Early Social Performance

RITUAL, SPECTACLE, AND THEATRE IN LATE MEDIEVAL SEVILLE

PERFORMING EMPIRE

by
CHRISTOPHER SWIFT

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN (print): 9781802700855
e-ISBN (PDF): 9781802701548

www.arc-humanities.org
Printed and bound in the UK (by CPI Group [UK] Ltd), USA (by Bookmasters), and elsewhere using print-on-demand technology.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

ACS	Archivo General del Arzobispado y Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla
BCC	Institución Colombina Biblioteca Capitular de Sevilla
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia
E	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS B.I.2 (*Códice de los músicos*)
F	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*, MS Banco Rari 20, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia (*Códice de Florencia*)
RABA	Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando
RBME	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
T	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*, MS T-I-1, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (*Códice Rico*)
To	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*, MS 10069, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (*Códice de Toledo*)

NOTES

All translations from Spanish and Latin are the author's, except where otherwise noted.

Sections of Chapter 2 were previously published in "A Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears." *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (London: Routledge, 2011), 79–101.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THE RESEARCH AND writing of the book were supported by travel and writing grants from the CUNY Research Foundation of the Professional Staff Congress and the CUNY Faculty Fellowship Publication Program. Presentations at the American Society for Theatre Research and the International Congress on Medieval Studies provided intellectual spaces to explore central concepts. Conversations with colleagues at these symposia were enlightening and encouraging. As her colleagues and mentees will attest, there is not a more responsive, rigorous, or keen reader than Pamela Sheingorn, and I am indebted to her for her comments on early drafts of the manuscript. My dear medieval theatre friends Thomas Meachum and Jill Stevenson have been reliable sounding boards and co-conspirators in imprudent mirth through periods of adversity. Manuel José Gómez Lara generously gave his time to introduce me to archivists, restoration experts, and the arts of the city of Seville. Juan Ruiz Jiménez's profound knowledge of the Institución Colombina of Seville led to valuable discoveries in their archives. I have benefitted tremendously from Elina Gertsman's continuous support of my scholarship. Thank you to my colleagues and friends at CUNY: Khalid Lachheb for his hospitality in Morocco and functioning as an interpreter of Arabic there, and Ann Delilkan for her generosity, affection for lucid prose, and careful reading of drafts at critical moments. Arc Humanities editors Anna Henderson and Becky Straple shepherded me across the line with attention and grace. I would like to express my gratitude to Early Social Performance series editor Pamela King and the anonymous readers for their astute comments, which improved the book immeasurably. Special thanks to my family, near and far, for gifting me quiet spaces, laughter, and love.

Introduction

THEATRES OF ABSENCE

> …ninguno puede ver las cosas que en él se muestran, que tenga alguna raza de confeso, o no sea habido y procreado de sus padres de legítimo matrimonio; y el que fuere contagiado destas dos tan usadas enfermedades, despídase de ver las cosas, jamás vistas ni oídas, de mi retablo.[1]

BEST KNOWN FOR the novel Don Quixote, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra also wrote for the stage. His short, comically dark play *El retablo de las maravillas* was published at the end of the period of the expulsion of *Moriscos* from Spain (1609–1615) and offers us a theatrical portal for viewing imperial Spain during the centuries prior to *el Siglo de Oro*—the Spanish Golden Age of literature, art, music, and theatre.[2] *El retablo* is a play about a puppet show, or more precisely, a puppet show that never takes place. The theme of the *entremés* is based on an exemplar from the fourteenth-century collection of stories known as *El conde Lucanor* (Count Lucanor) and appears again in *Kejserens nye klæder* (The Emperor's New Clothes) by Hans Christian Andersen. The literary and dramatic lineage of the picaresque tricksters in the play can be traced farther back, to eleventh- and twelfth-century *maqāmā* stories and shadow puppet theatre in al-Andalus, and across the wider Arabic-speaking world.[3] The mordant plot involves two travelling rogues, Chanfalla and Chirinos, who swindle a gullible, anxious group of villagers out of six *ducatos* by promising to present a spectacle that can be seen only by Old Christians, that is, Christians without Jewish or Muslim ancestry. The con artists narrate the Old Testament story of Samson's destruction of the temple; however, *el retablo* (the puppet stage) remains void of action. Out of fear of being identified as *Conversos* or *Moriscos*, the townspeople feign reactions as they gaze upon the empty stage. In the last moments of *El retablo*, the theatrical trick turns deadly. A soldier who admits to seeing nothing becomes enraged when he is accused of being "one of them." He slaughters the audience of townspeople.

El retablo summons not only an empty stage but historical absences as well: forced conversions, expulsions, and massacres of non-Christians over a two-century period preceding the publication of the play. Cervantes's satire of the blood purity anxieties of

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1 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, "Entremés del retablo de las maravillas." *La Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/el-retablo-de-las-maravillas--0/html/ff328a9c-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_5.html.

2 "*Morisco*," meaning "little Moor," described Muslim converts to Christianity. The term first appears in texts written by Christian authors in the early sixteenth century. "Conversos" were Jews who converted to Christianity; the term came into wide use in the fifteenth century.

3 J. A. Garrido Ardila, "Origins and Definition of the Picaresque Genre," in *The Picaresque Novel in Western Literature from the Sixteenth Century to the Neopicaresque*, ed. Garrido Ardila (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 3.

late medieval and Counter-Reformation Spain reveals the theatrical nature of ethno-religious identity, a theme that is explored in this book. Although written in the early seventeenth century, the title of the play recalls the materiality of medieval theatre and the religious origins of the puppet stage. '*El retablo*' signified a transportable stage outfitted with portals and scenic elements through which automata and puppets would enter and on which they would perform. The use of the word in a theatrical context originated from the Castilian word for church altarpiece or tabernacle. From the early Middle Ages, *los retablos* were painted, carved altarpieces that framed and decorated the sanctified ceremonial space of the church altar. Church *retablos* were often panelled and contained both niches that framed life-like statues of saints, Jesus, and the Virgin Mary, and, not unlike puppet stages of the Spanish Renaissance, shuttered doorways through which sacred objects and statues would make entrances.[4] As discussed in the following chapter, some of the more lifelike figures in *los retablos* were, in every respect, puppets themselves. Life-sized Virgin Mary and Christ figures had limbs and heads that articulated in order to theatricalize the festivals of the Assumption, the Deposition of Christ, and other Christian holidays. Although Cervantes's *entremeses* were never performed during his lifetime, his readers knew the word *retablo* from both the world of the church and the world of the theatre. The appearance of *retablos* across sacred and profane domains calls attention to the existence of a vibrant theatrical tradition in Iberia centuries prior to the flourishing of dramatic literature in the forms of *comedias*, *entremeses*, and *autos sacramentales*.

This book engages with evidence of material culture in the multi-confessional city of late medieval Seville: mosques, synagogues, and churches; manuscript illuminations and texts; and religious statues and ritual objects. It traces an historical arc during the period of Christian rule of the city from 1248 to the conquest of the New World in the sixteenth century, from a period of relatively peaceful, if strained, coexistence among Jews, Muslims, and Christians to decades of interreligious violence and expulsions. Public performance in Seville was a vital means for the people of the city to negotiate and reform community relationships, reinforce and resist social controls, enact ethnic and religious identities, and instantiate and preserve communal memories. Interconfessional relationships among medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims in al-Andalus, Castile, Catalonia, and across the Mediterranean world have been a rich area of research, particularly over the past thirty years. What sets the current study apart from this growing body of work is its direct engagement with performance culture. As a book about theatre, it is concerned with multifarious components of social performance, both living and inanimate: language, music, choreography, technology, props, stages, and cityscapes. Within the imaginative space between stages and audiences, imagined communities emerged. *Ritual, Spectacle, and Theatre in Late Medieval Seville* investigates the accumulation of signs and effects in the play space of theatre and the very real consequences of these creative explorations.

4 Francisco J. Cornejo, "Del retablo a la máquina real: Orígenes del teatro de títeres en España," *Fantoche* 9 (2015): 39–40.

Since theatre is conducted in public spaces and relies on a degree of consensual participation, it is a powerful means of creating identities and tools for restoring and preserving social memory and behaviour. To cite Richard Schechner's famous definition—now a commonplace in performance studies—theatre is *twice-behaved behaviour*: in the rehearsal of the past, theatre and ritual restore *and* revise the conventions of social life.[5] Because theatre is embodied, transitory and public, representations of the past may enforce traditional behaviours but also could transgress and transform conventions. As Antonin Artaud eloquently expressed, "the image of a crime presented in the requisite theatrical conditions is something infinitely more terrible for the spirit than that same crime when actually committed."[6] The crimes, devices, simulations, and rituals described in this book were both forgeries and real, orthodox and nascent. In these dichotomous staging areas, Sevillians pronounced divisions, cultural intimacies, communal identities, and imperial might.

