the road to Plasencia. Like many variations of the myth, Serrana is a spurned lover, in this case of Placer, but that does not seem to be the motive behind her attacks on travelers. Nor does the play imply that she seeks revenge on the male sex by making love to those she finds before killing them. Instead, she resembles the two characters that share the name of Hombre in *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *La amistad en el peligro*, both of whom use their youth and desires as an excuse to disregard the advice of Consuelo and Inocencia, respectively. The allegorical scenario indicates that in her youth, Serrana, like Hombre, has erred in parting ways with Razón and in choosing pleasure over Christ, her husband.

La serrana de Plasencia, like numerous other *autos*, emphasizes the doctrine of free will and the necessity of turning to Christ in order for his atonement to redeem the sinner. The personification of the different vices in the play figuratively equates chasing after pleasure and physical beauty with adultery. After her fling with Placer, Serrana notes, “Violé de mi Esposo el lecho / Y su amor casto ofendí” (246). Of her own free will, she chose pleasure over Christ. However, her fleeting pleasure comes at a great price: the inner turmoil and pangs of conscience that wrack her mind. In a particularly poignant moment of guilt that she feels for leaving Esposo, she declares:

¡Ay, cuánto dejé en dejarle!
¡Ay, cuánto perdí en perderle!

⁹⁰ Placer also appears to use the names of Gusto and Apetito in the play.

¡No habia cielo como verle,
Ni habia gloria como amarle! (247)

But Serrana's remorse proves insufficient to rectify the situation; instead, she allows Engaño to convince her that she has gone too far to obtain forgiveness for sullyng Esposo's honor. His question, "Si la honra le quitaste, / ¿Dejaráte con la vida?" may sound absurd to a modern audience that is distanced from the honor killings that take place in other cultures halfway around the world, but for the play's contemporary public, the question likely sounded much more plausible. In 1565, a man by the name of Silvestre de Angulo savagely executed his wife and her lover in a crowded public square in Sevilla even though several monks pled with him to pardon the adulterers. The sociopolitical reality of Spain and the vast majority of Europe during this period called for strict punishment for such violations of the moral code.⁹¹ Calderón de la Barca's *El médico de su honra*, written several decades after Valdivielso's *auto*, further demonstrates that honor killings, while perhaps not as public as during the sixteenth century, still held the attention of society. The excessive guilt and fear that Serrana feels prevent her from returning to her husband and partaking of the sacrament of Penance, the "second plank after the shipwreck of grace lost" (Waterworth 41).

Razón and Desengaño,⁹² two of the victims assailed by Serrana and Engaño, become prisoners in the cave portrayed in many of the accounts concerning the myth.

Their illegal apprehension and imprisonment contain significant allegorical meaning

⁹¹ Adolfo de Castro y Rossi writes, "[F]iereza, crueldad ó barbárie, el castigo del adulterio se halla en las leyes de todos los pueblos europeos. En Inglaterra, por ejemplo, hubo un tiempo en que se penaba como homicidio, y en otro en que era condenado á destierro el hombre, y la mujer á la pérdida de narices y orejas. En Portugal quemaban al adúltero con la adúltera . . ." (156).

⁹² Perhaps to clarify and simplify the meaning behind the name Desengaño, Bruce Wardropper at one point refers to this character as Verdad (304).

concerning Serrana's fall from grace. Engaño strips Desengaño of his clothes after accosting him and uses them as his own. In conversation with Razón, Desengaño reveals, "Él, con la santa apariencia / Del vestido que profana, / Roba con esa Serrana" (244). This scenario stands in stark contrast with Culpa's change in clothing in *Las aventuras del Hombre*. Culpa's outward change in appearance represented a more enduring inward change as she became Esperanza. Engaño's different outward appearance, like Mal's in *No hay más fortuna que Dios*, however, does not represent a substantial change in character; instead, it merely reinforces the maxim, "Beware of the wolf in sheep's clothing."⁹³ Engaño's false appearance coincides with the meaning of his name as he fools Serrana into believing that she cannot return to Esposo. Serrana, as an accomplice of Engaño, has locked away the two people who have tried to reveal the truth to her. In an allusion to Serrana's hindered ability to reason caused by her lifestyle, Razón declares from within the cave, "[M]edia ciega estoy / en tamaña escuridad" (245). In short, the allegorical imprisonment of Razón and Desengaño suggests that those who disregard reason and truth or disillusionment will always succumb to deceit.

In many cases a rich repertoire of intertextual knowledge enriches a play and in some cases can even assist in correctly anticipating the denouement of a given work. Yet in spite of their familiarity with the legend of the mountain woman from Andalucía, Golden Age audiences may have had difficulty in anticipating the exact consequences that would result from the escape of Razón and Desengaño from Serrana's cave. The general tradition of the legend split two ways: in some *romances* and plays the woman

⁹³ See Matt. 7.15 or the fable attributed to Aesop of the wolf in sheep's clothing.

faced execution when a man escaped and brought the law back to her abode, while in others she obtained a pardon in one form or another.

Upon escaping, Razón and Desengaño make their way to Esposo's mansion, where they tell him of Serrana's depraved state. Razón reminisces on growing up with Serrana and accompanying her wherever she would go until *Apetito* came between them. The allegorical message conveyed to the audience in this scenario signals the dangers of unrestrained appetites and the deprived state of those who stray from Christ and his Church. After *Placer* had seduced and deserted her, Serrana became a bandit and led Razón into her cave. The identity and condition of the different personified prisoners found therein, while providing an understandable allegorical message, once again draw from the intertextual knowledge of the play's audience to allow them to more fully appreciate and decode the didactic message in Razón's report:

Encontré al Entendimiento
Entre ignorantes tinieblas,
Muy caduca la Memoria,
La Voluntad muy ramera.
Vi la Esperanza perdida,
Puedo decir que sin ella,
Y si no muerta la Fe,
La santa Caridad muerta.
Vi la Religion sin alma;
A la Verdad vi sin lengua. . . . (249)

As in so many other plays of the genre, Valdivielso directly references the three faculties of the soul. *Voluntad*, generally portrayed as the most persuasive of the three, serves as a mirror image of Serrana, who has prostituted herself, although not necessarily for money. In regards to the figurative meaning of this observation, an analysis of the play once again shows that Serrana's desires and choices represent a form of adultery, since they

lead her away from Christ, her husband. The allusion to the sorry state of Esperanza, Fe, and Caridad recall Paul's epistle to the Corinthians where he taught that people are nothing without charity before further expounding on faith, hope, and charity, with charity as the most important of the three virtues: "And now there remain faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity" (1 Cor. 13:13). And finally, religion without a soul or substance and truth without a tongue suggest that Serrana has chosen to silence those things that would remind her of the sinful state in which she lives.

As with several versions of the popular myth when one of the woman's victims escaped and brought back ministers of justice, Desengaño wonders why Esposo does not exercise his severe justice on his wayward wife, but Esposo, like Christ in the New Testament, does not exercise the punishment mandated by the Mosaic Law, but rather he expresses his love for the errant sinner and seeks her return through the sacrament of penance. In a distinct message for Catholic adherents, Esposo sends Desengaño, dressed as a shepherd, to find Serrana and deliver a message:

Y si vieres que se empacha
De venir á mi presencia,
Que se valga de mi Madre,
Pues que sabe cuánto pueda;
Que hará nuestras amistades,
Que tiene gracia en hacerlas,
Y más con quien, como yo,
Tan ansioso las desea. (249-50)

The invitation to turn to her mother-in-law, the Virgin Mary, as a mediatrix between the sinner and Esposo or Christ, had come into vogue in Spain centuries before but served as a point of great conflict between the Reformers and faithful Catholics. The *auto* implies that Christ wants each individual to repent, and if the sinner feels uncomfortable turning

to him, that person might find the Virgin to be more approachable. In this manner, the character representing Christ teaches or reinforces the Catholic doctrine concerning the acceptability of praying to the Virgin or saints as benevolent go-betweens.

In a later scene, Desengaño finds but pretends not to recognize Serrana. From an elevated position, likely one of the two traditional carts used in the *autos* of the time, he calls out:

¡Que vais ciega y engañada!

 Tomad á mano derecha,
 Que, aunque angosta, es más segura.

His vantage point affords him with a view of the destination of each of the forking paths, thereby allowing him to offer prudent advice. As with numerous *autos* before, and those that followed, the moral choice presented by the two paths brings to mind what Mindele Anne Treip calls the “‘free will’ icon,” the Pythagorean Y (148).⁹⁴ Desengaño, from his enlightened position, offers Serrana the opportunity to choose the right path; and true to his name, he reveals Engaño’s identity and his sinister works when the two engage in an argument over what Serrana should do.

In numerous other *autos* where the main characters fall victim to highwaymen after having followed their carnal desires, they want freedom. Who would not want deliverance from their captors? Serrana’s plight, however, may more accurately reflect the inner turmoil of someone asked to give up their personal vices for a more austere

⁹⁴ See the treatment of this concept in the chapter “The Polysemous Ship” to review the use of the Pythagorean Y in relation to Lope de Vega’s *El viaje del Alma* and Calderón’s *La nave del Mercader*.

lifestyle. As a bandit and agent of her actions, she must choose whether to rein herself in after Desengaño reveals the true nature of things or to continue to indulge her passions:

¡Ay, navecilla cuitada,
 De dos vientos combatida,
 Que entre bramadoras ondas
 Remolinando vacilas!
 Sin Duda el paciente Job
 Por esta guerra decia
 Que era la vida de un hombre
 Una perpétua milicia

 Quiero tomar mi ballesta,
 Quiero seguir mis desdichas. (253)

The metaphorical boat tossed by opposing winds demonstrates the tempestuous nature of her inner debate, while her choice to continue as a bandit signal the strength that habits and desires have on individuals. When Esposo finally arrives, however, the pendulum of her decision making swings the other way:

Soy con armas la vencida,
 Vos sin ellas me venceis;
 Salteadora, os dejo libre,
 No salteador, me prendeis. (254)

Despite her subsequent verbal confession of guilt, Esposo delivers her to two gendarmes of the *Santa Hermandad* who have come to carry out justice. Later, tied to a post to be executed, she confesses once more and asks Esposo's forgiveness. At last he steps in front of Serrana and takes the arrows intended for her. Though not the standard crucifixion, Esposo's interposing himself in the line of fire, signifies how Christ takes upon himself the demands of justice for society's indiscretions if people repent and exercise their free will in a manner deserving of his grace.

Building upon the identity of a bandit-protagonist, *La serrana de Plasencia*, differs significantly from *Las aventuras del Hombre* and *La amistad en el peligro*; however, each of the plays use the motif of the highwayman to reaffirm Catholic doctrine, particularly that of free will. At a time when bandits increasingly roamed the Spanish countryside seeking personal or political gain by emptying the purses of unprepared travelers, the highwaymen of *autos* served as allegorical reminders of the spiritual perils on the highway of life. With higher stakes than the threat of bodily injury or the loss of a few coins and treasured jewels, the figurative traveler that arrives at life's forking path may well forfeit virtue, innocence, and ultimately the grace of God to the marauding vices and deceits that await those who err. Serrana, like those who suppress positive influence and counsel, actually joins forces with deceit, imprisoning those virtues and institutions that were best equipped to guide her on the narrow path that leads back to Plasencia and the mansion of her loving husband. The forgiveness and mercy that she and the protagonists of the other plays receive comes only after a conscious choice to change and a healthy dose of divine intervention.

These plays illustrate that as an unpopular and unsavory figure in society and a threat to the wellbeing of innocent travelers, the highwayman made an ideal allegorical character in *autos sacramentales* that portrayed the dangers of straying from the protection of Church doctrines. In contrast to the modern idealization, if not glorification, of thievery and banditry in movies like *The Italian Job*, *Ocean's Eleven*, and many other Hollywood blockbusters, the highwaymen in Golden Age *autos* retained the

stigmatization of their non-fictional counterparts.⁹⁵ The scenarios that include bandits in each of these plays readily identify the binary opposition between good and evil with little doubt concerning the antagonistic nature of the ignoble highwaymen and their allegorical significance. Though not as reliant on visual interpretation as the ships, the topic of bandits and its related subject matter still relies heavily on the audience's ability to make use of its intertextual knowledge to decode the available visual and aural signs associated with the characters and their actions. The numerous references to the Bible, local legends, and customs found in these plays show how playwrights like Lope de Vega and José de Valdivielso could take a simple topic like that of highwaymen and apply a profound, intertextual web of meaning designed for the enjoyment and education of people from all classes.

⁹⁵ Although the *auto sacramental* did not idealize the bandit character like the legend of Robin Hood in England, other genres in Spain did not always portray thieves in an entirely negative fashion. The protagonists from picaresque novels, often stealing in order to eat, could elicit empathy from readers while at the same time providing a good dose of humor.

CHAPTER 4: ON TRIAL

In the New Testament, Christ receives several charges of jurisprudential significance: that of judge and that of advocate (See John 5:27-30 and 1 John 2:1). As judge, according to Catholic tradition, he performs the will of his Father in seeing that justice is administered; but as advocate, he intercedes, much like a defense attorney pleading a case for the defendant, in behalf of those who have exercised faith and good works so that mercy may also be applied. According to Catholic theology this divine tribunal directed by Christ awaits both the living and the dead. To an extent, several of the *autos* already mentioned address Christ's interest and involvement in this process. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da barca da Glória*, when several well-to-do sinners pray to Christ after having failed to gain passage on Ángel's vessel, Christ intervenes and extends mercy to them. Similarly, in José de Valdivielso's *La serrana de Plasencia*, Serrana pleads for mercy and forgiveness while awaiting execution at the hands of the Santa Hermandad. Esposo intervenes as a vicarious sacrifice, accepting the arrows of justice meant for Serrana. While these plays show the intercessory role of Christ and his power to grant forgiveness as judge or mediator, they do little to portray him as a judge in the literal sense, nor do they depict the formal trial process that appears in a number of *autos*.

Spaniards of the Counter-Reformation grew up in a culture that stressed the accountability that individuals would have for their actions when they appeared before the bar of divine judgment. As "sermons put to verse," the homiletic subject matter of *autos* easily lends itself to judgment scenes wherein individuals will be held accountable for their faith and works during their mortal sojourn on Earth. In the Bible the vocabulary

associated with the final judgment of mankind is simple, as is the depiction of Christ as judge. It often lacks the technical terminology related to matters of jurisprudence, but this does not mean that such vocabulary did not find its way into *autos sacramentales* portraying the Divine Judgment. It was not uncommon for playwrights to write *autos* that closely resembled civil or criminal court cases, complete with prosecutors and defense attorneys. Nor was it uncommon to see other types of court cases in *autos sacramentales* in addition to the portrayal of the Divine Judgment. The sociopolitical climate of the period offered a variety of tribunals for the playwrights to choose from, including civil and inquisitorial courts, which enabled spectators to easily decode and remember the theological significance conveyed in the allegories that created didactic scenarios out of the commonplace trials of the day.

The laws and composition of different Spanish courts often served as the allegorical base upon which many Golden Age *autos* were fashioned. In an effort to create a unified law that would replace many of the conflicting local and regional *fueros* of his time, Alfonso X had the *Siete partidas* written during the second half of the thirteenth century. Although some debate exists concerning when the *Partidas* first acquired the force of law, their first known promulgation dates back to 1348 during the reign of Alfonso XI.⁹⁶ Based largely on Roman law, the *Partidas* address natural, canonical, civil, and criminal law, judicial organization and rules of procedure, and penal legislation, among other things (Walton 76-77). Luis Martí Mingarro notes that the *Siete*

⁹⁶ In the *Ordenamiento de las Cortes de Alcalá de Henares*, Alfonso XI declares, “[M]andamos que se libren por las leyes contenidas en los libros de las siete Partidas que el rrey don Alfonso, nuestro visauuelo mandó ordenar, como quier que fasta aqui non se falla que fuesen publicadas por mandado del rrey nin fuesen auidas nin rreçibidas por leyes . . .” (*Córtés* 490). If Alfonso XI’s assertion is to be trusted, he was the first to promulgate the *Siete Partidas*.

Partidas became the first great legal text in a codified format to be published in a romance language, thereby opening the path for the publication of legal texts in the *lengua vulgar* or vernacular (x). Although the *Siete Partidas* had been published previously, the 1555 edition by Gregorio López became the authoritative version employed by the courts of Spain and remained in force well into the nineteenth century. Shortly after López's edition of the *Partidas*, in 1567, Philip II also sanctioned *La nueva recopilación*; as William Burdick summarizes, these two compilations "made up the body of the general Spanish Law" (16). Although commoners during the Counter-Reformation would not be experts in Spanish law and courtroom procedure as defined by the *Partidas* and the *Nueva recopilación*, the relatively frequent display of court cases in *autos* and other theatrical pieces would place them on par with modern audiences who watch reruns of such programs as *Perry Mason*, *Murder She Wrote*, *Matlock*, *Law and Order*, *Judge Judy*, *Harry's Law*, *La corte del pueblo*, or *La corte de familia*. Like modern television viewers, those who had not personally experienced a court case would have a somewhat skewed perception derived from popular entertainment, yet they would understand the basic personnel and procedures involved in a trial.

Lope de Vega's *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santisimo Sacramento* contains a short, formulaic trial of Hombre that closely reflects Catholic dogma and, with one exception that I will explain, the court cases in Spain at the time. Hombre, who has allowed Genio Malo and Mundo to guide him down the streets of a city (*ciudad humana*) and to the house of Engaño, finally allows Genio Bueno to show him the house of Desengaño. This, along with a vision he has of three individuals: one in Heaven, another

in Purgatory, and the last in Hell, allows him to see the error of his ways and prompts him to seek repentance. Pleased at Hombre's resolve to purge himself of his faults, Genio Bueno directs his attention to the scene of a tribunal that opens up before him. Hombre's subsequent trial serves as a barometer of what awaits him based on his current condition and his resolve to repent. The general formulaic structure of these codified, theatrical court cases and of the doctrine of repentance according to Catholicism presage a favorable ruling for Hombre because of his penitent attitude for the venial sins committed.

Although audience members and readers can easily predict the general denouement of the play, the allegorical roles conveyed by the embodiment of the social actors in this specific context proves particularly difficult to decipher for modern students of the *auto* dependent on the physical archive of material. The court case, taken from the physical script of the play, contains several confusing segments. The stage directions say, "Descúbrese una Audiencia, donde está Cristo y María y un Ángel Miguel, que es el Genio, y el Demonio á otro lado, abajo los dos, y el Demonio con un libro en la mano" (10). It indicates that the Ángel Miguel is the same person as Genio Bueno, and in one instance during the proceedings, the script uses Bueno instead of Miguel to identify the speaker. Similarly, one could easily assume the interchangeability of the names of Malo and Demonio, since Demonio carries a book, and when Cristo asks to hear the case against Hombre, Malo presents the case, identifying himself as the infernal clerk (*relator infernal*) and the prosecutor (*fiscal*). According to the names that appear before the scripted dialogue during the court case, both Malo and Demonio speak several times,

seemingly performing the same role; however, as the court case closes, Demonio acknowledges his intention to leave, and the stage directions indicate that he follows through with his declaration. Malo, however, remains on stage. If the two names represent the same character, this part of the script contains multiple errors, including the stage directions that indicate that Demonio leaves the stage. The seemingly unrelated name of the play itself to its storyline, as noted by a number of scholars, offers some reason to suspect errors in the script, but a conclusive determination of other possible errors remains illusory owing to the lack of scholarship related to Lope's *autos* and additional information directly associated with this particular piece.

Another apparent point of confusion exists in the role of each of the individual characters on stage at the time of the trial. No character, aside from Malo, identifies his legal profession. Miguel refers to Cristo as a just judge, but that still leaves María, Miguel, and possibly Demonio without a clear occupation or role in the court case. Bruce Wardropper, in his summary of the *auto*, refers to María and Cristo as judges and Miguel and Demonio as *fiscales*. He makes no reference to Malo, apparently merging his character with that of Demonio (271). The original visual repertoire (i.e. the performance) as described by Diana Taylor of the play would have dispelled much of this confusion regarding the action and the symbolism associated with it; however, little documentation has been found or remains that could definitively clear up the confusion in this specific play. The modern reader, however, is left to sort through the available archive associated with the play and its intertextuality in order to make sense of it.

The primary resource to better understand María's role in the proceedings of the trial is the script of the play, but several secondary sources also shed some light on the matter. At no point does the play refer to María as a judge, nor does she issue the final decision of the court. Perhaps Wardropper's confusion comes from her use of the imperative when she addresses Cristo or from Miguel's presence as an apparent prosecutor. However, in Catholic theology, Mary frequently requests favors of her Son on behalf of sinners, and sometimes those requests are in the form of gentle commands or pleas. Saint Peter Damian suggests that "when the Mother goes to seek a favour for us from Jesus Christ . . . her Son esteems her prayers so greatly, and is so desirous to satisfy her, that when she prays, it seems as if she rather commanded than prayed, and was rather a queen than a handmaid" (Liguori 154). When María, in Hombre's defense, says to Cristo, "Perdonalde," she is not acting as the judge who declares the final sentence but as Hombre's lawyer or advocate, pleading for her client's release. Saint Bonaventure explains the influential role of the Virgin Mary as she advocates for mankind: "O truly immense and admirable goodness of our God, which has been pleased to grant thee, O sovereign Mother, to us miserable sinners for our advocate, in order that thou, by thy powerful intercession, mayest obtain all that thou pleasest for us" (Liguori 162). Hombre, understanding María's role between himself and her Son, entreats her, "Virgen Santa, de Dios Madre, / . . . / *abogad* por mí" (emphasis added 312). His request speaks more about his need for a defense attorney against the accusations brought against him than his desire for a second judge to simply rule on the evidence provided by the prosecutor.

With María as Hombre's advocate in the case, Miguel's presence and his few words on Hombre's behalf might seem superfluous at first glance, but a look at the legal framework of the time offers a logical explanation for his presence. Robert I. Burns explains that the defense could have a proctor and an advocate.⁹⁷ He further reveals that proctors generally acquired their skills from court experience or some legal schooling (xiv). Meanwhile, advocates were considered "elite lawyers" or "legal experts who often boasted advanced degrees in canon or civil law and sometimes both" (Brundage 135). Among other responsibilities, both the proctor and the advocate could plead defenses on behalf of their client. Of the two, the advocate had the greater influence and training. In the trial of Hombre, María, as advocate, is clearly the more imposing figure of the two. Miguel, as proctor, shares some of María's responsibilities in defending Hombre, but his legal role does not carry the same importance or influence. If the stage directions related to the trial are accepted as correct, and Malo and Demonio are indeed two separate characters, the legal relationship between the two would understandably mirror that of María and Miguel.

As a woman, María's role as an advocate does not fully reflect the Spanish law of the seventeenth century. Women at the time play very small roles in matters of jurisprudence. The *Siete Partidas* forbid women from serving as judges, advocates, and proctors under the general argument that it would be inappropriate for women to publicly

⁹⁷ Robert Burns, in a modern republication of Samuel Parsons Scott's translation of the *Siete Partidas*, translates the word *personero* as proctor. In his 1931 translation of the text, Scott translated the word as attorney. Over time the roles and terminology used to refer to those involved in matters of jurisprudence change, often significantly. This makes it difficult to properly translate some words since they do not fully reflect the roles of modern juriconsults. I will defer to Burns, who has spent far more time with the text than me, in regards to the choice of English legal terms to use.

interact with so many members of the opposite sex in an *oficio de varón* (Sanchez-Arcilla Bernal 414).⁹⁸ Queens, countesses, and other women who had inherited dominion over a certain region could serve as judges out of respect for their position, but women could only serve as proctors in specific instances, generally to defend immediate relatives that had no other recourse or those in conditions of servitude or slavery (Sanchez-Arcilla Bernal 406). However, the *Siete Partidas* make no allowance for female advocates, citing the ancient incident of the intelligent Calphurnia, who, as the *Partidas* relate, “era tan desvergonzada que enojaba a los jueces con sus voces, que no podían con ella” (Sanchez-Arcilla Bernal 414). As evidenced in *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, and considering Mary’s prominence and longstanding association as advocate and mediatrix in the Catholic Church, playwrights likely felt little obligation to make the portrayal of their plays fully fit within the framework of Spanish law. Instead, they have taken liberties to give the advocate Virgin the same type of exceptions allowed to judges and proctors so the allegory would better reflect the Catholic dogmata of the day, though deviating from some exact points of civil law.

With plausible roles for each of the characters, the significance of the scene becomes easier to interpret. Malo and Demonio, as the prosecution, present a case that shows Hombre’s guilt. Miguel, as proctor, speaks very little, but he does point out that through Christ’s divine aid, Hombre has already begun to change. Shortly after asking María to plead his case, Hombre exclaims, “¡Ay, soberana Raquel! / ¡Ay, Judit fuerte,

⁹⁸ For the prohibition of women in the office of proctor and the exceptions to the rule, see page 406 of the José Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal’s edition of *Siete Partidas*. The explanation against women as advocates appears on page 414. Most women were also excluded from serving as judges. The law instructed those who did officiate as a judge to consult with knowledgeable men so that if they made any mistake, the men would know how to counsel them and rectify the situation (391).

ayudadme! / ¡Ay, escala de Jacob!” (312). Lope appears to have intentionally chosen prominent women from the Bible for Hombre’s petition, perhaps as a gesture to female audience members. Each line represents a significant person or historical event from the Old Testament, the last serving as a clear type of the Virgin Mary and her prominent role in Catholic tradition. Rachel was Jacob’s first love; but because of her father’s deception, she did not become his first wife, nor did she bear his first child, yet her direct grandchild through Joseph, received the birthright generally reserved for the firstborn son of each family. Hombre, seeking a birthright in the Kingdom of Heaven, implores her name first. Judith, the second saint he implores in this passage, intervened for the Jews when their city was besieged by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the opposing army’s captain. Hombre’s desire for such a formidable saint against his opposition requires little explanation.⁹⁹ While the Bible offers simple answers to the interpretation of the first two lines of Hombre’s petition to the saints, the final line, in reference to Jacob’s ladder, requires additional information. In a vision Jacob saw angels ascending and descending on a ladder extending from the earth to Heaven. The Lord, leaning on the ladder, renewed the covenants that he had made to Jacob’s grandfather, Abraham. For many in the Church, the ladder in Jacob’s dream became associated with the Virgin Mary as numerous saints referred to her as a *scala caelestis* and *paradisi scala*, or in other words, a heavenly ladder and a ladder to paradise.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ During the trial Hombre also implored the assistance of Rafael and Judith, an angel and a saint whose stories are told in the *Apocrypha*. In response to Martin Luther’s rejection of the *Apocrypha* as bearing the same doctrinal importance as the previously accepted canon, the Council of Trent ratified many of the apocryphal books as canonical.

¹⁰⁰ Alphonsus Maria de Liguori translates from Latin some of the teachings of early Church Fathers and Saints regarding the ladder as a symbol of the Virgin Mary. In Liguori’s translation St. Augustine declares,

As María obtains Hombre's promise to mend his ways, she urges Cristo to pardon him and to have the case stricken from the record. Incredulous at Cristo's acquiescence to the requests of Hombre's divine advocate, Malo exclaims:

¡Que de esa suerte te ablandes!
 ¿Para qué escribí pecados,
 Si luego te satisfaces
 De una lágrima, Señor? (11)

The prosecution, which at one point during the trial presented evidence that caused Cristo to say that it would be just to punish the defendant, recognizes that Hombre has not yet fulfilled the doctrinal mandate to perform good works in order to gain salvation. With such a poor resume, Hombre must rely on the intervention of María and the saints to overcome the accusations brought against him. The scene ardently supports the efficacy of intervention by the saints and particularly of the intervening role of the Virgin Mary. The mediation that Hombre receives allows him to escape the punishment that his acts would otherwise merit and prompts him to continue with his resolution to repent by going and confessing his sins and to perform acts of charity. The court case fittingly closes as Miguel, who originally helped cast Lucifer and one third of the angels that followed him out of Heaven, expels him again.¹⁰¹ Hombre's trial celebrates many points of Catholic

"Mary's humility . . . became a heavenly ladder by which God came into the world" (327). Peter Damian teaches, "For by Mary God descended from heaven into the world, that by her men might ascend from earth to heaven" (213). Several years later Saint Bernard of Clairvaux says, "this Divine Mother, O my children, is the ladder of sinners, by which they reascend to the height of Divine grace . . ." (175). St. Bonaventure similarly says, "Be thyself [Mary] my soul's ladder and way to heaven. Do thou thyself obtain for it the grace of forgiveness and eternal repose" (244). And finally, St. Lawrence Justinian asks, "How can she be otherwise than full of grace, who has been made the ladder to paradise, the gate of heaven, the most true mediatrix between God and man?" (128). Jacob's ladder has also been associated with the Christ and with the Church in Catholic tradition, but in this instance, Hombre's plea elicits María's intervention.

¹⁰¹ Although the court case concludes, the *auto* continues and, like many of the plays of this genre, includes another one of the three topics addressed in this dissertation. Vices, as highwaymen, attack Hombre after he

doctrine that had been attacked by Reformers. As an allegory, its elevation of Mary and the saints to the status of attorneys extols their literal role, according to the Church, as mediators between Christ and humanity. For the receptive audience, the attorneys' success in obtaining a favorable ruling for Hombre gives honor and glory to the faith while anathematizing its opposition.

Mira de Amescua, one of Lope's contemporaries, wrote a number of plays that directly address some of the same opposing forces of Catholicism. His *autos* demonstrate that he viewed heresy and other themes of the Counter-Reformation as fertile ground waiting to be developed. In fact, few, if any, playwrights explicitly address heresy in such a high percentage of their *autos sacramentales* as Mira de Amescua. Of the twelve *autos* confidently attributed to him in Agustín de la Granja's edition of *Teatro completo*, six have Herejía or a person identified as a heretic as characters. Several of his plays also include a trial or have a courtroom setting. *La inquisición*, which includes both Herejía and a trial, differs from many other *autos* for the simple reason that it includes a relatively lengthy scene of an inquisitorial trial, rather than a civil or criminal case, and instead of the prosecution of the customary sinner who seeks forgiveness of sins committed, an unrepentant Herejía stands trial. Idolatría, along with Herejía, must appear before the tribunal of the Holy Office. At the end of the play, the different rulings against the two reflect the general sentiment toward the Reformation and those belonging to denominations that split off from the Catholic Church.

has performed some good deeds. Christ intervenes, has him dressed in the clothes of grace, and sits with him at a table featuring the Eucharistic host and chalice. In this case, as with other *autos* already mentioned, the change in clothes represents an inward change of character.

The inquisitorial trials of *La inquisición* and of the seventeenth century in general originate from events that took place nearly a century and a half before. Under considerable diplomatic pressure, Pope Sixtus IV ratified the Spanish Inquisition at the behest of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478, well before Martin Luther's insubordination to the Church. In the ensuing decades the two rulers earned the title of *Reyes Católicos* that Pope Alexander VI gave them as they took a special interest in canon law and in making Spain the defender of the faith *par excellence*. Joseph Pérez notes the preeminent status that Ferdinand gave to canon law, particularly in the kingdom of Aragón, which had local laws or *fueros* that had to be overcome in order to provide the Inquisition there with the same power that it held in Castile.

He [Ferdinand] argued that faith was a sacred objective above and beyond all considerations of a temporal order, so the *fueros* should not be invoked in order to deliver a heretic from justice. Furthermore, the new Inquisition had been created by virtue of a decision of the Holy See, so national law could not override canon law. . . . The Inquisition was thus presented somehow as an institution of divine law that was superior to all human institutions. (32)

The ensuing fervor of the appointed inquisitors in stamping out heresy ensured the survival of the Spanish institution for more than three and a half centuries. During that time, civil, criminal, and canon law coexisted. For the more severe punishments handed down by the Inquisition, such as the death sentence, the tribunal of the Holy Office surrendered (also known by the term 'relaxed') the condemned to their secular counterparts, who would then carry out the execution.

The Inquisition initiated at the request of Isabella and Ferdinand evolved quickly over the years to address the new perceived threats of the Reformation. Edward Peters

summarizes, “From the 1530s on, the Spanish Inquisition, originally reconstituted to deal with a particular feature of Spanish religious culture, turned on the new doctrines of the Reformers with the full apparatus and zeal that it had once reserved for *conversos*” (123). Although the Spanish Inquisition continued to target *conversos*, the budding Reformation ensured that a good part of the focus would shift to what it viewed as Protestant heresy for well over a century. Among other disturbances with Protestant nations, the Eighty Years’ War, naval battles with England, and the Thirty Year’s War kept Spain alert to the growing Protestant threat throughout Europe, particularly the tensions developing within the borders of some Habsburg possessions. As often happens in countries affected by war, the patriotic zeal in Spain for the homeland and its religious affiliation manifested itself through the arts and popular entertainment, including the *auto sacramental*, where playwrights repeatedly staged the defeat of Herejía.

Like the civil and criminal trials portrayed in other plays, the inquisitorial trial of Mira’s *La inquisición* relies on the audience’s basic knowledge of the procedures and the personnel involved in individual cases. Furthermore, the Inquisition had personal relevance in the lives of Spanish citizens. It was not just some abstract concept of bygone days, it was reality. While the propaganda produced by Protestant authors and engravers outside of Spain portrayed a gruesome, licentious, and diabolical process handled by self-serving inquisitors, the depictions of the Inquisition from within Spain generally characterized it in much more favorable terms as an institution intent on rooting out heresy but willing to offer forgiveness to the penitent.

As part of the inquisitorial process, the institution established the Edict of Grace, which proclaimed a list of heretical practices and beliefs and then called for people to confess their own heresies in order to reconcile themselves with the Church and to receive more lenient treatment.¹⁰² Stephen Haliczer notes, however, that the people who came forward had to divulge a great deal of information and inform on many of their close acquaintances who harbored similar heretical sentiments. The very high percentage of those who failed to satisfy the inquisitors' expectations was punished, leading to fewer self-reportings (59-60). This, in turn, prompted the enactment of the Edict of Faith, which removed the grace period in which people could come forward. Inquisitors withheld the informants name from the accused, which would understandably encourage more people to volunteer information against someone; yet, at the same time, such a practice denied the accused the same rights of due process that they would have otherwise enjoyed in a civil trial. Edward Peters seeks to clarify the overall intent of the Inquisition as well as some of the other practices that the accused could expect to face:

[T]he aim of the Inquisition remained penitential rather than purely judicial. After his arrest, usually without a specific charge having been made known to him, the accused was urged several times to examine his conscience, identify the charge against him, and confess at some stage before formal proceedings began. If the accused did not, he was faced with formal charges which he had to answer immediately. After answering, the accused was permitted legal counsel and presented with the evidence against him. . . . (93)¹⁰³

¹⁰² Some devout Catholics argued that the enumeration of heretical practices in the Edict of Grace, and later the Edict of Faith, could serve to educate people of heretical practices that they otherwise would not know of, causing them to adopt some of them. See Joseph Pérez's *The Spanish Inquisition*, 139.

¹⁰³ The Inquisition also confiscated the property of the accused. The property was used to provide for the accused while incarcerated. For those executed, and even for some who faced lesser charges, the Inquisition often retained what remained of the confiscated property.

Though secretive in some aspects, the Inquisition also included a number of public functions that it intended for the masses. The penitential *auto de fe*, the wearing of the Sanbenito, and the public executions were all designed as admonitions to all present to adhere to the teachings of the Catholic Church.

To a large extent, Mira's *La inquisición*, closely resembles the heresy trials of the time and depicts Spain as the defender of the faith, which more readily allowed its audience to relate with and understand the significance of the trial of Herejía¹⁰⁴ and Idolatría. In the *auto* León and Noche intend to free Herejía from prison before the Inquisition can try him. Shortly after León declares, "Turbaré la fe de Europa, / dará guerra al albedrío," Noche, a symbol of guilt, death, spiritual darkness, and apostasy, exclaims, "Cubriré de horror y sombras / los horizontes vecinos . . ." (275-76). The darkness covering the neighboring European countries represented their allegiance to Protestantism and the denial of free agency by some of the most prominent sects. On the eve of the trial, Noche further states:

Si soy ausencia del sol
y soy de la culpa imagen,
todas las tinieblas bajen
al hemisferio español;
y escápese la Herejía
desa prisión tan extraña
porque no se llame España
católica monarquía. (384-91)

The imagery created by these lines seemingly portrays Spain as the last great bastion and safe haven from heresy. Inspiring its viewers with a sense of patriotism, the *auto*, like the

¹⁰⁴ At one point in the *auto* León refers to Herejía as herética Apostosía, suggesting Herejía represents more than just a heretical act or declaration (1175).

Edict of Faith, implicitly encourages them to remain vigilant for possible incursions of heretical practices from surrounding countries. In one of his studies, Seymour Feshbach writes, “[P]atriotic motivations are among the most powerful of human motivations, indeed overriding at times the motivation for self-preservation” (225). Engaged in numerous conflicts at the time, particularly against Protestant nations, Spain patriotically struggled to retain some of the influence and splendor that it had enjoyed early in the sixteenth century. The portrayal of Spain surrounded by darkness was designed to instill a stronger sense of pride and patriotism in the audience for their country as it sought to fight off what the faithful Catholic observer would often view as the spiritual darkness of heresy and apostasy.