An Historiographic Lacuna

Iberian theatre occupies a small, peculiar place in medieval studies. Many theatre history textbooks present it as an anomaly compared to the well-documented dramatic traditions of England and France. Others elide medieval Spanish theatre altogether. The blind spot is due to a number of compelling factors, but mainly to the lack of evidence for theatre as defined in terms of form, mode of performance, and mode of textual presentation. For instance, if we seek dramatic texts defined in a modern or Aristotelian sense (distinct characters, dialogue and soliloquy, narrative arch), only a few fragments and short plays speak for all theatrical culture in Castile prior to 1492.[7] Richard Donovan concluded that since Mozarabic ceremonies, songs, and prayers were considerably different from devotion in the Western Church, a quasi-dramatic tradition related to the liturgy was never cultivated in the Christian communities of al-Andalus.[8] By the same token, the eleventh- and twelfth-century Cluniac liturgical reforms in the kingdoms of Castile and Leon failed to ignite liturgical theatre since the Benedictine tradition never fostered musical tropes or dramatic extrapolations.[9] Other historians have argued that the centuries-long conflict with Islam preoccupied Castilians to such an extent that crea-

5 Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 37.

6 Antonin Artaud, *Theater and its Double*, trans. Mary Caroline Richards (New York: Grove, 1958), 85.

7 These include the twelfth-century *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, a mid-fifteenth-century Passion play by Alonso del Campo and the *coplas* and *representaciónes* of Íñigo de Mendoza and Gómez Manrique. Evidence for biblical and hagiographic theatre in the kingdom of Aragón is more plentiful, however Catalan drama falls outside the scope of this book.

8 Mozarab is the term for a Christian living in Islamic territory in medieval Iberia, who, although adopting the language and culture of Muslims, continues to practice Christianity.

9 Richard Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958): 21; 69–70.

tive elaborations of the Mass and celebrations of Holy Days of the Christian Church were never fostered.

The argument goes that these conditions prevented the development of a theatrical tradition in Castile. However, as many recent theatre historians have noted, the argument overlooks performance forms that did not derive from play texts. Perhaps the greatest issue with the lack of a robust historiographic tradition of medieval Iberian theatre is that drama in the Spanish Golden Age is studied and taught predominantly in language and literature departments, who focus on dramatic texts rather than performance practices and material culture. The significant figure of the playwright during the Spanish Renaissance has cast a long shadow over the medieval world. Even though the discipline of performance studies embraces a broad range of practices that function independently from written drama, many medieval theatre historians gravitate to traditions that are substantiated by familiar forms of text-based drama.

As a theoretical tool that has permeated the humanities over the last decades, the critical concept of "performance" can be as productive as it is contested. It is often used imprecisely as it is employed to meet the competing needs of disciplinary and historical dispositions. The conflation of the terms *performance* and *performativity* has caused more confusion. From speech act theory to gender studies, performative utterances and acts may be embedded in the "nonserious" world of theatre, but the two are not synonymous.[10] There is overlap, of course, since performed rituals—weddings, liturgies, rites of passage—are both performative *and* staged. An additional problem is that "performance" might serve to describe any number of forms taking place in any number of sites. In the medieval period these are particularly diverse and include tropes, Corpus Christi plays, estate satires, oral narratives, tournaments, *ludi*, tableaux vivant, and minstrelsy. While some medieval scholars have embraced the fuzziness of the term, others have observed that its broad construction is unwieldy. Bruce Holsinger writes that the "anti-discipline" of performance

> casts in miniature the dilemma of ultimate irrecuperability endemic to historical inquiry, a relation that also foregrounds the strange (indeed etymological) relations between the problematics of theatricality and the theoretical enterprise itself…The study of history and the study of performance approach their respective archives with a healthy respect for spectrality for which the historian will try to compensate but which the performance theorists will proffer as her *raison d'être*.[11]

10 The term "performativity" is from the field of linguistics and is often used as a synonym for "theatricality." To avoid confusion, I use the term "performativity" only when describing an illocutionary utterance, whether pronounced in a theatrical context or not. An illocutionary utterance is a linguistic act that brings about a serious belief or establishes a condition, such as a promise, giving an order, or pronouncing a vow. See J. L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). For performative acts in theatre, see Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, eds., *Performativity and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

11 Bruce W. Holsinger, "Analytical Survey 6: Medieval Literature and Cultures of Performance," *New Medieval Literatures* 6 (2003): 273–74.

An historical spectre may be a trace of the past come alive in the present; it may also be a phantom creation emerging from memories, affective responses to uncanny objects, rationalizations of archival contradictions, or images born of professional requirements to say something new about very old things. Avery Gordon suggests that historians describe lost moments and the lives of those who have not been spoken for by "finding the shape described by her absence."[12] Thus, medieval performance speaks *through* living ghosts by reanimating stubbornly persistent artifacts and *against* the contours of an insufficient archive. The very nature of theatre is multidisciplinary and performance historians are, therefore, particularly well-equipped to conduct a séance. By layering and restaging the basic elements of theatre—music, dance, gesture, costume, stage settings, props, and texts—a thick description of events conjures the affective lives of past actors and audiences in a way that escapes any single (often fragmentary) document. Performance reminds us that history is remarkable, ethereal, and invariably tied to deficiency—all preconditions for faith.

The subjects of this book are social performances, a term I employ heuristically to indicate public acts where the "belief dimension is experienced as personal, immediate, and iconographic."[13] Rituals are a subset of this broad category, and for the sake of clarity denote religious content and intention. Social performances and rituals often manifest paradoxically, illogically, or weirdly, in that the investment of energy and resources appears overwrought or excessive. However, surplus behaviour is precisely what grants rituals their efficacy: meanings are derived from the labour and commitment of human bodies engaged in unprofitable actions and inviting communal participation. Many medieval processionals, for instance, were organized around a religious centre and derived their performative powers from spatial configurations that maximized contact with the wider community. The actors of the procession watch observers, crowds watch actors, and crowds watch themselves. In addition to enhancing affective excitement, these multidirectional gazes are powerful methods of subject and identity formation. The physical effort and expenditure involved in organizing and enacting processions, festivals, and liturgies squanders time and consumes resources. But ritualized walking, singing, and carrying of sacred objects bind actors and spectators in a social contract, a contract fulfilled when the spectators' expectations of customary choreographies are met and the performers' expectations for appropriate reactions are satisfied: humans doing peculiar things to get *other* humans to do *other* things.

Within this context, a rich history of medieval Iberian theatre is intelligible. Medieval theatre historians working in other geographical regions have already lighted the way, often using a torch of interdisciplinarity. Jessica Brantley, Thomas Meachum, Jill Stevenson, Carol Symes, and Laura Weigert have expanded the scope of theatre studies in the English and French Middle Ages by engaging with sociology, cognitive theory, and criti-

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12 Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 6.

13 Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics: Social Performance between Ritual and Strategy," in *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L. Mast (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 38.

cal race, gender, and sexuality studies.[14] A recent generation of medieval art historians have borrowed theatrical metaphors for their inquiries. Robert Clark and Pamela Sheingorn's phenomenological exploration of French manuscript illumination and affective devotion—what they term "performative reading"—has been influential.[15] In her study of the multimedia aspects of Byzantine icons, Bissera Pentcheva probes the centrality of synesthesia and sensory interaction with devotional objects, describing the "spectacle of shifting phenomenal effects on the surfaces of icons and architectural décor," and how objects effect "vividness and vivacity in a subjective but culturally specific vision of paradise."[16] Questions of sensuality and theatricality are prominent in the work of Elina Gertsman, who has described the ways in which devotees of the Virgin Mary were compelled to engage somatically and creatively with ritual objects.[17]

As methods have changed, the archive has expanded. With the displacement of the dramatic text from the centre of the field, a broader range of subjects is now studied, including architecture, ritual objects, theatrical machines, and manuscript illuminations. Prior to the advent of the printing press, narratives, sermons, hymns, homilies, chronicles, and official pronouncements were embedded in the everyday lives of literate and illiterate people by way of public performance. The vast majority of medieval people experienced secular and religious texts orally and aurally rather than privately in silent reading. As Carol Symes reminds us, "[a]udiences everywhere were made aware of the advantages to be gained by participation in literate culture precisely because they were constantly hearing and seeing its effects."[18] Opportunities to explore theatrical modes of communication were ubiquitous since players of all varieties—preachers, priests, town criers, guild members, storytellers, singers, mountebanks, troubadours, jugglers, professional mourners, and puppeteers—needed only to extemporize a temporary stage in a public marketplace or thoroughfare to solicit incidental audiences.

Where scholarship on performance in medieval England, France, the Low Countries, and Germany has steadily evolved over the last few decades, critical historio-

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14 Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007); Thomas Meacham, *The Performance Tradition of the Medieval English University: The Works of Thomas Chaundler* (Berlin: De Gruyter and Medieval Institute, 2019); Jill Stevenson, *Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York* (New York: Palgrave, 2010); Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Laura Weigert, *French Visual Culture and the Making of Medieval Theater* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

15 Robert Clark and Pamela Sheingorn, "Performative Reading: The Illustrated Manuscripts of Arnoul Gréban's Mystère de la Passion," *European Medieval Drama* 6 (2003): 129–72.

16 Bissera Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 2.

17 Elina Gertsman, *Worlds Within: Opening the Medieval Shrine Madonna* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

18 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 14. For a fulsome discussion of the medieval archive and performance practices, see Symes, "The Medieval Archive and the History of Theatre: Assessing the Written and Unwritten Evidence for Premodern Performance," *Theatre Survey* 52 (2011): 29–58.

graphy of theatre in Iberia, Byzantium, Islamic North Africa, and Eastern Mediterranean has lagged. There are a few notable exceptions, however, and these studies have informed my own approach. In *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage*, Bruce Burningham argues that theatrical impulses originated on the Peninsula in the presentation of songs and stories by jongleurs rather than in dramatic or extraliturgical texts.[19] Denise Filios discusses the gender identities of women court entertainers in Castile who performed comic songs and lyrical poetry.[20] Art and architecture historian Eduardo Carrero Santamaría takes a holistic approach to the study of Aragonese and Castilian liturgies by reconstructing the multidisciplinary elements of performance: architectural space, costume, ritual objects, music, actors, and audiences.[21] Departing from traditional approaches to medieval Islamic narrative, David Wacks has published extensively on the performative dimensions of *zajal* and *muwashshah* poetry and on Hebrew and Arabic versions of the Iberian *maqāmāt*.[22] Cynthia Robinson's dense, fascinating study of the thirteenth-century manuscript version of the epic tale *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, the only extant illustrated secular narrative in Arabic produced in al-Andalus, teases apart the literary, artistic, and social strands of the work to demonstrate its embeddedness in the vibrant oral culture of Islamic society.[23] The traditional perception of Islam's cool attitude toward theatre, song, and dance—secular or religious—is challenged by these and other examples of entertainments across the medieval Mediterranean. Although Muslim performance culture in Seville during the Islamic period falls outside the scope of this book, Islamic music and poetry influenced Christian forms of performance through processes of cultural transmission, appropriation, and hybridization.

Seville: City of Culture, Spectacle, and Power

For some, the sustained presence of Muslim society in medieval Europe may come as a surprise. However, situated within the broader scope of Mediterranean geography and history, Islam's presence on the Iberian Peninsula becomes more knowable. In the early eighth century (711–718), the Islamic Umayyad caliphate invaded the Iberian Peninsula

19 Bruce Burningham, *Radical Theatricality: Jongleuresque Performance on the Early Spanish Stage* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007).

20 Denise Filios, *Performing Women in the Middle Ages: Sex, Gender, and the Medieval Iberian Lyric* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

21 Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, "Entre el transepto, el púlpito y el coro. El espacio conmemorativo de la Sibila," in *La Sibila. Sonido. Imagen. Liturgia. Escena*, ed. Gómez Muntané and Carrero Santamaría (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 2015), 207–60.

22 David Wacks, "The Performativity of Ibn al-Muqaffa's Kalīla wa-Dimna and Al-Maqāmāt al-Luzumīyya of al-Saraqusti," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 34 (2003): 178–89; and *Framing Iberia: Maqāmāt and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

23 Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean: Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

and occupied nearly all the peninsula after the fall of the Visigoth kingdom, leaving only the northernmost region from Galicia to the western Pyrenees unconquered. At its height, the Umayyads ruled over a vast empire of multiethnic and multicultural peoples in Persia, South Central Asia, the Arabian Peninsula, North Africa, and Iberia. Through eight centuries, and in shifting alliances and sporadic conquests among and between various powers, the Peninsula was divided between Christian and Islamic polities. Jewish and Muslim communities in Christian territories were mostly tolerated, as were Jews and Christians in Islamic kingdoms, although the picture of ecumenism was pockmarked with violent outbursts and outright persecutions.[24]

When the Umayyad dynasty collapsed in 1023, al-Andalus fractured into a divided and, sometimes, antagonistic region of city-states. For instance, the Taifa of Seville in post-Umayyad Spain cannibalized Islamic cities Cádiz and Murcia in order to secure control of much of disunited al-Andalus. Capitalizing on an appeal for military aid to fight Christian forces on the northern frontier issued by al-Mu'tamid Muhammad ibn Abbad's (Taifa ruler of Seville, 1069–1091), the Almoravid kingdom of the northwest African region took control of al-Andalus in 1091. About eighty years later, a second group of ethnic Berbers of North Africa—the Almohad Caliphate—wrested control of al-Andalus from the Almoravids and moved the capital of Muslim Spain from Córdoba to Seville, already a thriving cultural centre in southern Iberia.

Seville's position on the Guadalquivir River provided the city with access to important trade routes in the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, and so it remained a contested nexus of political, economic, and religious power throughout the Middle Ages. During the Almoravid and Almohad periods, Seville served as an Andalusi extension of Caliphal power from the Maghreb (roughly the northwest African region that encompasses contemporary Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, and Tunisia). Despite the political and cultural turmoil caused by the successive overthrow of Islamic caliphates during the Taifa period, through nearly two centuries of the second millennium the frontier border between Christian and Islamic kingdoms that divided the Peninsula remained relatively stable.

The Almoravids and Almohads adhered to more orthodox forms of Islam than the Umayyads and were generally hostile to the opulent arts of their predecessors. Still, architectural, literary, and performance culture in al-Andalus continued to thrive. Seville and other Islamic cities maintained economic and cultural connections with the Abbasid empire to the east. Music, poetry, and writing on engineering, astronomy, and medicine circulated in the centres of learning and governance, from Seville and Marrakech to Cairo and Baghdad. The Almoravids and Almohads contributed indelibly to the urban topography of al-Andalus and the Maghreb. Commissioned by the Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (Almohad Caliph, 1163–1184) in 1172, the Great Mosque of Seville had a footprint of over 15,000 square metres, including a *haram* (prayer hall) of seventeen alleys framed by lobed arches. Often referred to today as La Mezquita (the Mosque), the central mosque was converted to a Christian cathedral when Fernando III's victorious army

24 Religious minorities in Muslim al-Andalus were called the *dhimmi*, meaning "protected person."

entered the city in 1248. Starting in the 1430s, the *haram* was razed and replaced with a gothic structure. However, three significant Almohad architectural elements remain: la Giralda (bell tower), el Patio de los Naranjos (rectangular patio with fountain for ritual cleaning), and el Puerta del Perdón (arched entryway and bronze door). The physical presence of historical Jewish communities in Seville and other Andalusian cities is barely perceptible today due to the destruction of synagogues during the pogroms of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

During the rule of both Berber empires, the Caliphal courts and religious institutions supported a vibrant performance culture of poetry, storytelling and song in Andalusia and the Maghreb. From the early millennium through the twelfth century, Andalusi Arabic and Hebrew poetic culture fomented in Seville. Composed in colloquial Hispano-Arabic (vernacular that is interspersed with Mudejar Romance language), the *zajal* is a strophic form of secular lyrical poetry that can be traced to the early twelfth century and continues to be performed today in North Africa. Written in classical Arabic, *muwashshah* poetry emerged from the interplay of Hebrew and Arabic narrative cultures distinct to al-Andalus in the tenth through the thirteenth centuries, and the development of both the *muwashshah* and the *zajal* in Seville undoubtedly benefited from the city's musical instrument industry. The distinct forms predate the compositions of French troubadours, and some scholars argue that Arabic poetry influenced the secular song tradition of Provence. In the late Middle Ages, some of the formal elements of the *muwashshah* and *zajal* were absorbed into the Galician-Portuguese lyric of *los trovadores* (troubadours) at Christian courts.[25] Yehūda al-Ḥarīzī's translation (d. 1225) of Arabic *maqāmāt* into Hebrew in the early thirteenth century is emblematic of the shared literary and performance culture of Muslims and Jews in al-Andalus.[26] The tales of the peripatetic travels of a roguish hero and his companion in *maqāmāt* were the most well-known and widely circulated collection of stories across the medieval Arabic-speaking world. The rich performance culture of Islamic al-Andalus is also evidenced in courtly love poems like the *Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ* and secular fables like the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.[27]

Evidence for traditions of *khayāl al-zill* (shadow puppetry) appears sporadically across the Arabic-speaking Mediterranean and Asia in the High and late medieval periods; the survival of three thirteenth-century satirical puppet plays by the Persian physician Muhammad ibn Dāniyāl (d. 1310) provide the most conclusive evidence of a popular puppet tradition. The overall paucity of evidence of puppet theatre, however, speaks more to the ephemerality of orally transmitted stories than it does to an anemic tradition. Centuries earlier in al-Andalus, the theologian and historian Abū Muhammad ʿAlī

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25 Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "The Medieval Fate of the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Iberian Politics Meets Song," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69 (2016): 295–353.