As León plans Herejía’s escape, he notes the five senses, acting as familiars guarding the green cross or *Cruz Verde* on the eve of the *auto de fe*. An illiterate reader or spectator, lacking the intertextual knowledge of seventeenth-century Spanish spectators, could easily overlook the significance of León’s simple observation concerning the role of the five senses, failing to understand the meaning of the green cross or how the Spanish word *familiares* relates to their task of guarding the cross. Today, society generally associates the green cross with a number of organizations or businesses like the Cruz Verde pharmacies, Green Cross International, and the National Safety Council. However, the *Cruz Verde* of the Counter-Reformation, normally flanked by an olive branch and a sword which represented reconciliation and justice, stood as one of the most visible and recognizable symbols of the Inquisition. The act of guarding the cross on the eve of an *auto de fe* also follows a customary practice of the period and is

not simply a product of Mira de Amescua's imagination seeking to squeeze the five senses into his allegorical play. Regarding the practice of guarding the cross before an *auto de fe*, Ricardo Cappa explains, "En él [un altar] se colocaba la cruz verde, que entre blandones se velaba toda la noche con sumo recogimiento" (130). Amor Divino and Fe fervently admonish the five senses to dutifully and alertly man their posts through the night so the prisoner, Herejía, does not escape. Their vigilance is of utmost importance to protect the cross, which León views as the tree of life (*árbol de la vida*), while Amor Divino points out that the fruit of the cross is the divine bread (*pan divino* or Christ). This pre-trial scene artfully weaves an allegorical connection between the timbers of the cross, the transubstantiated Host, and the tree of life found in the Garden of Eden. In this sense, the five senses or familiars act in a similar manner as the cherubim and flaming sword that guarded the tree of life when Adam and Eve were cast out of the Garden. They deny access to the cross and its fruit to all those unworthy of it.

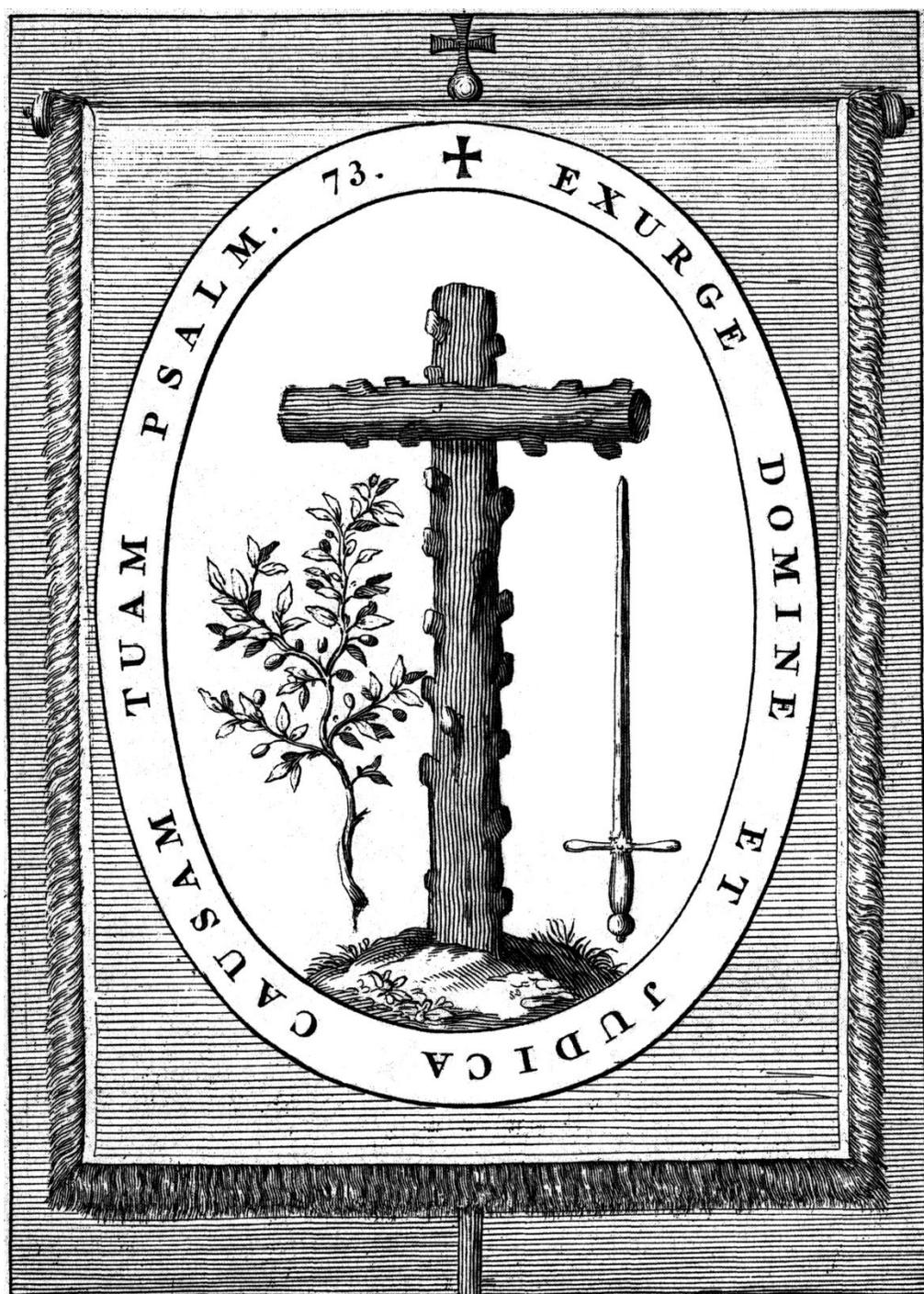


Figure 7. Bernard Picart's portrayal of the banner of the Inquisition features the Cruz Verde, an olive branch, and a sword encircled by the Latin inscription "Exurge Domine et judica causam tuam Psalm. 73"—Rise up, Lord, and judge your cause (Between pages 96 and 97). This motto was also used on the papal bull of Leo X that excommunicated Martin Luther and declared forty one of his ninety five theses as heretical.

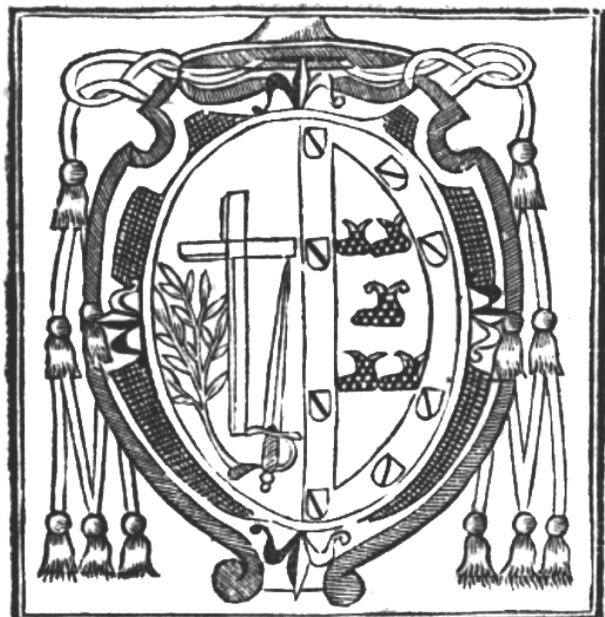


Figure 8. *This cross and the accompanying sword and olive branch found on the title page of Instrvciones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion resembles the portrayal given by Bernard Picart (shade and contrast edited for clarity).*



Figure 9. *This portrayal of the seal of the Inquisition appears in the 1630 edition of Instrvciones del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición (At the beginning of the second part: Copilacion de las instrvciones del Oficio de la Santa Inquisicion, shade and contrast edited for clarity). Like the one by Bernard Picart, it includes the motto of the Inquisition.*

As familiars, the five senses in *La inquisición* serve as ministers of the Holy Office.¹⁰⁵ In this instance they received the traditional charge of guarding the cross during the night in which darkness and apostasy descend upon Europe. The ensuing scenario leading up to the trial becomes a sermon on faith and on the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

¹⁰⁵ The *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* of 1732 provides a definition of the word *familiar* as it applies to the Inquisition: “El Ministro del Santo Oficio, que aunque no es oficial, acude quando se le llama para asistir à las prisiones y otros encargos que se le hacen.” Regarding familiars, Edward Peters explains, “[T]heir privileges gave them an advantaged place in Spanish society. Service in the lay staff of the Inquisition was desirable for both spiritual and material reasons. The office of familiar was sold venally—as were other offices of state in sixteenth-century Europe—and they were often inherited” (91).

To help keep them awake, Amor Divino proposes a game of hide-and-seek, where the five senses must find him. Amor Divino hides behind an altar on which rest a large sacramental Host and a chalice. As the five senses begin their search, they note the presence of the bread and wine according to the sense that each character represents, but fail to discover Amor Divino. Vista indicates that he has only seen bread and wine, while Gusto has only tasted and smelled them. Tacto felt the bread and wine but nothing else. Oído, on the other hand, turns to Fe:

Hermosa y divina Fe,
pues soy la puerta por donde
vida al alma tu voz da,
dime dónde Amor está
dime dónde Amor se esconde. . . . (603-07)

Upon learning the secret from Fe, Oído declares victory by revealing Amor Divino's transubstantiated presence in the bread and wine. Singers summarize the moral of the scene, exclaiming "Escondióse Amor Divino, / hallóle sólo quien fue / avisado de la Fe" (684-86). In other words, faith, through some sense of hearing, reveals the transubstantiated presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements. This pre-trial scene of hide-and-seek and the inclusion of Thomas Aquinas as a character in the play strongly suggests that Mira de Amescua was familiar with the saint's Eucharistic hymn, "Adoro te Devote," and used it as a partial outline for the *La inquisición*:

Prostrate I adore Thee, Deity unseen,
Who Thy glory hidest 'neath these shadows mean;
Lo, to Thee surrendered, my whole heart is bowed,
Tranced as it beholds Thee shrined within the cloud.

Taste and touch and vision to discern Thee fail,
Faith that comes by hearing pierces through the veil. (Aquinas, *Irish* 656)

The close intertextual relationship between the two texts strongly suggests that Mira de Amescua extracts the concept of the five senses and their effort to discern Christ's presence in the Eucharist from Aquinas's hymn and converts it into a simple allegory or sermon on stage celebrating the continued, actual presence of Christ in the sacramental host and wine. This didactic message performed in public, like many before and after it, teaches the basic principles of the doctrine of transubstantiation in a manner in which the audience can easily comprehend and remember. It also sets the stage for the trial of Herejía and Idolatría by emphasizing one of the primary doctrines used in the allegorical case against them.

As morning arrives, the five senses can now rest from guarding the green cross, for the time of judgment mentioned on the banner of the Inquisition has arrived. Like the criminal trial in *Dos ingenios y esclavos*, the case against Idolatría and Herejía has a structured hierarchy of officials, but in this case they operate under canon law rather than civil law. Consequently, some of the jurisprudential offices in *La inquisición* differ from those in *Dos ingenios y esclavos*. The script of the play provides a detailed description of the different roles and the proceedings of the inquisitorial trial. Tomás, Domingo, Pedro Mártir, Fe, Temor, and Iglesia are some of those in attendance. Domingo serves as the Inquisitor General and presides over the proceedings. Iglesia recognizes Tomás as her Doctor and as a *calificador* of the Holy Office.¹⁰⁶ Pedro functions as the secretary and prosecutor. Iglesia, a vocal participant in the proceedings, rebuffs León when he attempts to sit with the officials of the tribunal, challenging him with the question, “¿No sabes /

¹⁰⁶ Iglesia's reference to Tomás as a Doctor of the Church clearly identifies him as Thomas Aquinas rather than Thomas the apostle.

que puedo más que Miguel?” (866-67). A moment later León tumbles down the bleachers that he has attempted to ascend. According to Revelation 12:7, Michael led the armies of heaven that cast the Devil and his followers out. Iglesia’s assertion and León’s subsequent inauspicious fall signals the power that the Church has over Satan.

With Satan relegated to the position of a spectator who only occasionally manages to interject a comment into the proceedings, the play further emphasizes the patriotic concept of Spain acting as the defender of the faith. Pedro’s declaration acknowledges the inquisitorial tribunal’s responsibility of defending the dogmata of the Catholic Church and punishing those who espouse heretical beliefs and practices:

Nos, los hijos de la Iglesia,
apóstoles, patriarcas,
mártires y confesores;
nos, aquellos que en España
a la Iglesia obedecemos
y, con la lengua y las armas
defendemos su fe inmensa
.....
y haremos siempre guardar
de Dios la fe pura y santa,
confesando sus misterios,
los dogmas; y sectas vanas
de los rebeldes herejes
punidas y castigadas
han de ser siempre por nos. . . .(952-58, 968-74)

Much like the oft-used practice of politicians taking the oath of office while one hand rests on the Bible or the practice in some areas of court witnesses swearing an oath on the Bible to affirm their resolution to tell the truth, Pedro swears this oath on the four Gospels of the New Testament.

The rest of the trial departs considerably from modern jurisprudential traditions. Unlike modern defendants, Herejía and Idolatría cannot rely on a legal provision that will allow them to maintain silence to avoid incriminating themselves. Instead, Faith promises them mercy if, as Temor declares, they confess the sins (*culpas*) that they have committed willfully or out of ignorance. To an extent, this loosely resembles the inquisitorial practice of withholding the charges from the accused and asking them to clear their conscience by confessing their misdeeds in order to receive more lenient treatment. However, flattered by León, both refuse to confess. Tomás, frustrated at their obstinacy, reminds them that Christ, out of love, remained behind in the Eucharist while simultaneously ascending to Heaven. “¡Oh herejes que negáis este consuelo / del alma!” he exclaims shortly before revealing the garden of the Church to them in which a pelican pierces its own breast with its beak, causing it to open and reveal the Chalice and the Host (1068-69). Tomás summarizes the significance of the scene:

Un pelícano es Cristo
 que rasgando se ha visto
 por nosotros el pecho; y porque alguno
 no dude que este pan y Cristo es uno,
 el pelícano abrió su pecho tierno
 y el corazón mostró, que es pan eterno,
 en su cuerpo real transustanciado,
 derramando su sangre su costado. (1098-105)

This scene may seem somewhat random with no self-apparent reason to use a pelican as a symbol of Christ, but as with the other semiotic sign vehicles used in Mira’s *autos*, the pelican as a Christian symbol had a long, rich history. Those who have read Dante’s *Paradiso* may remember the reference to John the apostle: “This is he who lies upon the

breast / of Our Pelican; and this is He elected / from off the cross to make the great behest” (Alighieri 25.112-14). Similarly, Hieronymus Bosch depicts the pelican just below Calvary in one of his fifteenth-century paintings. Allusions to the pelican can also be found in thirteenth century teachings by Conrad of Wurzburg, the fourteenth-century *Fasciculus Morum*, William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, and in countless other books, paintings, and architectural structures.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps more significant in terms of intertextual influence and meaning is Thomas Aquinas’s already-cited hymn:

Pelican of mercy, Jesus, Lord and God,
 Cleanse me, wretched sinner, in Thy Precious Blood;
 Blood, whereof one drop, for human kind outpoured,
 Might from all transgressions have the world restored. (*Irish*, 656)

A few legends about the pelican existed at the time. According to one, the pelican would pierce its own breast with its powerful beak to feed its young when food could not be found to sustain life. Another suggested that the pelican pierced its breast and sprinkled its dead offspring with its blood, thereby restoring them to life. Similarly, according to Catholic tradition, Christ’s atoning flesh and blood, represented here in the Eucharistic bread and wine, possesses the power to purge the sinner of past indiscretions by extending grace to the penitent disciple, thereby restoring life to those who were once spiritually dead as a result of sin.

Moved by the allegorical representation, *Idolatría* kneels before the tribunal and confess his errors and sins.¹⁰⁸ In response, *Iglesia* mercifully exclaims:

¹⁰⁷ Although William Shakespeare did not use the pelican as an allusion to Christ, his reference here originates from the same tradition.

¹⁰⁸ As with the characters in other plays, the gender of *Idolatría* and *Herejía* can be confusing at times since definite articles, direct object pronouns, and even adjectives take the feminine form from time to time. Midway through the play; however, the stage directions clarify the doubt by describing both of them in

Llega, que yo te recibo
 en mi gremio y te perdono,
 de clemencia te coronó,
 nueva vida te apercibo.
 Absuélvele inquisidor,
 pues sus errores abjura,
 de la pena y la censura
 en que ha incurrido su error. (1138-45)

Herejía, on the other hand, continues to heed León's advice and declares, "Negar pienso la presencia / de Dios en el vino y pan" (1194-95). The declaration of this Protestant sentiment and Herejía's blunt refusal to acknowledge the transubstantiated presence of Christ in the Eucharist brings the trial to its sentencing stage. In a rather unconventional shift from the poetic verse of the *auto*, Pedro declares Herejía's sentence in approximately 250 words of Spanish prose. Providing a stark contrast to Oído's earlier consultation with Fe, Pedro rebukes Herejía:

[Herejía] ha cerrado los oídos a las voces de la Fe y de sus ministros; por tanto, fallamos que debemos declarar y declaramos a la dicha Herejía por anatema y apóstata y miembro cancerado de la Iglesia, y le privamos de la gracia y participación de todos sus divinos sacramentos, y le damos por impenitente y relaso, y mandamos que se entregue al brazo seglar de Dios (que es el demonio león y príncipe del siglo) para que ejecute en él todos los intentos y penas debidas a quien es enemigo de la Iglesia Romana. (288)

Instead of turning Herejía over to the traditional secular authorities to carry out his execution by fire, the tribunal delivers him to León to emphasize the figurative meaning behind an impenitent heretic's burning at the stake.¹⁰⁹ At the play's conclusion, rather

men's' clothing: "[L]a Herejía hácese hacia la Cruz; en un banquillo la Herejía, con cota negra, y la Idolatría á lo romano, como emperador" (Vega, *Santa* 159).

¹⁰⁹ The Inquisition used the transitive verb *relajar* to signify the turning over of a person convicted by an ecclesiastical court to secular authorities to perform the execution.

than physically burning Herejía at the stake, León leads him down to Hell to burn in the infernal flames awaiting impenitent apostates.

León states the plays unequivocal condemnation of Protestantism and apostasy as he receives Herejía from the Inquisitorial tribunal:

Ya, apóstata, eres presa de mis manos;
 en ti me entregan sectas infinitas:
 protestantes, simonios, arrianos,
 nósticos, florianos, ateítas,
 cínicos, calvinistas, luteranos,
 milenarios, arábigos, husitas,
 novatistas, menádricos, timeos,
 colucianos, bigandos, maniqueos. (1198-205)

The long list of different sects trivializes each individual religion by categorizing it as just one of many different forms of heresy directed by the Devil. The impenitent Herejía, by continuing to heed León's counsel when the tribunal asked him to confess, becomes his slave. The didactic message conveyed by this allegory suggests that anyone who follows the practices of any of the many different religions subsumed in the generalized personification of Herejía follows Satan, who in the end will not and cannot protect them from the temporal and eternal consequences of their actions.