26 *Maqāmāt* of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122) were transmitted orally and in manuscripts, from the Caucasus and Cairo to the Maghreb and al-Andalus.

27 The *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* is preserved in a rare, illustrated thirteenth-century manuscript that was likely produced in Seville. The widely disseminated and popular *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic in the eighth century, and subsequently into Castilian in the thirteenth century in Alfonso X's scriptoria.

ibn Aḥmad ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) described lifelike shadow puppets that were "mounted on wooden handles [and] turned rapidly so that some disappear and others appear,"[28] and historians of early Islamic culture have demonstrated the ways in which the *maqāmā* stories were presented theatrically, with and without shadow puppets.[29] Further research may reveal performance conditions of Peninsular oral narratives like *maqāmāt*, *Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*, and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, although we can at least be certain that sacred and secular poems, songs, and narratives were presented orally in court settings, madrasahs, yeshivot, and scriptoria, and in outdoor public spaces.[30] Translation, exchange, and collaboration with Christian and Jewish poets and musicians throughout the Islamic period contributed to the vibrant performance culture of Seville, a tradition of multiculturalism that endured into the early period of Christian sovereignty, as will become clear in the following chapters.

What appears to be a straightforward narrative of cultural hybridity based on enlightened tolerance and learned curiosity in Muslim al-Andalus was, in fact, more complicated. Life for Christians and Jews living under Islamic regimes was not ideal. The *dhimmi* of al-Andalus were second-class citizens upon whom special taxes and dress codes were imposed, and religious minorities occasionally endured repressions, massacres, and forced exiles. This is also true in Christian Seville in the later Middle Ages, where the archive has far more to say and what it says presages the utter dissolution of religious tolerance at the end of the fifteenth century. However, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pogroms, forced conversions, and expulsions were not characteristic of Christian attitudes and treatment of religious minorities in earlier centuries. Starting in the twelfth century, the translation of Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew literature, philosophy, and scientific and medical works into Latin and Castilian was conducted in earnest by Christian clerics and kings. By their doing so a learned tradition of cultural exchange in Toledo was maintained, fortified, and extended to include the court in Seville by Alfonso X, "the Wise" (King of Castile and León, 1252–1284). In both Islamic and Christian societies, cultural hybridity was made possible by the multiplication of forms, where the "assertion of hegemony by the conqueror transformed the culture of both the conquered and conqueror."[31]

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28 Translation of passage from Ibn Hazm's *Al-akhlaq wa as-siyar fi mudawat al-nufus* is by Karim Dakroub, "Arabic Shadow Theater," *Puppetring: Puppet, Shadow and Marionette Magazine*, December 19, 2013, www.puppetring.com/2013/12/19/arabic-shadow-theater-by-karim-dakroub/.

29 For theatrical presentation of *maqāmāt* see Filiz Adigüzel Toprak, "The Influence of Oral Narrating Traditions on a Frequently Illustrated Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," in *Islamic Art, Architecture and Material Culture New Perspectives*, ed. Margaret Graves (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), 133–42. For a discussion of the shadow puppet tradition, see Alain George, "The Illustrations of the Maqāmāt and the Shadow Play," *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 28 (2011): 1–42.

30 For theatrical presentation of oral narrative, see Wacks, *Framing Iberia,* and Robinson, *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ*.

31 Janina Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 20.

During the late period of *Reconquista* (Reconquest)—from the decisive defeat of the Almohads at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 to the fall of Granada in 1492—Seville was situated near the Islamic–Christian frontier at the edges of Extremadura, Castile, and al-Andalus.[32] After Islamic *Išbīliya* (the Arabic name for the city of Seville) fell to Christian forces and *Libros de Repartimiento* were issued by the Castilian monarchy, the majority of Muslims living there migrated to rural enclaves outside the city walls, many more fleeing to Granada.[33] Although Muslims continued to contribute to the cultural life of the city, the sudden decline of the interior population destabilized the economy. As part of an effort to revivify and Christianize the frontier city, Alfonso X oversaw the composition, compilation, and performance of over four hundred songs honouring the Virgin Mary—the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Over the subsequent two centuries Seville remained an opulent city renowned for its physical beauty, musical and poetic culture, scriptoria, and schools for translation. The Muslim community slowly regained strength in Seville and the Jewish community there remained one of the most vital in Christian Andalusia.

Seville's coreligionists wrestled with contrasts of ideology and practice, faith and vocation, and violence and revelation, tensions that were particularly potent in the later Middle Ages when the social and spatial distinction between the Jewish and Moorish *barrios* of Seville was robustly maintained. Seville was the site of two significant historical "firsts" that mark an extended period of religious intolerance in Spain: In 1391, violence against Jews and the physical destruction of the Jewish quarter in the city set off a sequence of deadly anti-Jewish riots across Aragón and Castile. In many cities, communities of Muslim, Jews, *Conversos*, and *Moriscos* were uprooted, and places of worship destroyed or converted to churches. Seville was also the city where, in 1480, the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand II (King of Aragón, 1479–1516) and Isabella I (Queen of Castile, 1474–1504) inaugurated the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The growing Christian empire projected its power onto the bodies of religious minorities in inquisitorial trials and punitive processions that theatricalized suffering in grand spectacles before massive crowds. In 1492, the year that the last Nasrid Sultan of Spain Muhammad XII (ruler of the Emirate of Granada, 1482–1492) capitulated to the Catholic Monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand promulgated the Edict of the Expulsion of the Jews.

Between the mid-fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, the demographic profile of Seville transformed and grew as people from across Europe, Africa, and the Americas

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32 The word *Reconquista* entered the Spanish language in the nineteenth century. It has been used to designate the period between CE 722 and 1492 and suggests a history of uninterrupted progress of Christianity over Islam during that period. Joseph O'Callaghan defends the use of the term as an accurate representation of Christian ideology of religious war. *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 4–21.

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

settled in the city. The population increased nearly tenfold between 1384 and 1588, becoming the richest and most populous city in Spain. With the growth of Spain as an economic and colonial power, La Casa de la Contratación (House of Trade) was established in Seville in 1503 to manage trade and maintain navigational and scientific information. The heterogeneous composition of the city in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries included growing populations of *Conversos* and *Moriscos*; Moorish, Amerindian, Turkish, and West African slaves; Lutherans fleeing persecutions elsewhere; and Genoese sailors, mercenaries, itinerant performers, *Gitanos* (Romani), foreign merchants, criminals, and *picaros* (vagabonds), all of whom threatened the sense of sovereignty and orthodoxy among the Old Christian community of landowning elites and commoners.

Over a similar period, forced conversions of Jews (from 1391) and Muslims (from 1500) increased precipitously, most occurring under threat of violence or expulsion. Prior to 1391, conversion movements were animated by the enthusiasm of Christian authorities to fulfil the evangelical mission of Christianity and project the triumph of salvation history over Jewish theology. During the High Middle Ages, though, Jews and Muslims often converted to Christianity voluntarily as a means of accruing the social and political advantages of the majority.[34] Later, when conversions were obtained coercively, *Converso* and *Morisco* practices and faiths varied widely, many Jewish and Muslim converts continuing to practise their original faiths clandestinely. Catechistic indoctrination varied from place to place and from time to time, and penitential sincerity was almost impossible to gauge—although certainly the institution of the Inquisition vigorously pursued spiritual integrity, and very often before an audience.

Persecutions and forced conversions created a culture of diversity of faith within Christianity itself. The social heterogeneity that was particular to Seville energized the social life of the city, but Old Christians were distressed by the rapid demographic changes. Initiated in the mid-fifteenth century, *limpieza de sangre* (blood purity) statutes created a distinct class of New Christians (*Conversos* and *Moriscos*) who were barred from holding official positions in city administration and endured other insidious inequities. *Limpieza de sangre* was founded on a concept of profound racial difference, taxonomic traits that emerged and matured in art and literature.[35] In late medieval and early modern Iberia, religious affiliation was a constitutive part of *raza* (race), and discursive inscriptions of difference—sometimes emblazoned on the bodies of religious others—were a means to power and control. In a very basic way, the linking of religion to phenotypic characteristics set the stage for the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims in Spain. Even the most rigorous, sincerely expressed conversions could not purify blood, which by the fifteenth century had become a biologized, essential difference.[36]

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34 Paola Tartakoff, "Testing Boundaries: Jewish Conversion and Cultural Fluidity in Medieval Europe, c. 1200–1391," *Speculum* 9 (2015): 728–62.

35 Medieval racialization was the "use of ideas about the biological reproduction of somatic and behavioural traits in order to create and legitimate hierarchies and discriminations". David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York: Norton, 2013), 260.

36 S. J. Pearce, "Extemporizing a Translation of the Arabic into Castilian: Translation and the Raciolinguistic Logic of Medieval Iberia," in *The Routledge Hispanic Studies Companion to Medieval*

In past centuries, *los hidalgos* (Spanish nobility) maintained their social status partly through demonstrations of heroism in the battles of the Reconquest, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Seville's aristocracy secured prestige through carefully choreographed public displays. To shore up their privileged status, *hidalgo* identity was constructed, in part, in public tournaments and jousts that theatricalized the history of *Reconquista* and through ornate spectacles that advertised the wealth of the Indies. The flow of treasures and trade profits from the New World also enriched *las cofradías* (charitable confraternities), who, in turn, aggrandized the charismatic processions of Holy Week and Corpus Christi with richly adorned *carros* (processional carts) and tableaux of life-sized, realistic statues of Jesus, Mary, and the saints. Outdoor festivals were hardly homogeneous or monolithic. The *cofradías* included brotherhoods of *Conversos*, *Moriscos*, and freed slaves. In response to the outbreak of the plague in 1449, the Jews of the city organized their own penitential procession in apparent imitation of Christian rogations, carrying the Torah aloft in place of a Eucharistic monstrance. Centuries of multi-confessional coexistence, which by the sixteenth century included Protestants, *Gitanos*, and Amerindians, shaped the materiality and meaning of the spectacular culture of the city.

In addition to the conquest of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews, 1492 was, of course, significant as the year Europeans encountered the indigenous people of the Americas. Through the following decades of conquest and colonization, the Spanish empire creatively incorporated crusade ideology from the *Reconquista* and mobilized a strain of evangelization that looked to "conversion rather than extermination as the way to achieve the final aim, which in both cases is the extension of the Christian commonwealth to include as many peoples as possible."[37] As Christian ontology and biblical history were fundamentally challenged by the "discovery" of previously unimagined civilizations across the Atlantic ocean, Seville's population was introduced to Amerindians and their rituals and material culture through public enactments of Aztec dance, song, and mock rituals. These included re-stagings of these Amerindian rituals and processional aggrandizement of Amerindian artifacts that projected an image of the Virgin Mary as Mother evangelizer and guardian of the *conquistadores*. Performances of universal faith and colonial mercantilism helped transform the city into a dynamic imperial centre.

As the year of discovery, expulsions, and conquests, 1492 looms as an overdetermined marker dividing the medieval and early modern eras. For theatrical culture in Spain, the turn of the century is important for another reason. From 1500, Seville was the centre of the book printing industry, where the mass production and dissemination of play texts contributed to the development of a national drama. Two important editions of *La Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (also known as *La Celestina*) by Fer-

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Iberia Unity in Diversity, ed. E. Michael Gerli, et al. (New York: Routledge, 2021), 458–59.

37 Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Many Faces of Medieval Colonization," in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone et al. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 16.

nando de Rojas (a Toledan of *Converso* descent) were printed in Seville in 1501 and 1502. Although there is no evidence of a staging in Rojas's work during his lifetime, most scholars agree that the dramatic novel, written in dialogue form, was a prototype for the nascent secular theatre of the Spanish Golden Age. *La Celestina* and the early sixteenth-century dramatic *autos* (acts), *farsas* (farces), and *églogas* (eclogues) of Gil Vicente, Juan de Encina, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, and Diego Sánchez de Badajoz were significant developments in Spanish theatre. These writers were inspired by ancient Roman drama, Iberian Corpus Christi plays, and Italian itinerant players. The plays explored humanistic themes with plots that typically lacked supernatural characters. These early sixteenth-century plays are commonly referred to as signs of a "birth of drama" in Spain. Still, the farces and eclogues of early playwrights were not a decisive departure from a supposedly dark period of the past. For instance, plots and themes in the work of Encina draw from earlier Iberian traditions of pastoral comedy and satire in dialogic verse. Likewise, the distinctly medieval *auto sacramental* was a popular performance genre into the mid-eighteenth century, performed during religious festivals with processional tableaux, sacred imagery, and music. As Mary Parker points out, during the period of imperial expansion "instead of wanting to eliminate the culture of the Middle Ages, Spain dedicated added resources, will, and determination to enrich it."[38] During the Counter-Reformation in the late sixteenth century, membership and influence of lay and clerical religious *cofradias* increased markedly, and their involvement in, and support of, secular dramas staged in *corrales* accelerated the development of popular theatre in the Spanish Renaissance. It would be difficult to argue that the rise and success of dramatic literature was the outcome of a split between secular humanistic ideals and zealous, medieval religiosity, since devotional *cofradias* were the principal investors in productions of the *comedia nueva*.

A Golden Age of performance existed in Seville well before the plays of Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega and Pedro Calderón de la Barca, and these medieval forms echoed into the early modern period. From *Reconquista* to the conquest of the New World, original, compelling theatrical forms were embedded in the everyday lives of Sevillians. By investigating how public expressions of identity and power both facilitated artistic innovation and cultural exchange, and highlighted religious difference, this book will help rehabilitate the study of medieval Andalusi and Castilian theatre.

Toward a Phenomenology of Coexistence

Ritual, Spectacle, and Theatre in Late Medieval Seville delineates new critical and historical territory in the field of medieval theatre by engaging with the objects, spaces, and bodies that comprised interconfessional performance culture. The critical approach of the book is derived from the historiographic notion of *Convivencia* (coexistence) and critical theories from performance studies. "Phenomenology of coexistence" is a frame-

38 Mary Parker, ed. "Introduction," in *Spanish Dramatists of the Golden Age: A Bio-Biographical Sourcebook* (Westport: Greenwood, 1998), 2.

work for analyzing relationships among human actors and theatrical things (manuscripts, images, relics, tableaux, tabernacles, *arma Christi*, machines, statues, clothing, and architecture), while acknowledging the agentive power of objects to signify and perform independently from human involvement. The methodology is grounded in medieval theories of perception and matter that manifest objects—sacred and profane—with generative and creative powers. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Aristotelian principle of "species" in humans, animals, and substances—as it related to human perception—was adapted and disseminated in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin in the work of theologians, physicians, and philosophers of the three Abrahamic faiths. Within the shared ideological and affective space of the embodied human soul, Sevillians engaged with the haptic, aural, and visual phenomenon of the city, a portal through which theatregoers and theatre-makers across a diverse devotional landscape experienced the material world. The transmission of metaphysical concepts across confessional and linguistic boundaries occurred broadly in Mediterranean and European societies and was not specific to medieval Iberia. However, since the translation and dissemination of medical, philosophical, and scientific texts was prominent during periods of Spanish history, particularly in thirteenth-century Seville, it will be advantageous to first unpack the somewhat vexed historiographic idea of Iberian *Convivencia* to better understand cross-cultural communication in the theatrical spaces of the city.

Although cohabitation and intercultural exchange among Jews, Christians, and Muslims was not unique in the Mediterranean Middle Ages, the history of religious coexistence on the Iberian Peninsula was extraordinary. In his 1948 book *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos*, Américo Castro elucidated the concept of *Convivencia* to reorient conventional Spanish historiography that was, at the time, fixated on the Visigoth and Catholic paradigms. Castro argued that cultural exchange among the three Abrahamic faiths during the medieval period had a lasting and permanent impact on Spanish culture. The thesis was controversial for its time, but the idea—which in its most sanguine aspect offers a model of enlightened religious tolerance and cooperation—took hold in the academy and in popular imagination.[39] More recently, *Convivencia* has undergone critique and refinement by those who generally agree that, while Castro's project may have been a necessary corrective to conservative, Catholic historiography, Castro's thesis was an oversimplification of complex cultural interaction.[40] David Nirenberg stresses the economic foundations of *Convivencia* in his influential study of interconfessional relations in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Aragón and Catalonia, stating that "violence was not directed at strangers or at economically marginal groups occupying insignificant niches in local economies…Attacker and victim alike were tightly bound in a wide variety of relations that enmeshed movements of violence and

39 Américo Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1948).

40 For a keen critique of the tendency to eulogize Iberian coexistence, see Denise Filios, "Expulsion from Paradise: Exiled Intellectuals and Andalusian Tolerance," in *In the Light of Medieval Spain: Islam, the West, and the Relevance of History*, ed. Simon R. Doubleday and David Coleman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 91–113.

gave them meaning."[41] As a concept built on a foundation of identity, *Convivencia* has been enriched by the field of gender and sexuality studies, which highlights concomitant formations of ethnicity and nationhood where "sex is explicitly bound up in the exercise of power."[42] Maya Soifer reminds us that the modern concept of religious tolerance is discordant with medieval practices and beliefs since "to a Christian mind, tolerance and intolerance were inseparable: the minorities' religious inferiority justified both repression and acceptance."[43] Without rehearsing the debates fully here, it is fair to summarize that *Convivencia* was a highly contingent form of social ordering, accommodation, and cultural exchange particular to medieval Iberia but also subject to the temporal and local vicissitudes of multi-confessional communities therein.