As an allegory, *La inquisición* resembles in many aspects the *autos de fe* carried out by the Inquisition. Henry Charles Lea, addressing the *auto de fe* in general, writes, "In its full development it was an elaborate public solemnity, carefully devised . . . to impress the population with a wholesome abhorrence of heresy, by representing in so far as it could the tremendous drama of the Day of Judgement" (209). Mira de Amescua portrays the tribunal as forgiving and willing to allow the penitent to become reconciled with the church, but he also portrays the strict punishment awaiting those who continue to

reject Catholic dogmata. The audience, accustomed to the public spectacle of *autos de fe* and the readily visible sanbenitos, also known as a *zamarras*, worn by those found guilty by the Inquisition, would have easily understood the proceedings and the message portrayed in Mira's *auto sacramental*. Although sanbenitos served as a visible message and deterrent against heretical practices, the archive of information associated with *La inquisición* does not indicate if Herejía and Idolatría wear sanbenitos at any point in the play. The only description given of their clothing appears at the start of the proceedings: "La Herejía y la Idolatría aparte, hacia la cruz, en un banquillo; la Herejía cota negra y la Idolatría a lo romano, como emperador" (277). The lack of detailed stage directions in Spanish Golden Age plays does not reveal many particulars related with the repertoire, or performance, of the play; nonetheless, if the characters representing Herejía and Idolatría ever had to don a sanbenito, as was customary during an *auto de fe*, the different symbols on the tunics would have visually reinforced the dialogue by indicating the different sentences and forms of penance



Figure 10. *The black sanbenito of those 'relaxed' to face execution at the hands of civil authorities often depicted flames and devils like the one shown here. The images symbolized the Hell that awaited the impenitent (Picart Between pages 96 and 97).*

required of the two. Whatever the unarchived details of the play may have been, the performance undoubtedly sought to positively portray the judicious mercy and justice meted out by the Holy Office, and by inference, Christ at the Final Judgment.

While *La inquisición* allegorized the Final Judgment of heresy by means of a dramatic representation of an *auto de fe*, Calderón de la Barca's *El indulto general* uses a different cultural phenomenon to allude to a related subject: the redemption of penitent sinners. The allegory of this *auto sacramental* centers around two events that Calderón has placed on parallel planes: the redemption offered by Christ to penitent sinners and the general pardon granted by Charles II in 1680. For a modern reader, what may seem like subtle allusions to the King and Queen of Spain would have been obvious parallels for the play's contemporary audience, enabling them to easily grasp the most salient and significant messages of the allegory. The collective memory that society had of contemporary events prepared audience members to understand the parallel meanings conveyed by the play.

On August 31, 1679, Charles II married Marie Louise d'Orleans. In honor of the marriage, Charles II signed a general pardon for the prisoners of two Madrid jails on January 13, 1680. Some eighty years later José Clavijo y Fajardo would use the play as an example of what he perceived as the irreverent nature of *autos*. He writes, "*El Indulto general*, es una continua alusion al Casamiento del Rey nuestro Señor Don Carlos II. con la Serenisima Princesa Mariana de Neoburg, haciendo que el Rey represente à Christo, y

la Reyna à la Iglesia” (sic 48).¹¹⁰ To emphasize this and to further his cause for the prohibition of *autos*, he focusses on a specific passage of the text:

Supuesto
 que del Padre embiado ha sido,
 segunda persona suya,
 à governar sus Dominios,
 su apellido sea *Segundo*:
 con que nombre, y apellido,
 à quien ya quiere expli-*Carlos*
Segundo, y deseado à sido;
 ¿y que nombre le daremos ha la Esposa?
Mundo. Pues ha sido la que hallò
 gracia en sus ojos,
 y la que elegida, quiso
 ver exaltado su nombre,
Maria sea; pues quien dixo
Maria, dijo exaltada,
 elegida, y gracia. (48-49)¹¹¹

Whatever the arguments for or against the parallels that Calderón draws between Charles II and Christ or Marie-Louise d’Orleans and the Church or the Virgin, the numerous allusions to the royal couple are unmistakable, as the acting company would have performed the *auto* just months after the notable general pardon and the repertoire or performance of the actual play may have emphasized the parallels even more plainly than the archived script that is available today.

¹¹⁰ José Clavijo y Fajardo mistakenly indicated that the play was an allusion to the marriage between Charles II and *Mariana de Neoburg* rather than Marie-Louise d’Orleans. Mistaken names and dates in early publications like this one may explain why the critical edition of the play by Ignacio Arellano and J. Manuel Escudero also inadvertently use the name of Charles’ second wife instead of his first in one instance or why they provide February 12 as the marriage date of Charles II and Marie-Louise d’Orleans instead of the proxy or in-person marriage dates of August 31 and November 19, 1679 (11, 23). The mix-up with the marriage date appears to be tied to Marie-Louise death on February 12, 1689. In spite of these uncharacteristic errors, this edition of the *auto* provides great insights into the play and its context.

¹¹¹ It was not unusual for Calderón and other playwrights to make reference to their patrons in their works or to even suggest that their eminent position was divinely appointed; however, the parallels drawn in this allegorical play were too much for some critics and served as ammunition for those who would later seek to rid the country of what they viewed as irreverent, if not sacrilegious, performances.

The court proceedings in the play center on what prisoners will benefit from the general pardon and how those decisions will come about. Although the name, *indulto general*, leaves the impression that all prisoners will profit from the pardon, the actual document signed by Charles II provided a list of exceptions based on the crimes and offenses committed. Included in the list of exceptions were thieves, murderers, and blasphemers. As an allusion to the actual pardon given by Charles II, the same exceptions appear to apply in the allegorical play. While Pedro acted as prosecutor in Antonio Mira de Amescua's *La Inquisición* and Demonio carried out the role in Lope de Vega's *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, Culpa dutifully performs the job in Calderón's *El indulto general*. In an effort to deny the pardon to all prisoners, Culpa requests the criminal records of all those incarcerated in Mundo's prison in preparation of countering any argument they may present on their own behalf. In her zealous effort to deny freedom to the prisoners, she tours the different sections of the prison, further assuring herself of her strong legal standing. Regardless of Culpa's efforts and the terms of the pardon, the audience should have little doubt about what will happen to Adán, Caín, Abel, David, Salomón, Dimas, and Gestas, the prisoners that Mundo and Culpa encounter. Armed with their knowledge of the general pardon offered by Carlos II just months earlier and their familiarity with the history of the biblical characters in Mundo's prison, the audience knows that inevitably, Adán, Abel, David, and Dimas will benefit from the pardon despite Culpa's growing confidence. Just as Amor Divino delivered Hombre from Culpa's jail in Lope's *Las aventuras del Hombre, Príncipe*, in *El indulto general*, will somehow deliver the penitent prisoners from Mundo's prison regardless of

Culpa's claims. Caín and Gestas, meanwhile, will remain imprisoned. Salomón's fate is the only one in doubt. With little doubt regarding the basic outcome of the play, the manner in which Calderón's *auto* arrives at its conclusion serves as one of the primary motivating factors to watch the performance.

To closely associate the marriage of Carlos II and Marie-Louise with Catholic dogma and further develop the allegory of the general pardon that Christ offers through the Redemption, Príncipe converses with Misericordia and Justicia about the Seven Sacraments, a common theme in a number of *autos*. The final sacrament they discuss, marriage, naturally leads into the marriage announcement of Príncipe and Esposa, who later walk on Atocha Street where they hear pleas from the prison. Fresh in the minds of the citizens of Madrid, Carlos II's general pardon of the prisoners in Madrid's two primary jails served as a key intertextual event to decode the numerous parallels that Calderón creates between the Spanish throne, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Church, and other matters of theological significance.

In response to María's compassionate attitude toward the prisoners, Justicia reminds her that justice must be served. Príncipe, however, declares a general pardon in honor and glory of his new wife and exclaims, "Llamarte basta / María, para que seas / intercesora en la gracia" (1237-39). On the literal level, the play suggests that the prisoners receive the pardon because of a benevolent intercessor, Marie-Louise. It also elevates the Queen considerably when her husband says she is unstained and when Culpa fails to recognize her since Esposa knows no guilt (854-55, 1144). The allegorical message reaffirms the Virgin's role as mediatrix; and, as will be shown, grace allows

Justicia and Misericordia to work in tandem to assess the merits of those imprisoned in Mundo's jail where Culpa stands guard.

Príncipe gives Misericordia and Justicia the charge of overseeing the proceedings to determine which prisoners will gain their freedom under the terms of the general pardon. Reminding them of the importance of working together, he asserts, “. . . que no será acierto en una / si no se da unión en ambas” (1264-65). In other words, neither justice nor mercy will come about if there is not unity between the two. With Culpa as the prosecutor and the appointment of Misericordia and Justicia as joint judges, the proceedings still lack a defense attorney. María has already served as an intercessor in gaining a new trial or review for each of the prisoners, but she does not assume the role in the trial itself. Instead, Ángel proposes to go along as a defense attorney for the poor. The actual pardon given by Carlos II might suggest that civil authorities would handle the proceedings, but the stage directions implicitly show that the tribunal clearly pertains to the Inquisition: “Sale la JUSTICIA, con una espada desnuda al hombro, y la MISERICORDIA, con un ramo de oliva, y el ÁNGEL con una cruz dorada” (229-30). As in Mira de Amescua's *La Inquisición*, the prominent emblem of the Inquisition with its cross, sword, and olive branch plays a conspicuous role in *El indulto general*; but in this case, the roles and conduct of these personified characters become didactic tools to teach or review the significance of each of the symbols on the Inquisition's seal. This simple court scene further demonstrates how playwrights would use ordinary, individual objects and personifications in a broader allegorical setting to impart a message of doctrinal import.

With the nature of the tribunal revealed by the symbols of the sword, the olive branch, and the cross, the proceedings of the general pardon progress in a predictable manner with Culpa arguing for the continued incarceration of each of the individual prisoners and Ángel defending select prisoners. Notable among those who come before Justicia and Misericordia, Caín learns that the general pardon (*indultos de gracia*) does not apply to him. The plaintiff or offended party, the blood of Abel, continues to press the case, and Justicia reasserts Caín's death sentence while Ángel replies, "Mortal, repara / que hay delitos a quien vuelve / Misericordia la cara. . . ." (1493-95). The tribunal's quick ruling against a homicide case presents an interesting challenge with the ensuing case against David, who committed both murder and adultery. In contrast to his reaction to Caín's case, Ángel responds to Culpa's charges against the King of Israel by saying that the offended party in both cases is not pursuing the matter. Unlike the case against Caín, rather than making the blood of Urias the offended party that pleads from the ground for justice, Bethsheba, as Urias' wife is the offended party:

Como Bersabé,
viuda del que matar manda
y cómplice en el delito,
no de amar, de ser amada,
como parte le perdona. . . . (1512-16)

In David's defense, Ángel further argues that the defendant sought to restore his honor by marrying Bersabé (Bathsheba) and through his penitent cries both day and night.

Misericordia, citing the absence of an offended party to pursue the case, and Justicia, noting David's penitent behavior, grant him part in the general pardon. The ruling departs from the actual pardon signed by Charles II, which states that those who commit such

crimes as blasphemy, theft, or murder cannot receive the pardon even if the offended party forgives the crime (Arellano 13). The exception granted in David's case indicates the reverence reserved for David by the Church and also of the efficacy of penance according to Catholic doctrine.

The doctrine related to the Sacrament of Penance continues to play a central role in *El indulto general* with the two thieves crucified on each side of Christ.¹¹² Because of his penitent attitude, the thief Dimas enjoys the same exception as David. Though a thief, his humility and remorse make him eligible for Príncipe's pardon.¹¹³ Gestas, meanwhile, refuses to confess his culpability in past acts and pays the price. The accompanying music summarizes the doctrinal importance of the steps of repentance, particularly confession:

Tenga, en Gestas y Dimas,
para enseñanza,
glorias el que confiesa,
penas quien calla. (1598-1601)

Salomón's attitude lies somewhere between that of Dimas and Gestas. Despite the favor that Heaven has shown him, Salomón does not know if he can overcome his attraction to the idolatrous women who have led him astray. As with the other prisoners, Culpa presents the case against Salomón, stating the idolatrous acts that he has committed.

Wanting to know if she can apply mercy and grace in his case, Misericordia asks if the

¹¹² With a number of variant spellings, several apocryphal works identify the two thieves crucified with Christ as Dimas and Gestas. For a largely illiterate audience, *autos sacramentales* and other forms of doctrinal dissemination offered information on a wide variety of characters representing saints and other biblical and apocryphal figures, thereby educating it about events and details that would have otherwise only been known to the most educated and best-read people of the day.

¹¹³ While on the cross, Christ turned to the thief identified by tradition as Dimas and said, "This day you shall be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43).

records demonstrate any act of penance. When Culpa responds in the negative, Ángel indicates that the defense has nothing to put forward since no penitent declaration has been taken yet. Justicia suspends the case for lack of additional evidence that would allow the tribunal to grant Salomón a pardon, indicating that his situation will continue as it currently is until another review can be made of the case.¹¹⁴ Salomón, a popular figure in Christianity because of his divinely-bestowed wisdom, shares the weakness of lust with other favored biblical characters like Samson and his own father David. In Salomón's case, however, no record exists to suggest that he had repented. By depicting Salomón's case as temporarily suspended, Calderón recognizes the conflicting sentiments toward the popular figure and avoids giving what would surely be a controversial judgment if Justicia and Misericordia had made a conclusive decision resulting in Salomón's continued incarceration or his release under the terms of the pardon.

Despite the differences among the three *autos*, *Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento*, *La inquisición*, and *El indulto general*, all have repentance and the Eucharist as unifying themes. To address those ideas, and to the playwrights' credit, each of them fashions the allegorical trials in their *autos* after specific trials or processes readily familiar to their contemporary viewers. The defendants in each of the plays have all committed crimes which, if left unresolved or unmediated, would result in their conviction at the demands of justice. In *Dos ingenios* and *El indulto general*, the Virgin, saints, an angel, and the personified virtue of mercy intervene in several cases; but in

¹¹⁴ In their critical edition of the work, Ignacio Arellano and Ángel L. Cilveti mistakenly suggest that in the play Salomón confesses and repents of his sins; however, he only recognizes his wrongdoings as a major weakness that he may not be able to overcome (20). He does not repent.

each instance, the defendants can only obtain such mediation through penitent conduct. Those who successfully obtain the mercy of the court enjoy the transubstantiated presence of the Lord through the Eucharist as Príncipe clearly spells out in a paradox in the closing scene of *El indulto general*:

La que accidentes disfrazan
 en aquella hostia, que es
 la más tersa, pura y blanca
 de mi ser, sagrado erario,
 donde me quedo, aunque parta. (1745-51)

In contrast, as shown in *La inquisición*, grace and the sacraments are denied to Herejía for his obstinacy to continue in his sins, and more specifically, for denying the transubstantiated presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

The simple formulaic structure of these allegorical trials function like a roadmap that enables audience members to know thematically where the performance is going, thereby enabling them to focus more on the symbolic aural and visual details and the messages conveyed by each of the sign vehicles in the performance that enrich and add meaning to these sermons put to verse, as Calderón called them. The playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth century had a variety of tribunals to choose from, which allowed for some unique nuances in each of their plays while still maintaining the general structure of the real jurisprudential cases that they allegorized. The repeated judgment scenes center on the doctrines of free will, repentance, and grace, emphasizing the inseparability of choices and consequences. Those main themes usher in the tools whereby grace may be obtained. The seven Sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, saints,

and the Virgin all play primary roles in overcoming heresy and obtaining grace for those whose works merit the redemption offered through Christ's atonement.

Since the general population did not have ready access to a vernacular Bible, even if they could have read it, *autos sacramentales* like these played an important role in reiterating and reinforcing Church doctrines disseminated by other methods. These courtroom trials point the attention of audience members to the Divine Judgment awaiting them and serve as an entertaining homiletic reminder of their obligation to God. In this manner, the *auto sacramental* served a unique and special didactic role in presenting specific points of Catholic doctrine in a popular, entertaining manner designed to galvanize the resolve of the people to know and glorify their faith to the detriment of heresy. The trial scene became a particularly effective tool in conveying this message because of the acquittal or punishment meted out as consequences for acts and beliefs that adhered to or contradicted the teachings of the Church.

CONCLUSION

The high illiteracy rate in Spanish society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries indicates that many did not expand their intertextual repertoire through reading the written word, but that does not mean that they were not well-versed in reading the aural and visual signs presented to them in drama or that they were not adequately indoctrinated in the theological culture of the time. But all this begs the question: Why should we read the *auto sacramental*? Of the different theatrical genres of the Spanish Golden Age, the *auto* appears to be the least universal. The often intolerant didactic messages against other religious persuasions or the lack of belief may seem to isolate the *auto* as a genre designed for an exclusively counter-reformatory Catholic audience. To begin to answer the question I will turn to a thought-provoking idea, although the source may be somewhat controversial for many of the Catholic faith. In an adaptation of Dan Brown's bestseller, *The Da Vinci Code*, Tom Hanks plays the role of Robert Langdon, a symbologist who gives a lecture at the American University of Paris. In the movie, Langdon projects different images for his audience and elicits their interpretation of the different symbols he provides. As audience members vocally volunteer their acquaintance with and understanding of the symbols' meanings, Langdon systematically refutes each response and explains their original meanings or the reception of the objects in their autochthonous context. He then explains to the sold-out audience: "Symbols are a language that can help us understand our past. As the saying goes, a picture says a thousand words. But which words?" If indeed a picture is worth a thousand words, contemporary Spanish audiences of *autos sacramentales* from all social castes consumed

a veritable feast of meaning when presented with the different scenarios that drew from their intertextual knowledge for added significance. The words or meaning that these performances had for these economically and socially heterogeneous audiences reveals a great deal about the society and its means of codifying and decoding meaning.

The small selection of *autos* presented in the preceding chapters show the genre's versatility in creating scenarios related to the Counter-Reformation, the Inquisition, jurisprudence, folklore, common professions, crime, and a considerable amount of literature, sermons, and symbolic imagery—often to a degree not seen in the secular *comedias* and *entremeses* of the day. In relation to the *auto sacramental*, we might ask what the symbols, scenarios, and allegorical messages as a whole tell us about Spain, and in more general terms, Europe, at that time. What role, if any, did the genre play in educating the masses about concepts of theological significance? To better answer these questions, perhaps Langdon's declaration could reveal more if it were rephrased to resemble more closely the statement by David McCullough that history is not about the past. Robert Langdon might have said, "Symbols are a language that can help us understand the present in which they lived, which in turn helps us to understand our past and to properly contextualize our present." As shown in the previous chapters, the symbols and scenarios associated with ships, highwaymen, and tribunals depicted in *autos sacramentales* drew from vast intertextual reservoirs that did indeed convey a much broader message than that supplied from the words that made up the dialogue of the individual plays. The sign vehicles that constituted parts of the overarching tableau presented to audiences represent the figurative "thousand words" that communicated

profoundly complex messages. As Bruce Wardropper surmised, the *autos*' contemporary audiences would still have to make a concerted effort to grasp the meaning of the theological concepts conveyed in the individual performances (84); however, they had the necessary tools to competently *read* many of the visual and aural signs that authors and acting troupes included in the plays. Much like our present enables us to understand modern movies and many allusions that they make, the present of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish audiences informed them in a manner that permitted them to competently decode the didactic messages of *autos sacramentales*.

Regardless of a reader's theological beliefs, the *auto sacramental* can serve as an instrumental tool in appreciating how its contemporary audiences processed the information available to them in order to understand and enjoy the complex genre. The frequent repetition of symbols and allegorical themes that could be found in daily life and in numerous *autos* themselves allowed audiences to decode the signs much better than a typical modern audience that has not shared the same level of exposure to the same sign vehicles and the context in which they existed.

The surviving archive of relevant material indicates that the *auto sacramental* was not the product of elitist authors intent on hiding from the general public the didactic message that each individual play contained, but rather the creative manifestation of playwrights exercising their talents to edify and entertain an economically diverse crowd according to their capacity to understand. By looking beyond the text and considering the sociocultural factors that shaped the contemporary public's intertextual awareness, the *auto* becomes a vibrant testimonial of a society's effective mixture of popular

entertainment and theological themes to promote faith and loyalty in matters of church and state, rather than some quaint, highbrow artifact of a people that lived in our past. From the humble beginnings of these performances to the elaborate spectacles later imagined and realized by some of the most famous playwrights Spain has ever known, the *auto* stands as a testament to the patriotic zeal that a society had for its country, its culture, and its religion.

Although the literary quality of *autos* varies significantly from one play to the next, their historical value vacillates little. Each one offers a unique view into the past. Each one contains an intertextual world waiting to be explored by the inquisitive reader—and perhaps even the adventurous acting troupe. Robert Alter once opined,

Of all the catchwords that have been used to dull the edge of thought in academic life, none has done more damage than the term ‘canon.’ Bootlegged into literary studies from ecclesiastical history, it has planted in susceptible minds a powerful and misleading suggestion that a kind of invisible synod of cultural ideologues through the ages--inevitably dead, white, European and male--has passed judgment on what is to be read and what is not, on what works are to occupy the vital center of literary tradition and what works are to remain at the margins. (36)

Although critics have favored Calderonian *autos* over those written by other authors, few of the sacramental productions from any playwright have been categorized as canonical literature.¹¹⁵ Even though Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *autos* enjoy a disproportionate

¹¹⁵ In 1998 Joan Brown and Crista Johnson conducted a study of required reading lists at “56 leading Ph.D.-granting Spanish faculties in the United States,” which reveals that only one *auto sacramental*, Pedro Calderón de la Barca’s *El gran teatro del mundo*, appears on more than fifty percent of the lists (1, 14). Their study indicates that fifty-five percent of the lists include it. As the most recognizable *auto* ever written, this implies that nearly half the universities studied do not require their students to read a single *auto*. A more comprehensive study, albeit somewhat dated, by Howard Mancing and Vern Williamsen shows the number of works that appear on at least ten M.A. and Ph.D. reading lists out of 179. Although their study includes one more of Calderón’s *autos*, the percentage of lists that include the genre in general is bleaker. Twenty-eight percent of the M.A. and Ph.D. programs in their study included *El gran teatro*

number of readers, any given *auto sacramental* can reveal some of the primary concerns the society faced and how municipalities made use of the genre as a didactic instrument for people of all socioeconomic classes. The paucity of critical editions means that the modern reader may occasionally become derailed by an insufficient intertextual grounding, but then again, what great adventure does not have an obstacle or two to overcome?

del mundo in their required reading, while a mere thirteen percent included *La cena del Rey Baltasar* (776). No other *auto* appeared on more than five percent of the lists they studied.

APPENDIX A: SHIP VOCABULARY

Since many people are unfamiliar with nautical terms, I am supplying a list of words that appear in many *autos* that refer to ships. Definitions come from the *Diccionario de autoridades*, published from 1726-1739, unless stated otherwise.

árbol=mast—Se llama assi qualquiera de los mástiles del navio, que se dividen en mayór, trinquéte y mesána. Y en qualquiera otra embarcación se llama arbol el palo que vá levantado ù derécho, del qual penden las xárcias, y de que se cuelgan las vergas.

bauprés=bowsprit—Un género de mástil que sale de la proá de los baxéles, no derecho, sino inclinado, donde se pone una vela que llaman la cebadéra.

bitácora=binnacle—La caja en que el navío se lleva, y pone la agúja de marear para que vaya firme, y pueda tener movimiento contra los balances, y menéos del navío.

cataviento(s)—Dos grimpolas pequeñas ò banderítas, que ponen en dos hastas à las bandas del alcázar: las quales sirven para vér de donde viene el viento, assi de dia, como de noche.

cebadera—Vela que vá en la verga del bauprés fuera del navío.

cómitre=galley slave driver—Cierta Ministro que hai en las galéras, à cuyo cargo está el castigo y rigór usado con reméros y forzados. . . . Antiguamente eran Capitanes de las galéras. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**cómite** o **cómitre**—Cierta ministro de la galera, a cuyo cargo está la orden y castigo de los remeros. D'xo se *quasi* comite, porque ayuda en quanto es de su parte al buen gobierno, especialmente al bogar.

contramaestre=boatswain—El Oficial ò Cabo que en los navíos, galéras, y otras embarcaciones tiene à su cuidado el gobierno de ellos y de los marinéros.

derrotero=course—Rumbo señalado en las cartas de marear, de que se sirven los Pilótos para hacer sus navegaciones.

entena or **antena**—Verga, ò pértiga de madera pendiente de una garrucha, ò mutón que cruza en ángulos rectos al mástil de la nave, y en quien prende la vela. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**antena**—La barra o pértiga que atraviesa el mástil de la nave adonde se ata la vela; nombre latino *antenna, a circumtenenda dicata*. Quando buelven la antena de una parte a otra lo llaman hazer el car; y suele algunas vezes costar caro si se haze teniendo tendida en ella la vela; pero díxose assí del nombre griego *χεράιά cheraea*, que vale antena; de modo que hazer el caro es hazer la antena, ponerla como ha de estar para navegar la vela.

fanal=lantern—a. El faról grande que el navío ò galéra Capitána lleva en el remate de la popa, para que los demás que componen la armada puedan seguirla de noche, guiados por su luz. b. Metaphoricamente vale el que guia, alumbra, ilustra y enseña en las dudas y dificultades. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**fanal**—El linternón que lleva en la popa la nave o galera capitana, para que en la escuridad de la noche la puedan seguir las demás, guiadas por su luz.

ferro=**anchor**—Lo mismo que Ancora.

flámula(s)=pennant—Bandéras pequeñas, que por estár cortadas en los remates en forma de llamas torcidas, las dieron este nombre. Estas y los gallardétes solo se ponen en

las embarcaciones para adorno ù para demostracion de algun regocijo. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**flámula**—Una cierta forma de vandereta pequeña, que por estar cortada en los remates a forma de llamas torcidas, le dieron este nombre, como gallardete, por imitar la cola del gallo. Vandereta es la quadrada, y de la que ordinariamente usan los marineros sobre el estanterol o a un lado de la popa, que señala el viento que corre.

gallardete—Cierta género de banderilla partida, que seméja à la cola de la golondrina, y se pone en lo alto de los mástiles del navío ò embarcación, ò en otra parte, para adorno, ò para demostracion de algun regocijo.

gavia=crow's nest—Una como garíta redonda, que rodéa toda la extremidad del mastil del navío, y se pone en todos los mástiles, y cada una toma el nombre de aquel en que está. Sirve para que el grumete puesto en ella registre todo lo que se puede vér del mar. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**gavia**—En una sinificación vale el cesto o castillejo, tejido de mimbres, que está en lo alto del mástil de la nave; y assí se llama en latín *corvis*, que vale cesto grande.

grumete—El mozo que sirve en el navío para subir à la gavia y otros usos. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—**grumete**—El muchacho que sirve en el navío y sube por el mástil o árbol y por la antena, y haze todo lo demás que le mandan con gran presteza.

jarcia=rigging— In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—Los adereços de la nave o galera, y dixéronse jarcias, *quasi* sarcias, del verbo *sarcio*, *sarcis*, *sarsi*, *sartum*, *vestes consuo*, porque cada momento ay necessidad de irlas remedando y

acomodando; y por ser muchas cosas y muy menudas llamamos jarcias los argadijos, cachivachos, instrumentos para pescar y otras cosas.

mastelero(s)—Los palos que van encima de los árboles del navio. Llámase Masteléro mayór el que va sobre el arbol mayór. Masteléro de proa, el que vá sobre el trinquéte. Fuera destos hai otros masteléros pequeños, como son el de la sobremessana, y el de la sobrecebadéra, que está sobre la cabeza del bauprés. Sobre los masteléros mayór, y de proa están otros pequeños, que el uno se llama Masteléro del Juanéte mayór, y el otro Masteléro del Juanéte de proa.

mástil—In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—El árbol de la nave, del nombre latino *malus, quasi malus stans*.

messana—El último arbol del navío, que se pone hácia la popa.

palo(s)—En la Nautica llaman los árboles de la embarcación.

pasarela=gangway—

popa=stern—La parte principál del navío, que se considera como cabeza dél, y en que están las habitaciones ò cámaras principales. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—La parte postrera de la nave, donde va el capitán, y la plaça de armas, *latine puppis*.

proa=bow—La parte priméra ù delantera de la nave, que vá cortando las aguas del mar. Es del Latino *Prora* . . . por cuyo motivo muchos escriben Próra. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—La delantera de la nave o galera, que haze nariz y va cortando el agua, del latino *prora*. De popa a proa, quiere dezir de alto abaxo,

por toda la galera. Proejar, remar contra el viento de proa, que es de inmenso trabajo.

quilla=keel—Madero largo que passa de popa à próa del navío ò embarcacion, en la parte insima dél, y es en el que se funda toda su fábrica. Sale del Griego *Koilos*, que vale cóncavo ò curvo. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—En la galera y otro cualquier vaso náutico es el fundamento sobre que se arma, como el espinazo del hombre, del qual nacen las costillas de los lados, y a ninguna cosa se puede cómparar con más propiedad. Ultra desto, la quilla es corva con que va haziendo concavidad.

rebenque=whip—Un género de látigo, hecho de cuero ò de cáñamo, de dos varas de largo, poco mas ò menos, y embreado, al qual se le pone su mango, y sirve para el castigo de los galeótes quando están en la faéna. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—El açote con que castiga el cómitre a la chusma, *quasi* remenque, por ser para los remeros.

sobremessana—Una vela quadrada, que se pone en los navíos en el palo de la messana sobre ella.

timón=rudder, helm, wheel—El madero mas principal, y conocido del navío, que le sirve de gobierno: como el freno al caballo. Componerse de dos gruesos tablones, el uno largo, que se llama Madre del timón, y el otro mas corto, y ancho, que se llama Azafrán del timón: el qual forma la pala, donde encontrandose las aguas, que dexa el movimiento del navío, hacen que la popa vaya à la contraria parte, de

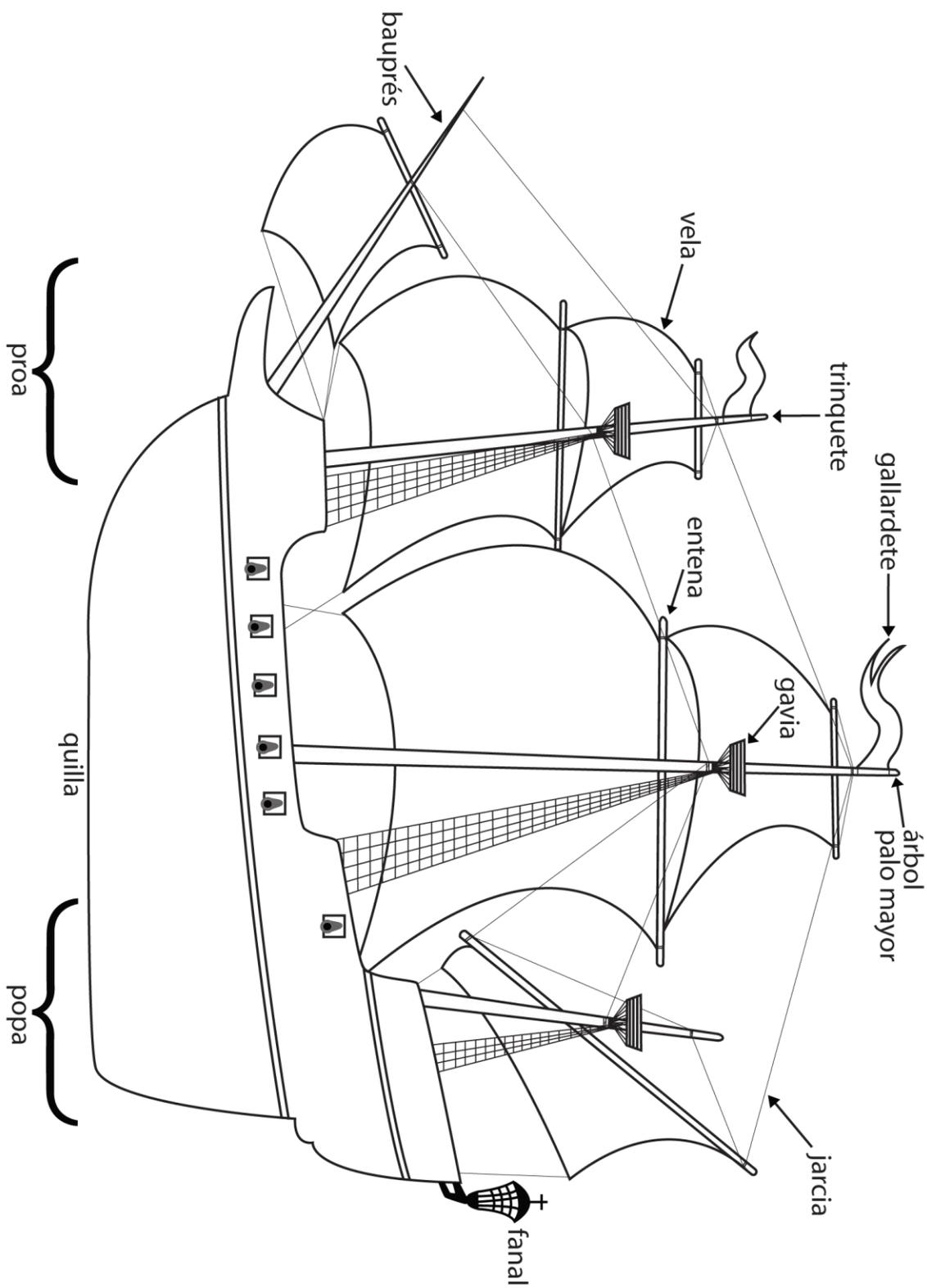
donde se inclina la pala, quando se gobierna: y al contrario la proa tuerce hácia aquella parte.

trinquete=foremast—El tercer árbol hácia la parte de proa en las naves mayores, y en las menores es el segundo.

verga—Lo mismo que Vara. En este sentido tiene poco uso; sino es en la Náutica, donde llaman assi las varas, ò palos de las entenas.

viento en popa—a. Es el que hiere à la embarcacion en la popa, con el qual se navega con facilidad. b. Metaphoricamente se toma por la felicidad con que alguna cosa se vá adelantando. In *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*—Dar viento en popa, ir con prosperidad.

zaloma—Voz náutica especie de tono, con que se llaman los Marineros, para executar juntos alguna faena.



APPENDIX B: DETAILED PLOT SUMMARIES OF *AUTOS SACRAMENTALES*

While the previous chapters offer brief summaries of the *autos* in regards to the material related ships, highwaymen, and trials, they omit a great deal of detail regarding the rest of the works. The following detailed summaries provide a more panoramic view of the context in which the aforementioned scenarios appear. I hope that for the vast majority of people who have little experience reading *autos sacramentales* these plot summaries will provide a brief glance into a popular and important cultural phenomenon of early modern Spain.

La amistad en el peligro

José de Valdivielso

Setting: A sea in the background; the house of the Príncipe rests on a hill to the right; a swamp and forests can be seen to the left, along with another hill. Pereza's house supposedly lies within the forests.

Characters:

El Placer	La Inocencia	El Príncipe	El Hombre
La Envidia	La Pereza	La Culpa	La Penitencia
San Pedro	Rigor de Justicia	La Muerte	Un Ángel
Músicos			

Placer, laughing, explains that he saw a Príncipe (Prince) trying to help a man who had become stuck in the mud of a marsh while seeking pleasure. As he extended his hand to help the man, he fell in also. Placer suggests that in Príncipe's fall, he (Placer) rises. Hombre asks Príncipe where he can go to wash off the filth of Adam. Though Placer mocks Hombre, Inocencia tells him that he can get new clothing from the Church. Príncipe tells Inocencia to take Hombre to the baptismal font, after which he tells Placer that he will attempt to free and protect Hombre at the cost of his own life if need be—"porque en el mayor peligro / se conoce la amistad" (228-29).

Envidia tells Pereza that God helped Hombre from the mud, took him to his house, had him washed and dressed, and is now trying to lead him up to heaven. Both Envidia and Pereza were previously cast out of heaven. The two discuss how they intend to retard Hombre's progress, but it is evident that they cannot even trust each other when Pereza says that he knows that Envidia will sell someone with a kiss. He will work with Envidia, but at a distance.

Inocencia tells Hombre he looks like an angel now that he is clean and dressed in white. Hombre notes how all the animals act tame and obey him. Inocencia advises Hombre to beware of Eva's enchantments, the serpent, and the apple tree. Hombre, however, becomes distracted by some music, which worries Inocencia. Realizing that the music comes from Culpa, a gypsy, she advises Hombre to protect himself by getting behind her (I.). Hombre, torn by the beauty of Culpa and the need to avert his eyes, says that he will die if he sees Culpa, and he will die if he cannot see her. He resolves to follow his youthful desires and look for just a short period of time. Inocencia tells him that she can no longer stay with him, for she goes with God. Shortly after Inocencia's departure, Hombre and Culpa, seduced by each other, embrace.

Envidia and Pereza, as gypsy highwaymen (*gitanos salteadores*), bring Inocencia as their captive. When Inocencia tells Hombre that there will be an abundance of fire to go along with the one he loves, Envidia calls her a dog and threatens to place a ring around her throat to silence her. In response, Inocencia says that a dog is not good if it does not bark at the thief. In another affectionate exchange between Hombre and Culpa, she begins to read his palm. When Culpa says Hombre will have a long life, Inocencia says that Culpa will shorten it. When she says he will have two grand adventures with water, one being regretful, Inocencia says the first represents his baptism, and the second represents the tears he will shed in trying to wash away his guilt. When Culpa tells Hombre not to follow the Church, for it will only require that he confess, pray, fast, etc., Inocencia says Culpa must be a Lutheran if she leads people away from the Church. Culpa tells Hombre that he can postpone repentance and still satisfy God in the end, but

Inocencia replies that he that can do it today should not wait for the morrow. Despite Inocencia's efforts to make Hombre see the danger that awaits him in accompanying Culpa, Hombre fails to heed her warnings.

Envidia and Pereza attempt to bribe Inocencia to keep silent, but she refuses. When she escapes, they decide to take revenge on Hombre. Inocencia, in a short monologue, refers to Hombre as a lost sheep drinking filthy water when he could drink pure water. Though he is not present, Inocencia tells Hombre to bleat, for the Good Shepherd will leave his cabin and the ninety and nine to find his lost sheep. While the salt of his words will sting at first, they will heal his wounds in the end.

Príncipe enters carrying Hombre over his shoulder after freeing him from a thicket, which has left them both bleeding. When Príncipe says he will wash Hombre with wine and anoint him with oil, Hombre replies, “*mares se bueluan mis ojos / de los diluuios del alma*”—an indication of the remorse and gratitude he feels (850-51). He promises to truly serve his King this time.