Interreligious cooperation among Muslims, Jews, and Christians was necessitated by physical proximity, economic interdependence, and, perhaps ironically, the strident efforts of dominant ethnic and religious groups to maintain autonomy. Religious tolerance and cooperation often materialized in contradictory poses, among them strategic alliances based on economic and political expediency, begrudging obligations, urban segregation, and outright animosity. In many times and places, peaceful coexistence was, in fact, sustained through performance practices of the prevailing political and religious groups demarcating social differences. After the fall of the Almohad Seville to King Fernando III (King of Castile, 1217–1252) in 1248, the dominant religious group and political authority of the city remained Castilian Christianity. From this moment to the period of expulsions, Muslims, Jews, and Christians in Seville often cohabitated *despite* uncomfortable proximity, setting the stage for impassioned performances of faith. *Convivencia* in late medieval Spain was an experience of *living apart, together*.

A familiar example from theatre history illustrates this point. The early thirteenth-century *Auto de los Reyes Magos* is the first vernacular play about the Three Kings story in Europe and one of only a few extant play texts from medieval Castile. In her excellent study of the play, Lucy Pick demonstrates how the polemical program of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247) toward religious minorities is revealed in the script of the *auto*. On the one hand, Jiménez de Rada protected Toledo's Jewish community from Rome's oppressive, anti-Jewish edicts. On the other hand, the didactic *Auto de los Reyes Magos* espoused religious crusade and the divine provenance of Christianity in the multi-confessional city. For Pick, *Convivencia* was "a cultural situation in which potential cooperation and interdependence in economic, social, cultural, and intellectual spheres coexist with the continued threat of conflict and violence."[44] She argues that Jiménez de

41 David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 40.

42 Josiah Blackmore and Gregory Hutcheson, eds., *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 11.

43 Maya Soifer, "Beyond Convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain and Jews in Medieval Spain," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1 (2009): 22–23.

44 Lucy Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 1.

Rada's theatrical polemic of the biblical story, pitched to prove the superiority of Christian theological exegesis over Jewish critiques of resurrection, was part of the Archbishop's larger project to establish a hierarchical structure where prudent, effective interactions among Muslims, Jews, and Christians could take place.[45] In other words, Jiménez de Rada commissioned (and perhaps staged) the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* to reassert discourses of difference in order to judiciously maintain intercultural intimacies that flowed through the Toledan economy, institutions of learning, and the Castilian court.

As Jiménez de Rada surely understood, the most effective means of transmitting religious discourse to the largest possible audience was through live, embodied, oral communication and spectacle in the public commons and in vernacular Castilian. In medieval Christian cities like Seville, Jews were multilingual, using Hebrew (and sometimes Arabic) in educational and legal contexts, and speaking Castilian and other Romance languages to function effectively in courtly and mercantile venues. Muslims living in Christian regions also adopted Romance languages as part of assimilation in postconquest territories, while continuing to develop Arabic literary culture independent of the Christian hegemony. On the level of oral communication, therefore, the potential for theatrical expression and comprehension across devotional boundaries existed. However, there are many cases in which elucidation by means of signs, symbols, gestures, movement, images, and music was more effective, even required. For instance, the songs of the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were composed in Galician-Portuguese, the preferred dialect of courtly troubadours, but it would not have been understood by non-educated Jews, Christians, and Muslims (most people living along the Andalusian frontier during the period). If, as many scholars have argued, the *Cantigas* formed part of Alfonso X's cultural program of Christianization in newly conquered territories of Andalusia, then a fully embodied and vividly spectacular production of the songs would have been the most effective means of propagandizing the miraculous powers of the Virgin Mary to a diverse audience.

Crucially, the current study pivots from the traditional semiotic analysis of public festivals and panegyrics to a study of phenomenological affects produced at the level of the body. Important structuralist histories of cultural production, exchange, and conflict along the Islamic–Christian border of late medieval Andalusia lay the groundwork for this new history of phenomenological coexistence. Víctor Muñoz Gómez focuses on the construction of meanings in royal ceremonies and other festivals through the "elaboration of signifiers" in objects and other representations.[46] Thomas Devaney underscores the performative power of symbols in festivals in the frontier society of fifteenth century Andalusia, offering the exemplar of the display of the sanctified sword of King Fernando III as a stage property in procession.[47] In discussing the political life of

45 Although the play's authorship is unknown, Pick argues that Jiménez de Rada dictated its content. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 193–203.

46 Víctor Muñoz Gómez, "¿Representar la legitimidad? Objetos, símbolos y comunicación en las ceremonias públicas del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón," *Medievalista* 23 (2018). See also Francesc Massip's publications on Catalan festivals.

47 Thomas Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza: Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture,*

Alfonso X in Seville, Simon Doubleday observes that "skill in chess lay at the very heart of courtly culture, as a symbol of status and a prestigious marker of grace, intelligence, and sophistication."[48] Finally, in her study of the agonistic Virgin Mary, Amy Remensnyder tracks the symbolic valences—expressed in the theurgic animation of images and icons—of the bellicose, evangelizing Mother of God on Iberian battlefields and in the Atlantic colonies.[49] These historians extract social meaning from a host of intentional and unintentional sign systems, positing that history is revealed in texts and representations as they operated within culturally specific semantic fields.

In the Castilian kingdom of late medieval Iberia, religious, tribal, and monarchical representations deployed by the Christian hegemony were designed to communicate uniformity, social cohesion, and vitality of faith to both human and supernatural audiences. However, as the above-referenced social historians have themselves pointed out, visual, textual, and aural projections of power and ideology were often performed precisely in moments of social discord, and their success in unifying a community was never assured. Meanings that arose from social performance practices, formed in live moments between performers and spectators, were unpredictable and contingent since affective modes of communication—conveyed sensorially across the cognitive domains of memory and emotion—have the capacity to exceed semiotic systems like language and iconography. On one hand, the interchange of affects among performers, objects, and audiences might buttress an ecclesiastic or juridical claim by the dominant group. On the other hand, emotions belonging to one set of practices have the capacity to resonate and dissonate with meanings belonging to structurally similar, but ideologically opposed, praxes—thus overwhelming the intended meaning of signs. A hypothetical example will clarify: Amelia might enjoy the taste of beer because it triggers fond memories of university camaraderie. However, if, for instance, a detestable public figure proclaimed their love for beer as part of the same hedonistic culture of the university, the taste of beer for Amelia might metamorphose into something acrid and ultimately undrinkable. The pronouncement by the monstrous public figure dissonated with, and overwhelmed, Amelia's treasured emotional memory, despite the stability of the signifier ("beer") and the signified (colour, taste, smell, texture, sound of beer).

Live performance has the capacity to re-signify and transform objects from the realm of common symbolic values to meanings generated on the ground, between participants, through the organs of perception, and within networks of phenomena and sensations. Performance metonymically reorients the body, opens it up to multiple stimuli, and tests its limits. It implies associations among affects, memories, and sensation that are often dissociated from stage *representation* through the experience of unanticipated stage *effects*. In her influential study of the phenomenology of theatre, Erika Fischer Lichte

1460–1492 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 3.

48 Simon Doubleday, *The Wise King: A Christian Prince, Muslim Spain, and the Birth of the Renaissance* (New York: Basic, 2015), 12.

49 Amy Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014).

writes that "the relationship between the material and semiotic status of objects in performance and their use in it has changed. The material status does not merge with the signifier status; rather, the former severs itself from the latter to claim a life of its own."[50]

Ultimately, phenomenological (sensory) discernment and translation of the world is part of a sociology of ethics, biology, and matter since human culture structures affective cognition. In the Middle Ages, Eucharistic theology and transubstantiation of the Host fundamentally structured a Christian view of the material world. Working from Aristotle and Augustine of Hippo, Thomas Aquinas theorized that cognition of objects takes place across a causal chain of species, which in the Middle Ages meant either the object's essential nature or non-essential "accidents." The species of objects propagate across mediums like air and water to, and within, the bodies of perceivers.[51] This philosophy of matter and perception undergirded the theory of Eucharistic transubstantiation: the accidents of the wafer (bread), unaffected by the ritual of transubstantiation, were sensed and ingested by celebrants of Mass. The essential species of bread, on the other hand, was re-substantiated as the body of Christ and remained whole and undigested. The transmutability of matter and medieval theories of species elevated objects to the status of actants in the phenomena of beings.