Envidia and Pereza begin to worry that Hombre may escape them. They see that Hombre has boarded a ship with El Pastor as the pilot. The two discuss the ship in detail. Pereza notes another ship piloted by Deseo and in a similar manner describes it and its symbolic purport. The ships come into view. Pereza rejoices when Hombre falls from the ship, but Envidia silences her when she sees that Iglesia, the ship's captain, throws a plank for Hombre to grab hold of as he makes his way toward the shore where Pedro awaits. Envidia wagers that Pedro, out of fear, will not venture into the water to help since the last time he attempted to walk on water he began to sink. She also refers to him

as the rock and notes that rocks tend to sink. When Envidia crows like a rooster, Pereza silences her, fearing that it will incite him to action. Pedro encourages Hombre to keep hold of the cross (the plank) and his rosary to keep from drowning.

Hombre, exhausted, asks Pedro to hear confession for him. Pedro tells him to vomit the sins (*culpas*) that he has swallowed. Envidia and Pereza, becoming desperate, plan to keep Hombre from confessing on account of indigestion and shame (*vergüenza*).

Ángel tells Príncipe that Penitencia brings a tearful and ashamed Hombre, who subjects himself to the usual form of penance (i.e. sackcloth, ashes, fasting, and confession). Placer declares that the prodigal son returns, and in response, Príncipe, indicates that there is no calf to kill, since he has already died for Hombre. Príncipe tells them to set the table for Hombre's return. Ángel, Pedro, and Penitencia, as Hombre's *padrinos*, plead in his behalf. Príncipe indicates that he has already pulled Hombre from the mud and cleaned him off, but Hombre gave in to his youthful desires. Ángel suggests that since Príncipe has already paid such a high price, it would not be just to lose Hombre now. Príncipe orders them to carry Hombre away, but before they are gone he calls them back and alludes to the story of Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, when he calls himself Josef and hugs Hombre while calling him his brother.

Rigor and Muerte, as bailiffs (*alguaciles*), come for Hombre, who realizes they have a strong case against him and that only Príncipe can save him. Príncipe gives him a royal pardon. Hombre calls himself Príncipe's slave and invites him to brand (*herrar*) him as such, an invitation that Príncipe turns down. Placer invites Hombre to dine with them and partake of the manna from heaven, which was foreshadowed by other manna.

Las aventuras del Hombre

Lope de Vega

Characters:

El Amor Divino	La Virgen	Un Ángel	El Hombre
El Consuelo	La Locura	El Tiempo	El Pecado
La Muerte	La Culpa	Músicos	

An Angel, armed with a sword shaped like a lightning bolt, chases Hombre from the garden [of Eden] for his disobedience. Hombre is confronted with lightning, thunder, thistles, and voices as he leaves the garden. Hombre tells the Angel that God made him just below the angels and that he (Hombre) was made in the image of God and therefore merits more mercy than he is receiving. Angel chastises him for giving up paradise, where he did not suffer from heat nor cold and where he had eternal life, all because of a woman made from his side. Hombre will not place the guilt on her because of his love for her, and he argues that the angel fallen from heaven bears more guilt than him.

Angel tells Hombre that the change from immortality to mortality shows the mercy of God, since it limits the time of his sentence or banishment. Hombre, left alone, notes that all the different elements of nature now oppose him and animals no longer obey him. He once again notes the *celestial artillería* made up of thunder and lightning and ponders the sins and diseases that will fill the earth. Wealth and beauty must one day succumb to death, for no path can elude it. Dejected at his plight, Hombre resolves to ask for consolation (*consuelo*) even though he has given up hope of regaining the glory he has forfeited.

Consuelo comes to Hombre and contemplates his (Hombre's) resemblance to God, his architect. Hombre shows his surprise at seeing someone else on the earth, and even more so when he discovers that God has sent Consuelo to him. When Hombre reveals that he is a pilgrim walking on darkened paths, Consuelo offers to be his squire (*escudero*). Consuelo, in compliance with his role, reminds Hombre that God placed enmity between the serpent and the woman. He further declares that the Word (*Verbo*) of the Father will one day descend from the woman (*divina Madre*) and put an end to Hombre's exile.

Hombre states that a woman deceived him, and as a result, he will have to eat bread by his sweat. Consuelo, telling Hombre not to blame the woman, for he (Hombre) was at fault, mentions that another Bread (*Pan*), after the water of baptism, will be given to him and will serve as a medicine to him. Hombre declares, "Cuanto perdí por mujer [Eva], / Por mujer [María] pienso ganar" (284).

Hombre inquires about a house that they see, and musicians, dressed in fools' clothing, inform him that it is the house of pleasure (*casa de placer*). Locura, dressed as a queen, accompanies the musicians and introduces herself to Hombre, declaring that all in her palace are crazy (*locos*), each envying others. He desires to enter her palace and enjoy human pleasures (*humanos gozos*), while Consuelo, seeking to stop him, says, ". . . quien entre locos anda, / Es fuerza que salga loco" (286).

Tiempo, with a golden mask; Pecado, with a black mask; and Muerte are all dressed as highwaymen (*salteadores*). Tiempo says that they can rob Hombre when he passes through the Valley of Tears. While awaiting Hombre's passage they each discuss

when they came into being, along with a partial history of the world. Hombre expresses disappointment and a penitent attitude for having succumbed to the world's madness (*la locura del mundo*), since it has caused him to forget God. Consuelo tells him that passing through the Valley of Tears will do him good.

The three highwaymen, with pistols drawn, demand that Hombre disrobe, but he tells them that he is but a poor pilgrim without money. Consuelo gets the three to identify themselves, but Pecado, tired of the delay, prompts the other two to help him take Hombre to the house of Culpa (*guilt*). Confident that Hombre cannot escape Culpa's prison, the three depart. Culpa informs Consuelo that Hombre's punishment must be equal to his sin. All mankind is confined in Culpa's prison, since all are born with original sin.

As Hombre appears with his face branded, Consuelo tells him that God will one day free him from his bonds. In the meantime he must eat the bread he earns from his labor, wetting it with his tears so that it will be soft enough to eat. Consuelo suggests that Hombre's sweat foreshadows the blood that Christ will sweat out of love for the laborer.

When Hombre beseeches divine intervention, the Virgen de la Concepción appears to him from out of a cloud with her feet crushing the head of a dragon. Hombre praises her for her noble attributes before the cloud closes around her again. The vision further comforts Hombre, for it has let him know that God remembers him.

Amor Divino descends from the heavens on a ladder and wakes Hombre, who has lain down to rest. He takes Hombre's hoe (*azadón*) from him and invites him to follow, but Hombre worries that by bearing his load of sins (*culpas*), Amor Divino is bearing too

great a load. When Hombre asks for the return of the hoe so that he may plant a thousand tears, Amor Divino replies that Hombre cannot pay the price, and that he alone can tread the winepress.

As Culpa tries to stop Hombre from leaving his prison, Amor Divino informs her that he has come to free the prisoner. Culpa argues that all the prophecies have not yet been fulfilled nor the price paid in full. The world must wait thirty-two more years until that happens. In response, Amor Divino says that the thirty-two years will become hope (*esperanza*), which will also set Hombre free. Hombre notices that Consuelo has gone silent and inquires as to the reason. Consuelo replies that if Hombre has God, what further consolation could he require?

Culpa changes clothes and becomes Esperanza. The three highwaymen do not recognize Culpa when they return. She tells them what she has seen. Based on the signs that they themselves have witnessed, they believe her. Muerte declares that God is killing her (Christ overcoming death through his resurrection).

Amor Divino, Hombre, and Consuelo appear aboard the ship of the Church. Amor Divino describes the ship and explains how it will be safe from the tempests thanks to the illustrious pilots that will guide it. Tiempo, incredulous, argues that Amor Divino will die, tempests will strike, tyrants and apostates will offend and kill so many pilots that the ship could not possibly be safe.

Amor Divino explains that even though he must depart, he will not leave his ship. He will remain with his Church by means of the divine Bread (*Pan divino*), which will be distributed by the priests he has chosen. The stern opens to reveal two angels holding the

Chalice in their hands. Realizing that Amor Divino has overcome them, Muerte and Pecado depart. Amor Divino declares that Hombre can thank him through his faith so that he may merit eternal glory.

Auto da barca da Glória (Auto de la barca de Gloria)

Gil Vicente

Represented 1519, Written in Spanish

Setting: On the banks of a river with two boats anchored to take the deceased to their final destination.

Carros: Two boats

Characters:

Diablo	Conde	Obispo	Cristo
Muerte	Duque	Arzobispo	Arrais do Inferno
Companheiro do	Rey	Cardenal	Emperador
Papa			

Diabo calls for Morte and asks her why she takes the poor at will, but the rich are slow in coming. Morte assures him that not even counts or the pope can escape her. Anjo pleads to the Virgin to be the help-giver at the time of death. Meanwhile, Morte takes Conde to Diabo. Conde refuses to get in Diabo's boat and says that he has always had a firm hope and unmovable faith, but Diabo points out his lack of good works as well as his numerous faults, and when Diabo beseeches Mary's help, Diabo reminds him that he never did anything to gain her favor. Conde enters Diabo's boat.

Next, Morte brings Duque to Diabo's boat, where he is invited to enter and row. Duque makes several arguments along the lines of Christ's atonement and how his suffering redeems him. When he fails to gain access to Anjo's boat, Duque asks if Christ suffered in vain for sinners. He then enters Diabo's boat where he will row.

Morte brings in Rey (king), who sad at dying, learns from Diabo that he will dwell in some distant flames crying out that there never was greater pain. After some of

the usual pleading and arguments, Morte appears again, this time with Emperador, who realizes that his past triumphs remain behind, yet his faults have come with him. This does not keep him from declaring that the Passion of Christ will save him. Morte then brings yet another prominent person, Obispo (bishop). Diabo invites Obispo to rest aboard his boat, but Obispo also hopes for the Passion of Christ to redeem him and says that Christ was nailed to the ship of the cross for him.

Next Muerte brings Arzobispo. Diabo tells of his faults, to which Arzobispo admits. However, Arzobispo declares that Christ is his Savior and that he will save him. When Angel tells him that it is very difficult to board the divine ship, Arzobispo implores the Virgin Mary's assistance and calls her the "madre de consolación."

Cardenal is the next to enter with Muerte. Shortly after Diabo tells him of what he will suffer, he, like others before him, implores the Virgin to help him since she is the advocate/lawyer before Christ (abogada general delante del redentor).

When Muerte brings Papa (the pope), Diabo tells him that he will take him to see Lucifer, where he will kiss his feet. The angels tell him that they feel for him since he was the guide of all Christianity and ask him to beseech the Savior to have mercy on him. Like others, Papa pleads to Mary.

The angles admit that it pains them that divine intervention has not come, but say that the men must go with Diabo for in their mistakes they failed to remember him. At this point the angels open a veil to reveal a painted crucifix. All the men kneel and offer a prayer one by one. As Angel's ship begins to leave, the men continue to cry out in their pain. Christ appears, gives them oars, and takes them with him.

Auto da barca do Inferno (Auto de la barca del Infierno)

Gil Vicente

Represented 1517, Portuguese *auto*

Setting: On the shore with two boats anchored to take the deceased to their final destination.

Carros: Two boats

Characters:

Diabo	Onzeneiro (Usurero)	Frade (Fraile)	Corregedor
Companheiro of Diabo	Parvo (Tonto)	Brízida Vaz (alcahueta)	Procurador
Fidalgo	Sapateiro	Judeu (Judío)	Anjo (Ángel)
Quatro Cavaleiros	Enforcado (Ahorcado)		

Diabo tells Companheiro to raise festive banners and prepare the boat to sail.

Fidalgo enters and inquires about the boat's destination. When Diabo informs him that they sail for the Lost Island (*ilha perdida*), or in other words, Hell (*inferno*), Fidalgo incredulously asks him if he is able to get any passengers. Diabo responds by saying that he views Fidalgo as being an ideal passenger for the destination. Fidalgo indicates that he hopes to avoid the voyage on account of the living that pray for him. Amused, Diabo laughs and ask why anyone prays for him if he always sought pleasure while alive. He tells Fidalgo to enter and content himself with the decision he made in life, for upon dying his actions warranted passage on Diabo's boat. Fidalgo, hoping to change his fate, asks Anjo to allow him to board the barca do Paraíso, but Anjo tells him that tyranny cannot board the divine boat. Fidalgo tells him to consider his *senhoria*, but Anjo says that Diabo's boat is more spacious and can accommodate his *senhoria*. Fidalgo reluctantly accepts his fate, musing that he had never believed in Hell and that he had

always trusted in his high status. He returns to Diabo's boat, learning that he will have to row. Thinking of the "forlorn" woman he left behind, he asks Diabo if he may return to see her, but Diabo tells him that she was happy to see him go and that she has already moved on.

Onzeneiro appears and asks the destination of Diabo's boat. Diabo indicates that the vessel is headed for the same place that he (Onzeneiro) will be going, which he finally reveals as the *infernal comarca*. Like Fidalgo, Onzeneiro seeks passage on Anjo's boat. His purse is empty, but his actions in life reveal the unworthiness of his usurious heart. He asks Diabo for permission to return to retrieve his money with which he may purchase passage on Anjo's boat, but Diabo tells him that he must serve Satanás and row even though it may grieve him.

Parvo enters, talks of his unseemly death, and like the previous two passengers, asks the ship's destination. Diabo replies that they are headed to Lucifer's Port (*Ao porto de Lucifer*). Parvo lets out a string of expletives upon hearing this. He approaches Anjo and receives permission to board his boat since he never erred out of malice.

Sapateiro, as those before him did, inquires about the destination of Diabo's boat and learns it goes to the lake of the condemned (*lago dos danados*). Thinking he is at the wrong boat, he asks where those who took communion (*comungado*) and confessed their sins before dying need to go for their passage. Diabo reveals that Sapateiro died excommunicated (*excomungado*) rather than in communion and that he hid many of his sins, having robbed for more than thirty years by means of his job. Grabbing at straws, Sapateiro inquires about the many Masses that he attended. Do they not merit

consideration? Diabo gives a clear response, saying, “Ouvir missa, então roubar, / é caminho per’aqui.” (To hear Mass and then rob / is the path to here.) When Anjo refuses to let him board his boat, Sapateiro asks if he (Anjo) would have cooked in Hell. Anjo confirms that Sapateiro is on the Hell’s menu. Sapateiro calls for the gangway to Diabo’s boat.

Frade, holding the hand of a young woman, is the next to appear. Diabo, in response to Frade’s inquiry, tells him that his boat is headed to the burning flame that Frade did not fear while alive (*Pera aquele fogo ardente / que nom temestes vivendo*). Shocked, the Frade asks if the habit he wears does not merit consideration. He further marvels that someone of his position could go to Hell for seeking pleasures with a woman, particularly since he has offered up so many prayers. Thinking he’ll teach Diabo a lesson, Frade duels with Diabo, narrating his offensive and defensive moves as they fence. He finally disengages and takes the young woman, Florença, to inquire at the boat of Glória (*barca da Glória*), but he soon realizes that he must return to Diabo’s boat.

Brízida Vaz, a procurress (*alcoviteira*) enters next, but does not want to enter Diabo’s boat without Joana de Valdês. She tells Diabo of all her baggage (sins) and indicates that her greatest burden is all the young women she sold. Nevertheless, she refuses to board Diabo’s boat, saying she has been whipped and suffered plenty of torments that if she were to go to Hell, the whole world would also. Instead she pleads, using endearing terms, that Anjo let her board his boat and tells him that she has provided many young girls for the canons (*cónegos*), thereby converting and saving more than Santa Úrsula herself. When Anjo rejects her pleas, she concedes and enters Diabo’s boat.

Judeu enters carrying a goat (*bode* or *cabrão*), offering to pay his passage on Diabo's boat. With a play on words, Diabo replies, "Nem eu nem passo cabrões." Diabo refuses to let the Jew or his goat enter.

Corregedor enters and, to his surprise, learns that he also has passage on Diabo's ship. He and Diabo banter back and forth in Latin and Portuguese, but Corregedor fails to sway Diabo's resolve. Procurador enters during this conversation and similarly refuses to board Diabo's boat headed for the *penas infernais*. He points out that there is a much better vessel nearby. When Corregedor asks Procurador if he confessed before dying, Procurador indicates that he was a bachelor and did not think his sickness was fatal. Corregedor indicates that he himself gave a very good confession but that he hid from his confessor the fact that he had stolen; otherwise, he would have had to return the stolen articles to receive absolution. When Anjo turns them away, they enter Diabo's boat.

Enforcado, hung for his thefts, said the sermon he received before being hung may have been nice for those who would continue living, but for those about to hang, a sermon is a bore. García Moniz had told him that he would go to Paradise after his death, so he is disgruntled to learn that he has been lied to. Diabo, wanting to set sail, tells those aboard his boat to get out and pull the boat into the water.

Four knights appear and sing a song clearly intended for the audience of the play. Their song tells its listeners to remember the choice between the pleasures and pains awaiting those who have died. Anjo accepts the four aboard his boat on account of having died while fighting for Christ.

Auto da barca do Purgatório (Auto de la playa del Purgatorio)

Gil Vicente

Represented 1518, Portuguese *auto*

Setting: On the banks of a river with two boats anchored to take the deceased to their final destination.

Carros: Two boats

Characters:

Anjo	Lavrador	Menino (child)	Arrais do Inferno
Diabo	Marta Gil	Taful (gambler)	Moça-Pastora menina
Companheiro do	Pastor	3 anjos	

Three angels row into view declaring that the son of God guides their boat. Diabo then enters in his boat and says that instead of a small boat, he needs a large ship to carry the increasingly wicked people of the world that is coming to an end. Anjo calls for the people to choose the right boat and tells them that those who took the other boat (referring to Diabo's boat in *Barca do Inferno*) were drowned. Anjo further indicates that all must pass the river of death, but with Christ's birth, the oars of Diabo's ship have been crushed. He advises all to turn to the Virgin Mary as their lawyer, their path, and guide, and beseech her intervention.

Lavrador appears and exchanges insults with Diabo, refusing to enter Diabo's boat even though he has lived an intemperate life. When Lavrador makes his case to enter Anjo's ship, Anjo replies that he must walk on the bank of the river (Purgatory) until God allows him to board.

Marta Gil enters and has a similar encounter with Diabo. She pleads to the Virgin that her wrongdoings be forgotten since she has always labored for her, even though she

sinned from time to time. Anjo tells her, as he did Lavrador, that she must purge her sins on the bank of the river, suffering greatly until the Lord lets her pass the river in Anjo's boat.

Pastor, like Lavrador and Marta Gil, insults Diabo and tells him that he has no power to act on the night of Christ's birth. Anjo tells Pastor that he will take him aboard if he has good works to help him, for good works are the oars that propel the boat. Diabo, however, reveals Pastor's misdeeds, for which Pastor must also purge his sins on the banks of the river in great flames.