While Bruno Latour's actor-network theory is not specific to medieval metaphysics, his dismantling of anthropocentric sociology offers a portal through which we may better glimpse the contours of the world through medieval eyes. Latour argues that meanings arise neither from objective truths parsed by human scientists nor because of predictable actions, but rather from a complex association of disparate actants: humans, technologies, organisms, and "inanimate" objects:

> Action is not done under the full control of consciousness; action should rather be felt as a node, a knot, and a conglomerate of many surprising sets of agencies that have to be slowly disentangled…Action is borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, translated.[52]

This mode of understanding existence "rejects subject/object dualism," and, as Noah Guynn has written, asked medieval theatre audiences to be aware of the world and stage "made up of multiple modes of existence and practices of truth and that each is capable of mediating or translating the others but cannot reduce or fully explain them."[53] Due to the preponderance of oral, embodied forms of communication and the shared sense of the material world as generative and united with divine essence, the vital presence of natural and manmade things and the transmission of species among bodies and objects

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50 Erika Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative Power of Performance: A New Aesthetics*, trans. Saskya Iris Jain (New York: Routledge, 2008), 22–23.

51 Robert Pasnau, *Theories of Cognition in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 14–15.

52 Bruno Latour, *Resembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 44, 46.

53 Noah Guynn, "Binocular Vision: Enchantment and Disenchantment, Metaphysics and Phenomenology on the Late Medieval Stage," *Romanic Review* 111 (2020): 174.

would have made the premodern world, and the theatre of the premodern world, particularly compelling to audiences. "What appears as supernatural to a modern reader was characteristic of an Aristotelian physical world, in which all material objects, from rocks to sticks to human bodies, are an elemental gallimaufry endowed with substantial forms that directs both *potentia* and actual motions."[54] In summary, premodern people were, perhaps, more willing to suspend disbelief at a theatricalized miracle story and accept ambiguities (the *mystery* of a mystery play) since they were predisposed "to fathom the diversity of agencies acting at once in the world."[55]

The more fully developed awareness of sensory information was not exclusive to Christian audiences. The Aristotelian theory of a "common sense" was reworked in the commentaries of Judeo-Arabic philosophers as part of wider discussions of the faculties of the soul and the transmutability of species in objects, plants, animals, and humans. Common sense was often construed as a gathering place for the five senses, imagination, and memory—the seat of cognition and the inner terrain of the soul.[56] The theory also refracted through Galenic biological science, which posited a single command centre for perception, impulse, emotion, and ethical thought, which, in turn, informed an etiology of physical and spiritual infirmity in common knowledge.[57] These mainstreams of knowledge flowed through medical and religious exegeses in medieval Iberia. Isaac ben Solomon (whose works were translated from Arabic into Hebrew in Barcelona in the fourteenth century), Persian polymath Ibn Sīnā (aka, Avicenna, whose works were translated into Latin in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Toledo and Burgos), and Ibn Rushd (aka, Averroës, the Andalusian polymath) all wrote about the spiritual qualities of the embodied, sensing soul.

In his influential writing on phenomenology of embodiment, the twentieth-century philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty discusses perceptual confluences between substance of the world and human sense. Merleau-Ponty's theorized a "system of levels," language, powers of the body, cognition, and proximity that achieve a transcendent, incontrovertible connection or presence of an individual to an object in an environment.[58] When applied to medieval theatre, the concept of immanent generativity of the substances of the world offers a compelling means for understanding interfaith coexistence and conflict. Anchored in precepts of faith, medieval theories of common sense and Aristotelian species were not objective scientific facts in the modern sense. Aristo-

54 Kellie Robertson, "Exemplary Rocks," in *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral: Ethics and Objects*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Washington: Oliphaunt, 2012), 96.

55 Latour, *Resembling the Social,* 48.

56 Daniel Heller-Roazen, "Common Sense: Greek, Arabic, Latin," in *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritage, Fascinations, Frames*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 32.

57 Susan R. Kramer, "Understanding Contagion: The Contaminating Effect of Another's Sin," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 150–57.

58 Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 1962), 297.

telian metaphysics was baked into doctrinal theories like Eucharistic transubstantiation. So, if the physical world was understood by all three Abrahamic faiths to be God's creation, then whose God had done the creating? In the context of institutionalized religion, metaphysical knowledge drawn from ancient philosophy fostered disputatious positions among divergent faiths. Donovan Schaefer reminds us that "religion, like other forms of power, feels before it thinks, believes, or speaks. The phenomenological is political."[59] We can imagine, therefore, that in late medieval Seville sensory engagement with public performance in multi-confessional space—mosques converted from synagogues, churches converted from mosques, ancient Islamic streets, and ancient Roman remains—survived among economies of pride, rage, fear, shame, and hatred—"the animal substance of religion and other forms of power."[60]

Today, Islam and Judaism are often thought of as aniconic religions. However, the history of devotional iconography in Islam and Judaism is far more complex. During the medieval period, Jewish and Muslim illuminators and craftsmen produced elaborate examples of decorative art and both secular and religious pictorial representations. Not unlike their Christian counterparts, these sacred objects were crafted and used to engage the senses and stir the soul. It is important to emphasize that each faith, and subsects within each faith, promulgated vastly divergent approaches and restrictions to the production of images, sacred and mundane. Still, enshrined prohibitions and real-world practices did not always cohere. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews produced richly decorated and illustrated Haggadah that aroused all five of the human senses in order that "seder participants could feel more dramatically that they themselves had experienced the Exodus."[61] Finbarr Barry Flood's invaluable research on medieval Islamic material culture and figurative art has created space for scholars to discuss "expression of Islamic piety" in the variegated landscape of "ambiguous and unexpected forms."[62] The remains of these forms can be appreciated today in Seville. Tom Nickson writes that the Qur'ānic epigraphs and geometric patterns on the bronze doors and arcades of the ancient Friday Mosque (now part of the Seville cathedral) evoked the spoken word and ritual performance, "so that through repetition even commonplace phrases are endowed with special force."[63]

Spiritual affect fuelled charges of idolatry levelled by all three faiths of medieval Iberia against one another. Jews, Muslims, and Christians created images to enhance devotional conviction. However, accusations of idolatry may tell us less about the doctrinal bases of faith than they do about the anxieties of the accusers themselves. Animosities

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59 Donovan Schaefer, *Religious Affects: Animality, Evolution, and Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 8.

60 Schaefer, *Religious Affects*, 9.

61 Adam S. Cohen, "The Multisensory Haggadah," in *Les cinq sens au Moyen Age*, ed. Eric Palazzo (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2016), 320.

62 Finbarr Barry Flood, "Islam and Image: Paradoxical Histories," in *In the Name of the Image: Figurative Representation in Islamic and Christian Cultures* (Zurich: Hatje Canz, 2022), 317.

63 Tom Nickson, "'Sovereignty Belongs to God': Text, Ornament and Magic in Islamic and Christian Seville," *Art History* 38 (2015): 853.

surfaced in disputations and philosophical tracts that demonized rival religious groups or were expressed defensively to safeguard devotional practices. Interreligious tensions that arose from iconoclastic polemics in late medieval Iberia would have framed the way Jews, Christians, and Muslims regarded the uses of sacred objects and representations of others and, in two examples from this book—performances of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and an intercessory rogation processional conducted by the Jewish community of Seville—responses to charges of idolatry were theatrical. Within social discourses on metaphysics and devotional materiality emerges another incarnation of living apart, together.

The compelling objects under investigation in this book include sacred statues and automata, reliquary, icons, sepulchres, *arma Christi*, Eucharistic chalices and ciboria, *retablos*, architectural inscriptions, *mihrabs*, altars, and minarets, and manuscript texts, music, and illuminations. By bridging orthopraxy with sensory engagements, these religious "properties" (to borrow a term from modern theatre) were agents of embodied experiences of the divine. Religious architecture, walled patios, and city streets are not static signifiers; in approximation to sacred objects and performing bodies, places for performance arrange and shape social order, group identity, and movement. Who occupied the front of the nave, closest to the altar? In which areas of a mosque, synagogue, or church were women permitted (if they were at all)? Which people are assigned to carry a processional float for a relic or statue of a saint? How do musicians adapt playing styles to cavernous spaces or cramped cells? How was the experience of parading through the *judería* (Jewish barrio) during the celebration of Corpus Christi different than other times for the year for Christian members of society? At the sight of the Eucharist in the same Corpus Christi procession, how might have a Jewish inhabitant of the barrio disguised her critiques of transubstantiation and the corporal manifestation of God? In the rich sense of materiality of medieval life, what was the experience of attending a Christian Mass in the massive, Islamic Friday Mosque of Seville, once the holiest sanctuary of the infidel? How did Sevillians appreciate the differences between Islamic art and architecture from the ancient city and the imitative Mudéjar style adopted by Christians, as expressed in the fourteenth-century *Reales Alcázares* (the royal palace of Castilian monarchs)?[64]

Whether purpose-built or improvised, sites of performance are active participants in the production of theatrical choreography: holding, elevating, protecting, occupying, obscuring, revealing. For theatre director Jacques Copeau, architecture is the *most* fundamental element of production:

> a given dramatic conception postulates a certain stage design and just as much or even more: a given stage architecture calls forth, demands and gives rise to a certain dramatic conception and style of presentation [so that] it is difficult to say which is responsible for the formation of a particular style, the form of the drama or the form of the theatre.[65]

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64 Mudejar refers to architectural and ornamental styles based on Islamic motifs that were developed and produced in Christian-ruled communities. It derives from the term Christians used to describe unconverted Muslims living in Christian ruled territory, *mudéjares*.