Moça, a young shepherdess, is distressed to see Diabo and wonders what will happen to her. Diabo tries to lure her into his boat with lies, but she is not fooled. She asks Anjo to show her the path to salvation, and when he asks her how she conducted herself in life, she responds positively, but Diabo reveals that she lies. As with the others, Anjo tells her that she must pay the price of her actions on the banks of the river until God allows her to pass on to eternal glory.

Menino (child) then comes and has a spat with Diabo. The angels bring Menino aboard their ship.

The final person to appear is Tافل (gambler). Diabo greets him as his friend and invites him aboard, but like the others, Tافل does not want to board Diabo's boat. He approaches Anjo and asks if there is mercy for a man so weighed down. Anjo firmly rebukes him for blaspheming the Trinity, saints, etc. and tells him that he will burn in the flames with all the fury of God, for gamblers and apostates have no salvation. Diabo and

his companion, singing out of tune, apprehend Taful and take him away, while the angels take Menino.

Dos ingenios y esclavos del Santisimo Sacramento

Lope de Vega

Setting: The streets and houses of a city.

Characters:

Genio Bueno	Genio Malo	Hombre	Apetito
Mundo	Babilonia	Cristo	María
Castidad	Ambición	Juego	Avaricia
Hermosura	Venganza	Músicos	Demonio
Purgatorio	Infierno	Gloria	

Genio Bueno argues with Genio Malo when the latter says that he intends to rule all things and invites Bueno to leave Hombre to him if he does not like Malo's company. Mundo enters the argument, siding with Malo, and says that if Bueno provides Hombre with inspiration, Mundo will give him lascivious thoughts. Hombre enters and is quickly enticed by Malo to rest in the *ciudad humana*. Malo shows Hombre the streets and shops of the city full of worldly pleasures while Bueno points out the city's moral flaws. When Bueno challenges Malo to show Hombre some noble streets, Malo admits that the city does not have streets named Santa María, San Josef, Santiago, or Desengaño, but they do have the street of Free Will (Libre Albedrío).

Drawn to a palace, Hombre comes upon Babilonia and Apetito. Babilonia, a young man, offers Hombre a drink of wine from a golden chalice, which he accepts against Bueno's counsel. A short while later Hombre expresses his contentment with the revelry he has experienced in the city. Bueno and Cuidado, a former servant (*criado*) of Hombre, express sadness at seeing Hombre walking to his death, but Hombre declares that he is walking to life. As they pass by a house, Hombre learns that it is the house of Engaño, which serves as a hospital for crazy people. Mundo shows him around and

identifies the names and traits of the house's occupants: Ambición, Hermosura, Avaricia, Juego, and Venganza. The five decide to play a game called *El quince*, similar to the modern version of *Twenty-one*, with Juego's deck of cards. The game itself becomes an allegory of sorts as each player seeks a certain suit, generally paying little heed when they exceed the target number (e.g. Venganza wants *bastos* and *espadas* to carry out vengeance, but is satisfied when he gets a horse (*caballo*) that will allow him to flee justice. Avaricia wants *oros* even after he has exceeded fifteen, etc.). When Juego wins with a perfect fifteen, a fight nearly ensues, but Mundo forces them back into their cells. Hombre expresses his contentment with what he has witnessed in the house.

Bueno insists on showing Hombre the end from the beginning by taking him to the house of Desengaño. There Hombre sees Muerte holding a scythe with the five former occupants of the house of Engaño at his feet. Bueno summarizes the scene saying, "¡Todo para en polvo y tierra!" (309). Hombre begins to realize that by not paying attention to the end of his journey, he has taken the wrong path. He pleads with Bueno and Cuidado to lead him, much to the displeasure of Malo and Apetito.

On his journey, Hombre sees three souls, one in Heaven, another in Purgatory, and a third in Hell. Gloria praises God, Purgatorio wonders when he will escape the flames to bask in the presence of Deity, and Infierno curses the day he was born. The scene prompts Hombre to ask Cuidado to call for Arrepentimiento. Bueno, pleased, tells Hombre to see what awaits him by looking at a sacred court (*sagrada audiencia*) in which he stands trial. A court setting is revealed and Christ calls for the case against Hombre to be read. As the prosecutor, Malo, also known as Luzbel, briefly relates some

of the events and sufferings of Christ's life. Christ, as judge, concedes that mankind has been ungrateful for His sufferings. Mary speaks up briefly in Hombre's defense, but Demonio, with a book in his hand, says that Hombre has not partaken of the holy Bread, worshipped at his altars, or taken his cross upon him. Christ admits his anger toward Hombre and states that it would be just to punish him. Michael, who also plays the role of Genio Bueno, states that Hombre has overcome the deception that once led him astray. Meanwhile, Hombre pleads with Mary to defend (*abogad*) his case before her Son. She asks Hombre if he promises to mend his ways, and when he answers in the affirmative, she tells Christ to forgive him (*perdonalde*). Christ consents to his mother's request. She then asks that the charges be torn up; once again he acquiesces to her request on the condition that Hombre confesses his sins. Exasperated with the ruling, Malo asks why he had to record all Hombre's sins if he would get off for shedding a tear. Christ orders him to silence and sends him to his profound abyss. The court case closes and Bueno and Hombre appear to come to their senses after witnessing the scene, and Hombre desires to go confess his faults. Malo still holds out hope that Hombre will falter in spite of the shortness of his journey through life, but Cuidado reveals that God will enlighten him with his love so that he may see through Malo's deception and that Hombre will become a slave of the Sacrament, but God will not be offended to have his slave eat at his table.

Christ enters and, using numerous biblical references, indicates that he is the way, the life, and the truth. He also says that he is the Bread of grace and of life and that he suffered for the sake of mankind. Christ lies down and Hombre, relieved after confessing his sins, enters the stage with Malo, Bueno, cuidado, and Apetito. Despite Malo and

Apetito's attempts to get Hombre to rest, Hombre decides to seek out a charitable act that he can perform. He finds a beaten stranger (Christ), who has been sold by a false friend (Judas). Moved to compassion, Hombre carries Christ to his home to clean, dress, and care for him.

Malo, angered by Hombre's charitable desires, returns with several vices: Soberbia, Envidia, Gula, Lascivia, and Ambición. Each one, dressed as a highwayman, carries a mask, a sword, and a gun. When Malo tells the bandits to kill Hombre, an argument ensues about the possibility of Christ intervening. Gula doubts any intervention since Hombre is a mere slave. Ambición counters that Christ values Hombre so much that he gave his life for him.

Hombre, after caring for the stranger, encounters the bandits, who accost him and begin to beat him. Christ comes to his aid, and Hombre recognizes him as the stranger that he assisted. The vices flee. Christ tells Hombre that he has medicine to heal his wounds, and then carries him to a room with a table covered with flowers, the chalice, and the sacramental Host. He calls for the clothes of grace to be placed on Hombre, and then sits down with him to dine at the table.

El indulto general

Pedro Calderón de la Barca

Setting: Madrid

Characters:

Culpa	Abel	Dimas	Misericordia
Mundo	David	Gestas	Príncipe
Adán	Salomón	Ángel	Esposa
Caín	Abrahán	Justicia	Música
Acompañamiento			

Culpa worries about the day of promise that she has heard about wherein the Lord will come to release the human race from the jail of sin, uniting heaven and earth.

Mundo, the *alcaide* of the jail, wonders at Culpa's worries since the prisoners of all classes, in addition to inheriting original sin, have forged their own irons by their own acts. Culpa alludes to Jacob's ladder (Genesis 28:12) when speaking about the pending union between heaven and earth. She also references several Biblical passages foretelling the coming of one to exercise mercy and justice. As the prosecutor of the human race, she wants the list of the criminal lawsuits so that she may prosecute the offenders and fully demonstrate their guilt in order that justice will win out over mercy.

Mundo points out that without Culpa, the human race would not be incarcerated. In response to Culpa's request to see the lawsuits against the human race, Mundo speaks of the first period of the world under the natural law, dating from the Fall to Noé. A scene opens up to reveal Adán lamenting his sin and pleading for forgiveness. Adán encourages his two sons to offer sacrifices to the Lord. Abel says he will take the most perfect lamb of his flock to offer as a sacrifice and symbol of an important sacrament yet to come. Caín, in turn, suggests that he too will offer a sacrifice from his harvest, but he will give

only of his worst wheat. Although Abel offers a good sacrifice, Culpa finds comfort in Caín's unworthy sacrifice. When Mundo suggests skipping the second period under the written law, dating from Noé to Abrahán and Moisés, Culpa requests an explanation for not seeing the prisoners from that era. Mundo implies that the case against them is simple.

A new scene opens revealing David and Salomón. David is in the act of asking God's forgiveness. David, from personal experience, counsels his son to be careful with his sight, for sight is a poison to the soul. Salomón confesses his weakness for beautiful idolatrous women. From there Culpa and Mundo approach a dungeon where they find the thieves Dimas and Gestas, who recognize that they will die for their actions. Dimas recognizes Culpa and admits to his crimes, but Gestas declares that he does not know Culpa, nor does he admit having committed any crime. Culpa and Mundo, leading the two prisoners, come to a closed door that they cannot open. Behind the door they hear a chorus of singers (Adán, David, Abrahán, and an angel) proclaiming peace to men on earth and glory to God on high. Culpa becomes concerned when Mundo does not lock the two prisoners in a cell, but Mundo says that the old door they came through and the new door that they cannot enter (Old and New Testament) are both locked, leaving the prisoners no place to go.

Príncipe, Justicia, and Misericordia enter the now empty stage. Justicia carries a sword, while Misericordia carries an olive branch. The three discuss the natural order and need for each of the seven sacraments designed to benefit mankind. Eventually Mundo and Culpa enter and hear an epithalamium sung by Ángel that announces the marriage of

Príncipe with one (María) who has never known fault or guilt (*Culpa*). When Príncipe and Ángel leave, Mundo and Culpa ponder on who Príncipe could be and how they could be ignorant of his identity. As they continue to discuss the identity of the unknown prince and his fiancé, they decide to give them names. They choose Deseado Segundo for Príncipe since the epithalamium had referred to him as “el Deseado” and because he was sent by his father as his second person to govern his dominions. They choose the name of María for the bride since it implies that she is exalted, chosen, and full of grace. Mundo declares that everything will eventually be revealed.

Príncipe and Esposa finally meet up, lavishing praises on each other with numerous allusions to the Song of Songs. Mundo follows them on *calle Atocha* and sees them stop outside his jail where he has left Culpa as guard. The couple hears the pleas for mercy coming from the prisoners within the walls of the prison. Misericordia lets Príncipe know what the prisoners are saying, and Esposa pities them. Justicia reminds the royal couple that justice must be served. Esposa agrees but says that justice can best be found in the person in the possession of grace. Príncipe, also feeling pity for the prisoner, declares a general pardon in honor and glory of Esposa and their wedding. Before sending them to make the news public, he then tells Misericordia and Justicia that there can be neither justice nor mercy if there is not a union between the two. Mundo informs Culpa of what he has seen. As the prosecutor, Culpa is incredulous that Príncipe could have pardoned the prisoners without consulting her.

Culpa, still hopeful, attends the review of each case, starting with Adán’s. Adán reveals that he is a prisoner because of his many debts (sins—both original and personal).

Culpa affirms that as the offended party she can lawfully hold Adán in prison in spite of the general pardon. Justicia agrees that those that can pay must pay, but Ángel reminds them that Adán has already surrendered all his possessions to pay the debt and cannot possibly pay the remaining debt, making him the beneficiary of an established law that states that no one can be obligated to do the impossible. Misericordia intervenes in the dispute between Ángel and Culpa, declaring that both justice and grace can be served by releasing Adán under the terms of the pardon, which will allow him to receive an income to gradually pay the remaining debt. Caín appears next. Abel states that his own blood is the offended party that pleads for justice. Justicia duly notes that cases of homicide do not fall under the umbrella of the pardon and that Caín must pay the price of his sin. Caín's case presents a unique contrast with the following case against David, who committed both adultery and homicide. However, the offended party, Bethsabee is also his accomplice in sin and does not pursue the case against David receiving part in the pardon. Furthermore, Ángel notes that David's constant state of penance merits a pardon. Salomón enters immediately after his father receives a pardon, but unlike David, Salomón has not yet presented evidence of contrition for his idolatrous behavior. His case will remain open for a future hearing. Dimas and Gestas finally reappear, Dimas acknowledging his guilt and Gestas continuing to deny any wrongdoing in spite of an eyewitness testimony against him. Justicia and Misericordia apply the pardon to Dimas, while denying it to Gestas.

Justicia and Misericordia want to see the prisoners from a certain section of the prison, but Mundo indicates that he does not have a key for it. When Culpa seeks to stop

them from entering, Justicia, Ángel, and Misericordia form the standard of the inquisition with Justicia wielding a sword, Ángel a cross, and Misericordia an olive branch. Príncipe comes and frees Abrahán and the other prisoners from Culpa. When Culpa protests, Príncipe states that they have been subject to the natural and written law, but now they are the beneficiaries of the law of Grace.

When Mundo praises Príncipe, Culpa threatens to chase him. In response, Mundo says he will win by fleeing from her. Esposa enters and receives praise from everyone but Culpa, who acknowledges the freedom of the pardoned but suggests that she will go after their children. Príncipe tells her that he will leave a table with his flesh and blood (the Eucharist) as an antidote to her poisonous rage. Culpa flees while Esposa expresses her pleasure in seeing the afflictions of the prisoners eased. All present sing praises to Príncipe and Esposa.

La nave del Mercader

Pedro Calderón de la Barca

Ed. Eduardo González Pedroso. Madrid, 1865. 440-63. Represented 1674.

Setting: Next to the sea with a large rock outcropping on one side and mountains and foliage on the other side. Clouds.

Carros: Two ships, one decorated with religious symbolism (sacramental chalices and the Host), the other mostly black with symbolism referring to the devil (a dragon/serpent on the bow and a tree with a serpent wrapped around it in place of the *fanal*). Another *carro* has a cloud that opens and also a jail cell. The final *carro* takes the form of the rock outcropping—open in half with machinery to lower two people to the stage (440).

Characters:

Culpa	Memoria	Cinco Sentidos	Deseo
Mundo	Voluntad	Hombre, <i>primero Adan</i>	Amor
Demonio	Entendimiento	Mercader, <i>segundo Adan</i>	Músicos
Lascivia	Tiempo		

Culpa, riding on the bow of a black ship with a sword, feathers, and a scepter, orders the helmsman to direct the ship to land. As she disembarks, she tells Mundo to wait while she recruits others. Demonio, and shortly after, Lascivia, emerge from separate clouds when summoned by Culpa. The three wish to know what Culpa has planned for them. The rock outcropping opens to reveal Hombre, who is asleep, and Deseo. Mundo indicates that although Hombre may sleep, his desire never does. Culpa and her three companions watch as Hombre, while sleeping, converses with Deseo about enjoying the time of his mortal existence.

In contrast with the previous scene, a cloud opens to reveal Mercader, who sleeps, and Amor, awake. Mundo, Lascivia, Demonio, and Culpa discuss the meaning of this new scene. Deseo wakes Hombre and bids him to follow him, while Amor wakes Mercader and tells him that Hombre, led by his desire, is in trouble and needs his help.

The juxtaposition emphasizes the contrast between the two scenes as Hombre is aroused by Deseo and convinced to follow him, while Mercader is awakened and motivated by Amor. Meanwhile, Culpa, in a monologue of 170 verses, explains that while Hombre may overcome original sin (*culpa original*) and regain divine Grace through baptism, she will make him a prisoner again through his own sins (*culpa actual*). Among other things, she also mentions that heaven's shipyard is constructing a ship to secure the seas (of life) against the monster of the sea (*bestia del mar*).

Hombre reaches a fork in the road, the Furca Pythagorica, where Mercader tries to persuade him to take the more rocky and thorny path while Deseo seeks to convince him to take the easy and attractive path. Hombre decides to part ways with Mercader, who will not force Hombre to follow him, but indicates that as his brother and his friend, he may go in search for him later.

Culpa and her cohorts plan to make sure that Hombre continues to follow Deseo. Deseo wants to know what riches Hombre could possibly have to present himself to the [royal] Court. Hombre indicates that human nature gave him the five senses and three faculties of the soul that would enable him to acquire riches. The five senses appear at Hombre's request and Vista indicates that they will give him five talents that are loaned out but that must be returned with interest at death (Matt. 25:14-30). Tiempo will serve as the witness of the loan and judge (*juez ejecutivo*) ensuring that the interest is paid. They call Tiempo, who records the transaction and Hombre's agreement to pay back twice the value of the talents that he is receiving. Now that Hombre has received the five talents, he seeks the three faculties of the soul. Each of the faculties—Voluntad, Memoria, and

Entendimiento—give Hombre something that represents them, explaining the allegorical significance of the individual things to him.

Mundo, Demonio, and Lascivia devise a strategem on how to divest the money from Hombre. The ensuing scenes change quickly. In one, a white ship appears carrying Mercader and Amor, the latter serving as the ship's pilot. In another, Hombre and Deseo board a black ship. Hombre, with a little time to think without Deseo, contemplates how much rest a person can get without him. He even has time to outline a *comedia* in his mind with different personified elements playing the roles of *dama*, *galán*, etc. As he is thinking, he meets Lascivia. Enchanted by her beauty and her pleas for refuge against the bandits that inhabit the mountains, he fails to notice when she pilfers the token that Voluntad had given to him, a heart. When he mentions that he misses Deseo, she becomes upset that he could miss anyone when he has her. He eventually realizes that she has stolen his heart, but she leaves, calling him *grosero*, before he can recover it.

Demonio and other bandits detain Hombre, who has reunited with Deseo. They threaten to kill Hombre when he refuses to surrender his jewels and talents, but Mundo comes to his aid. Demonio and the other bandits flee, concealing their joy in tricking Hombre into befriending Mundo. Hombre gives the ring that he received from Memoria to Mundo after the latter offered to bandage his wounded hand. As a result, Hombre loses his memories about death. The three enter a town and go to the residence that Deseo, spending the five talents, has acquired for Hombre. He used Vista's talent to purchase pictures and mirrors, Olfato's to get perfumes, Tacto's for soft beds, Gusto's for wines and other delicacies, and Oído's for servants who were also good musicians. When Deseo

cannot remember where the dwelling is that he has paid for, Mundo leads them to an inn, where Hombre sees Lascivia again. She toys with him some more, offering to give him his heart back, but he refuses it, not wanting her to call him *grosero* for a second time.

Lascivia offers Hombre a drink to quench his thirst, but when he drinks he recognizes it as poison. Understanding that his five senses and two of the three faculties of his soul have left him, he falls into Demonio's arms and faints after learning that not even reason (*Entendimiento*) will remain with him. After an earthquake Tiempo enters and finds Hombre unconscious and unable to hear, see, feel, smell, or taste in his present state. When Hombre regains consciousness, Tiempo explains that Hombre's days are up and that he has come to collect the talents that he received in life along with the interest. Hombre, giving an account of what happened to the five talents and the gifts from the three faculties of the soul, laments that he cannot even return original loan amount that he received. Tiempo orders the arrest of Hombre and Deseo, delivering them to a cave/sepulcher (representing death) that serves as a jail until he can pay his debt. Hombre wonders how he can ever pay his infinite debt.

The two ships appear, propelled by contrary winds according to Lascivia's observations. Amor and Culpa ascend the main mast of their respective ships, both explaining their allegorical significance before descending back to the ship. Mercader's ship sets sail for land, but Culpa's does not enjoy the same favorable wind. Lascivia and Mundo reveal that Mercader's ship is entering the bay, but Culpa's ship, battered by the elements, is sinking. Culpa washes ashore and relates to Demonio, Lascivia, and Duda, that despite her efforts, she could not overtake Mercader's ship, which carried a load of

wheat (symbolic of Christ and the sacramental host). The three seek to comfort Culpa by indicating that Mercader's brother is in jail, unable to pay his debts.

Mercader and Amor come across Hombre and Deseo's place of confinement after following the sound of their complaints. Mercader tells Tiempo that he will post Hombre's bail. Tiempo writes up a contract stating that Mercader agrees to make payment in full for all Hombre's debts. Hombre and Deseo go to Mercader's ship, but the five senses and three faculties of the soul arrive thinking their prisoner has escaped. When Tiempo indicates that Mercader has posted bail, they demand payment in full for the debt or a prisoner. Consequently, Tiempo must lock up Amor and Mercader since the latter says he will not pay until his time has come. The debtors sing to the prisoners; their lyrics detail the events of the Passion of Christ. As they finish their song, Mercader painfully exclaims that the time has come for him to pay. Shortly thereafter he emerges and announces the wheat in the ship is the Bread of Life and will meet the terms of the debt. The debtors are satisfied, but Culpa enters and protests that wheat cannot pay an infinite debt. In response, Mercader declares that a single ear of the wheat on his ship would be sufficient to pay the debt. Lascivia, Mundo, and Demonio are not convinced and say they will keep the three gifts that the faculties of the soul had originally given to Hombre. Mercader calls for Hombre and tells him he will receive the jewels received from the three faculties since the debt has been settled. Amor, in response to Culpa's doubts explains the Real Presence in the accidents of the Eucharist, causing Lascivia, Mundo and Demonio to surrender the hatband (*cintillo*), the heart, and the ring that the three faculties had previously given Hombre.

La [santa] inquisición

Mira de Amescua

Wrongly attributed to Lope de Vega in a number of works because of a manuscript that bore his name.

Setting: An inquisitorial trial.

Characters:

León	Amor Divino	Cinco Sentidos	La Aurora
La Iglesia	La Noche	La Fe	El Lucero
Fingido	El Sol Jesús	Santo Domingo	San Pedro Mártir
Sto. Tomás de Aquino			

León (Satan) compares himself with the moon and says that he is a beggar of the sun's (God's) light. He narrates his narcissistic attitude and his subsequent fall from heaven. He causes evil-minded individuals to carry out a heretical apostasy.

Consequently, Herejía and Idolatría will go on trial the following day. León says that he will disturb the faith of Europe and will wage war on free will (*albedrío*). Accompanying music says that the smallest hope comes to fruition with the Cruz Verde, which Temor says is the tree where the second Adam (Christ) sought to pay for Adam's actions. León further associates the Cruz Verde with the Garden of Eden when he calls it the tree of life. Amor Divino counsels Fe, the *soberano dueño* of the *auto de fe*, to keep the five senses of Alma awake as they stand guard over the Cruz Verde during the night. Noche darkens the surrounding area and tells León that he can now give off his frightening roar.

León intends to help Herejía and Idolatría, who will stand trial when the sun rises the next day, to escape from prison as "todas las tinieblas bajen / al hemisferio español" (386-87). Fe counsels the five senses to make sure that Herejía does not escape during the night, and Amor Divino proposes a game of hide-and-seek to pass the time. Before hiding

behind some wine and bread, he appoints Fe to act as judge in the game. Temor and each of the senses explain why they think they will win. The roles of Temor and Vista overlap a little, and Temor suggests that through sight the eagle can look at the sun. “Doubting Thomas” once used Tacto to assure himself of Christ’s resurrection. Oído calls himself the second sight of the blind. Gusto claims the benefit of two senses: smell and taste. Vista gives up his search when all he can see is bread and wine. Gusto does the same when he can only smell and taste bread and wine. Tacto follows suit when all he manages to touch are bread and wine. Temor, among several guesses that he ventures, supposes that Amor might be in the money but discovers that he is incorrect. Oído begins his search by telling Fe that he (O.) is the door through which Fe gives life to the soul. He then asks Fe to reveal where Amor has hidden. In secret, Fe reveals the secret to Oído and the game ends as the chalice and bread lower to reveal Amor. Musicians reveal that only the one advised by Fe could find Amor Divino.

As the sun rises, León has failed to free Herejía and Idolatría. Sol (Christ) tells Fe to go down from the Church to conduct the *auto de fe*. At the trial Tomás de Aquino carries a missal and Domingo has a bouquet of white lilies. Herejía and Idolatría, with their hands bound, present themselves before Fe, Domingo, Iglesia, and Temor, who are seated in the bleachers/stands. Pedro and Tomás de Aquino, lower down on another bleacher, are under an ornamental canopy. Iglesia presents Domingo as the Inquisitor General, Tomás as the Doctor of the Church and *calificador del Santo Oficio*, and Pedro as the secretary and prosecutor (*secretario y fiscal*). León, feeling he belongs in the stands with those officiating, heads in their direction until Iglesia orders him to stop or be

thrown out. He fails to heed her warning and is cast off the stands. Thomas holds the missal open to Pedro, who formally files his complaint and declares that they will guard the pure and holy faith of the Church against heretics. León counsels both Idolatría and Herejía to stand firm against their accusers. They both accept his counsel and refuse the first offer to recant.

A scene opens to reveal a garden with a pelican (Christ) in the middle of the fountains of the Seven Sacraments. The pelican strikes its own chest until it opens up to reveal the Eucharist. The scene moves Idolatría to confess that, like a gentile, he had been deceived. After he swears fealty to the Apostolic Faith before the cross, Iglesia pardons him, granting him clemency. León laments this turn of events and pleads with Herejía to die with honor (*honra*) by refusing to confess his error. Herejía, true to his word, remains obstinate against the tribunal. Consequently, Pedro reads his sentence from the pulpit. He declares that Herejía, having once been a son of the Church, had denied the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine, among other things. The tribunal anathematizes Herejía and declares him a rebel and a cancerous member of the Church. Additionally, they deny him grace and participation in any of the sacraments. As they deliver Herejía to León as a slave, León lists a large number of sects and religions that fall into his hands with the sentence that Herejía has received. León conducts Herejía toward a door leading down to Hell, while the rest stand by a door leading to eternal glory.

La serrana de Plasencia

José de Valdivielso

Setting: A mountain range covered with trees. Supposedly there is a cave for thieves on the mountain to the left with the city of Plasencia and Esposo's mansion on a mountain to the right. Plasencia; Garganta-la-Olla; between the two cities. These are both cities in Cáceres, Extremadura.

Carros: Esposo's mansion, capable of opening and closing—*carro de la derecha* (248), *Carro de tinieblas/cueva de sombras*—the mouth of hell (256).

Characters:

Razón	Engaño	Honor	Hermandad
Desengaño	Juventud	Placer	(<i>dos cuadrilleros</i>)
Serrana	Hermosura	Esposo	Músicos

Desengaño, a prisoner in a cave of thieves, escapes captivity with the help of his fellow inmate, Razón. Desengaño describes how Engaño, accompanied by La Serrana, stripped him of his clothes, tied him up, gagged his mouth, and then put Desengaño's saintly clothes on himself to rob those traveling to Plasencia. He (Desengaño) will escape to Plasencia, where he has relatives in the Court to help him. Razón asks him to tell Esposo that she has tried to reason with La Serrana and get her to ask his forgiveness, but she (Serrana) is too obstinate. Razón feels that Esposo will not understand how bad life is unless he comes as a mortal man himself. They hear Serrana waylaying Juventud, and Desengaño flees.

Juventud, enchanted by Serrana's beauty, declares his passion for her, but Engaño leads him away as his prisoner. When Engaño returns, Serrana has him lead a young man, Hermosura, off the road where she awaits with her crossbow (*ballesta*). Once again, after a few words between the highwaymen and their captive, Engaño leads Hermosura away.

When Engaño returns, Serrana laments having offended her husband's (Esposo's) love, but he still seems to labor for her return. When she contemplates whether or not her husband will forgive her if she asks forgiveness, Engaño persuades her that he would not. As she resolves to continue the way of life she has chosen as a highwayman, she sends Engaño to the road to distract another traveler, Honor. Engaño does not succeed in deceiving Honor as to his identity, but when Serrana comes out, they still take him captive. As Engaño leads him to the cave, he says he will give him a terrible beating. In the meantime, Serrana, feeling melancholy with the absence of Placer (Pleasure), once again begins to question her way of life.

In Esposo's mansion in Plasencia, Razón tells Esposo and Desengaño about being waylaid by Serrana in Garganta-la-Olla. While growing up, she had listened to Razón's advice, but *Apetito* came and tempted her with diverse pleasures, which caused her to disregard Razón. One day Serrana apprehended her and took her to a cave full of others she had robbed. Desengaño, in turn, asks Esposo why he does not send justice to deal with Serrana. Esposo explains that patience is a godly virtue and that he loves Serrana, and even though her actions pain him, he does not complain; so why should Desengaño complain when her actions do not cause him pain. Having said this, Esposo commits Desengaño to go in search of Serrana, dressed as a shepherd, to tell her of his love despite her offenses. If she is reluctant to return to Esposo, Desengaño should instruct her to go to his mother, who also cares for her.

Serrana pursues *Gusto*, reproving him for taking her from her home and from the arms of her Esposo yet not letting her obtain him (*Gusto*). As she attempts to hug him, he

removes his cloak, revealing his skeletal figure before disappearing. The revelation of Gusto's nature astonishes Serrana, causing her to question how she could have ever pursued such a thing at the expense of what she gave up. Gradually the true nature of things reveals itself to her mind, allowing her to realize that Engaño has also deceived her for some time.

From an elevated position, Desengaño calls to Serrana, though not by name, and tells her she is on the wrong path and that the better one is to the right, and though it is narrow, it is a good and sure path. She invites him down, but he declines her offer with the excuse that the Devil walks below and that Serrana, a young woman without conscience, goes about the area with her crossbow. He begins to describe Serrana and her companion (Engaño), explaining that the Santa Hermandad has been dispatched to look for them. Engaño calls up to Desengaño to suggest that the two have fled in fear and that he (Desengaño) may come down now. After Desengaño receives a promise as to the veracity of Engaño's words from the two highwaymen, he descends and tells the two that he has come in search of a lost sheep. Upset at the description that Desengaño gave of him, Engaño irritably tells him not to share any allegories with them. The two trade insults until Desengaño reveals Engaño's identity through a narration of biblical events in which he played a part in the deception of numerous people. Finally recognizing the shepherd's identity, Engaño arrogantly responds with his own diatribe of how Desengaño is a spoilsport who always prescribes bitter pills to the sick, and that only a few devote hermits give him heed, while entire courts and cities follow after Engaño's lies. In response, Desengaño declares that Engaño offers everlasting death, while he (Desengaño)

offers everlasting life. The argument continues with Engaño ordering Desengaño to not cause the Aprils of Serrana's life to wither away. Before the two depart, Engaño says that Serrana, who has left Esposo, is now his, but Desengaño says that Esposo still remembers and loves her.

In a self-apostrophe, Serrana refers to herself as a little ship tossed back and forth between two winds on a tumultuous sea; yet in the end, she desires to continue with her current lifestyle. As she does so, she hears a shepherd sing of how Serrana stole his heart, leaving him to die of love for her. Flattered that some stranger loves her, yet wary, she points her bow at him and asks him to identify himself. He tells her that he has searched for eight days for her, suffering greatly. In return, she submits herself to him and asks that he forgive and heal her. Instead, he orders two *cuadrilleros* of the Santa Hermandad to tie her up and tells her that she has fallen into his hands. She asks what better place she could have fallen, for his hands lift up the penitent sinner. She begs him to look upon her tears, but he refuses to do so, afraid they will soften his resolve, and orders the *cuadrilleros* to quickly take her from him.

As if speaking to Serrana, though she is not present, Esposo tells her to cry and he will save her. When Desengaño appears, Esposo tells him that He will put Serrana on a pole (*palo*), but Desengaño doubts it.

Engaño, broken (*descalabrado y roto*), mourns his ugliness that is now readily apparent and wishes he could return to heaven to rule and overthrow its present government. Though he cannot do this, he decides to seek vengeance through Serrana instead. As he contemplates his vengeance, he hears the voices of the Santa Hermandad

ordering bowmen to prepare to shoot Serrana, who is tied to a pole according to the voices he hears. Her voice then reaches him as she confesses her sins and once again asks Esposo's pardon. When a *cuadrillero* tells her that the time has passed for forgiveness, Esposo supercedes his statement by saying that it is never too late for the sinner to cry over the sins he/she has committed. The Santa Hermandad, demanding justice, orders him to step aside, but he assures her that she will not die, for he has placed himself in the middle (*de por medio*). Serrana describes the scene saying that the arrows have pierced his hands, feet, and chest. Engaño, realizing the precarious nature of his situation, flees with the Santa Hermandad in pursuit.

The scene of Serrana and Esposo just described opens up to the public.

Desengaño, upon approaching Serrana and Esposo, points to the other side of the stage where Engaño's body is riddled with arrows as flames surround him at the mouth of Hell. The Santa Hermandad tells Serrana that her path to heaven is set now that Engaño is dead. She indicates that it will be even surer if Esposo will guide her from above. Esposo says he will descend to the cave to free many of the prisoners, while in the Church, Pedro, his *cuadrillero mayor*, will distribute instead of wine, Esposo's blood, and instead of bread, his body. Esposo forgives Serrana and tells her to eat and drink.

El viaje del Alma

Lope de Vega

First Published in 1604 in *El peregrino en su patria*

Setting: Initially on the shores of the sea of life, but later on ships that sail on that sea.

Carros: Two ships

Characters:

Cristo	El Alma	San Pedro	Voluntad (<i>villano</i>)
Engaño	Memoria (<i>mancebo</i>)	Penitencia	Amor Propio
Apetito	Entendimiento (<i>viejo</i>)	El Demonio	

Voluntad and Memoria, two of the three faculties (*potencias*) of the soul, accompany Alma as she seeks to embark on her journey to the celestial city of Zion. She knows that she must choose a ship to cross the sea of life. Memoria, advising her to remember what she owes to God, tells her that her journey is like the letter ‘Y’. King and pauper both enter life through birth, represented by the lower half of the letter. However, unlike birth, there are two paths to death. By choosing the correct one she will see God and enjoy great glory, but the other will lead to pain. Voluntad feels that Memoria is too tedious (*pesada*) and reminds Alma that God has given her agency to choose. As Voluntad and Memoria heatedly dispute over who should advise Alma, Memoria indicates that the absence of the third faculty of the soul, Entendimiento, has made Voluntad more insolent (*deslenguado*) than usual.

The three approach Demonio, who is dressed as a sailor with flames embroidered on his clothing, and his crew: Amor Propio, Apetito, and Engaño, among others. They sing,

Hoy la nave del Deleite
 Se quiere hacer á la mar.
 ¿Hay quien se quiera embarcar?
 Hoy la nave del Contento,
 Con viento en popa de gusto,
 Donde jamás hay disgusto,
 Penitencia ni tormento,
 Viendo que hay próspero viento,
 Se quiere hacer á la mar.
 ¿Hay quien se quiera embarcar?

When Memoria and Voluntad ask where their ship is destined, Demonio informs them that it goes to the new world and that César, Marco Antonio and Masinisa, Mesalina, and Dido Elisa have traveled in it. He specifically targets and convinces Voluntad by saying, “Porque aqui todo es placer, / Dormir, comer y beber, / Sin escote ni fatiga.”

When Memoria tries to warn her of the error of boarding the ship of Deleite, Demonio orders the Vices (Engaño, Apetito, and Amor Propio) to sing and play musical instruments to cause Memoria to fall asleep. Without Entendimiento and Memoria to advise her, Voluntad and the crew of Deleite’s ship persuade Alma that the journey will be pleasurable and easy sailing. The ship lowers its plank and Alma boards with Voluntad.

Entendimiento, a venerable old man, appears shortly after the ship has embarked on its journey over the sea of life. Lamenting, in an aside, he asks where Alma is going without him. Memoria awakes and explains the smooth and convincing manner of Demonio in convincing Alma to board Deleite’s ship. Since he fell asleep, however, he cannot tell Entendimiento where the ship has gone.

Entendimiento calls out to Alma, hoping that she can hear him. As he does so, the sound of the crew working and calling out in cadence can be heard. Memoria and

Entendimiento can now see Alma and Voluntad standing on the stern of the ship, which has just come into view; but Alma, who originally dressed in white, now wears a black veil as a livery from her current master. As Entendimiento tries to help her see the error of her ways, Alma says she travels with the one who loves her, but Entendimiento says she is like a fish caught on a hook and asks if she honestly expects to get to heaven in the ship of Deleite. Voluntad argues with Entendimiento, saying they are content on the ship, but Entendimiento asks, “¿Dónde imagináis llegar? / ¿Qué puerto pensáis tener?”

Memoria and Entendimiento eventually persuade Alma that the longer she remains with Demonio, the stronger his hold on her will be, for he will tie her with the cords of sin. She worries how she will get off the ship, but Entendimiento tells her that if she chooses she can enter the ship of Penitencia. Unlike the pleasures promised on the ship of Deleite, Entendimiento promises tears, fasting, and pain on Penitencia’s ship, which disgruntles Voluntad. He reveals to the two faculties of the soul that remain on the shore the splendor of Deleite’s ship with its crew and passengers, which consist of the seven capital/cardinal sins, men and women, rogues, and musicians. The occupants of the ship are in the act of boisterously singing and eating. Each time that Entendimiento or Memoria tell Alma that Deleite’s ship leads only to perdition or ask her to give Christ the victory by disembarking from the ship, the crew responds with its boisterous music.

The ship of Penitencia, which has not yet appeared, begins to fire three different kinds of cannons. In contrast to the cadence heard earlier on Deleite’s ship, the crew of Penitencia’s ship work to the beat of declarations praising the Trinity and the Virgin. All

aboard Deleite's ship, except Alma and Voluntad, disappear from view in response to the cannon fire.

Christ appears and says that he never comes late even when the sinner is late in calling him. He comes searching for Alma because of the great price he paid for her. In contrast to Demonio's earlier invitation, Christ says, "Hay quien se quiera embarcar / Al puerto de salvación?" When Alma asks his identity, Christ says that he is the truth, the life, and the way. He is also the captain of the ship of Penitencia.

Alma, ashamed of her actions and unworthiness, accepts Christ and submits her agency to his will. When she does this the ship of Penitencia appears, replete with symbolic imagery of saints, the crucifixion, the tomb, and the monstrance. As Christ shows her the ship, Alma tells him that the faculties of her soul humble themselves before him. With Pedro at the compass and the pope at the wheel (*timón*), Christ says that Alma will have his grace to be with her while at sea and his glory when she reaches the port at the end of the journey.

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