65 Jacques Copeau, *Copeau: Texts on Theatre*, ed. and trans. John Rudlin and Norman Paul (London: Routledge, 1990), 88.

Performance space engages tactics, seeks openings, and produces boundaries. Theatre buildings and urban facades are architectural texts that contribute to the creation of theatrical meanings alongside the language, music, and characters of the drama; they are physical presences that inhibit or progress the actions of protagonists. In occasional enactments and social performance conducted in everyday spaces, urban topography calls attention to places of special interest by focusing the gaze of viewers and guiding the movement of pedestrians through frames, ingresses, egresses, elevations, and open space. In her discussion of physical engagements with devotional images in medieval York, Jill Stevenson reminds us that the appreciation of an icon, statue or image relies on spatial approximation, arrangement, and scale of object to spatial container, whether that be a niche, altar, yard, or private chamber: "performance literacy emerges out of an experience with an image's rhythmic materiality; while an image's iconography, textual and cultural references, and artistic style all convey meaning, so too does its very objectness."[66] Theatrical spaces are not static, neutral containers. Architectural signs take on new meanings to accommodate the particularities of each unique narrative. A single building may express domesticity, or secrecy, or sacredness, or—towering above the crowd—the infinite cosmos.

Surrounded by dwellings, marketplaces, and temples that speak the past and present simultaneously, Seville's performers and viewers experienced a compression of time and ritual continuity, where the local past conjoined with the sacred future. The central mosque-cathedral, converted parish mosque-churches, and ancient thoroughfares of the Islamic past haunted the colonized city. Christian performance was a process of resignification, an enunciative act of reformulating the semiotics of space with a performative overlay of religious and militaristic conquest. Acts of walking and performing in urban space have a triple articulatory function: "a process of *appropriation* of the topographical system on the part of the pedestrian…[A] spatial acting-out of the place…and [implied] *relations* among different positions."[67] The maze of twisted corridors provided structure for processional *mise-en-scène* and the embodied imbrication of history with the now.

To summarize the exposition of phenomenology of coexistence so far, people of the three faiths of medieval Seville not only cohabitated in physical space but also shared their affective appreciation of the material environment in the conventional understanding of the embodied soul. Humans existed in a network of natural and manufactured creatures and objects—sacred and mundane—all potentially lively and agentive. Human perception of the material world was amplified in the seat of cognition—the soul. In the context of the discussion of historical *Convivencia*, these economies of wonder, pleasure, sensation, and sorrow—understood in similar ways by Jews, Christians, and Muslims—could be thought of as common channels for phenomenological intercourse across confessional borders, which, especially after 1391, included physical boundaries between Christian *barrios*, Muslim *aljama,* and the Jewish *judería*.

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66 Stevenson, *Sensual Piety,* 69.

67 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 97–98.

As an ephemeral art form that is subject to the vagaries of spontaneous impulses and subtextual communication, theatre can harbour alternative narratives, hidden texts, and rejoinders to authorized discourses. Minority communities in Seville participated in the construction and maintenance of their collective, sectarian identities and projected these subaltern discourses through public expressions of faith. Civic enactments were privileged sites for expositions of cultural difference and interaction, creating "the illusion of a stable entity in the face of kaleidoscopic change, stimulated even more intensely by the multiple kinds of difference the peninsula offered."[68] This is not to imply that *Convivencia* was merely a theatrical facade that disguised a singular reality of antagonism. In many instances, social performances facilitated the traversing of difficult divides and seemingly intractable contradictions. The abundant examples of coexistence—in language, translation, architecture, juridical and institutional processes, and literary forms—were animated by flexible and overlapping categories of embodied iterations of difference and by boundary-crossing rituals. *Convivencia* not only describes artifacts of cultural hybridity but also points to a method of interaction, a performative operation, and a communal discourse of power.

As the authors of *The Arts of Intimacy* write, Castilian culture developed "in a series of spaces—castles, cities, battlefields, courts, mosques, synagogues, and cloisters—spaces destroyed and redrawn scores of times over the centuries."[69] According to this definition, then, the landscape of *Convivencia* was not only an environment of cultural fusion and religious accommodation but was also a field pockmarked with decimation and loss. Social performances were compensatory and played a crucial role in reclaiming the material and human losses from a previous age. In the bodies of ritual performers, memory entered the vacancies carved in the colonial landscape, and traces of the other were retained through maintenance and citations of the past. Theatrical surrogation arose after episodes of loss to occupy the ruptures left in the wake of forced *repoblaciónes*, religious persecution, and human privation, revising historical memory with performance substitutes.

About eighteenth-century performance in the colonial Atlantic, Joseph Roach writes that "[s]elective memory requires public enactments of forgetting," a cultural process in colonial worlds that has been discussed by postcolonial theorists and scholars.[70] Although postcolonial studies have traditionally focused on early modern and modern societies, Iberian medievalists have taken the opportunity to explore Iberia's long history of unique heterogeneity, cultural hybridity, and intimate cohabitation of difference through a postcolonial lens.[71] Artifacts, texts, translations, and religious practices that

68 Jerrilynn Denise Dodds, María Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 6.

69 Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 6.

70 Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 3.

71 "The 'belatedness' of Spain is an artifact, as well, of its failure to put forward an uncolonized story of its own past, to find its way beyond the open secrets of its own genealogies. Spain's

operated in the colonial dialectic "passionately, ironically, in all of its elusive impossibility" proliferated on the Peninsula.[72] Iberian examples of performative re-inscription included postconquest processionals of Christian monarchs announcing Visigothic triumph and destiny (while eliding intervening Islamic histories), Muslim participation in Mozarabic religious festivals, the celebration of Christian Mass in converted mosques and synagogues, Peter Abelard's translation of the Koran, and valorizations of Muslim enemies in *moros y cristianos* festivals.[73] The case studies of this book include moments of paradoxical reckoning like these. For the minority religious groups in late medieval Seville, imaginative leaps and corporal commitments were required for (re)living a resistant or hybrid cultural identity after widespread or partial cultural loss. This elegant passage by Terry Eagleton speaks to the central concern of colonial attachments:

> Where human subjects politically begin, in all their sensuous specificity, is with certain needs and desires. Yet need and desire are also what render us nonidentical with ourselves, opening us up to some broader social dimension; and what is posed within this dimension is the question of what *general* conditions would be necessary for our particular needs and desires to be fulfilled. Mediated through the general in this way, particular demands cease to be self-identical and return to themselves transformed by a discourse of the other.[74]

Within medieval Iberian scenes of colonial ritual, the sense and acknowledgement of loss was an imperative for performative returns. Both theatre and colonialism exhibit insistent commitments to reiterative modes and to (re)possession of spatial and corporal territory. Suggested in Edward Said's statement that culture is both "a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that" and "a sort of *theater* where various political and ideological causes engage one another" is the idea that performance is a particularly fertile site for the engagement of identities, ideologies, and political causes.[75] In addition to being an effective tool for enacting conversions and persuasive discourses of the dominant culture, performance also "constitutes a repertoire of embodied knowledge" and provides an alternative site for the subaltern to enact corporal memory when written and oral languages are censored, and where places of worship have been razed.[76] The ephemerality of performance allows for exceptional moments and places for resistant practices to sidestep official interdiction and function across social strata, ambiva-

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exoticizing of its miscegenetic past (or its absolute denial of that past—the other side of the coin) creates a Spanish Middle Ages which is always already colonized." John Dagenais and Margaret R. Greer, "Decolonizing the Middle Ages: Introduction," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 30 (2000): 440.

72 Terry Eagleton, "Nationalism: Irony and Commitment," in Terry Eagleton, Frederic Jameson, and Edward Said, *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 39.

73 *Moros y cristianos* tournaments recreated famous battles between Christians and Muslims and were performed by the Christian aristocracy throughout the later Middle Ages on the Peninsula.

74 Eagleton, "Nationalism," 37–38.

75 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), xiii (emphasis mine).

76 Diana Taylor, "Scenes of Cognition: Performance and Conquest," *Theatre Journal* 56 (2004): 365.

lently playing between orthopraxy and intransigence, the sacred and profane, past and present. Colonial social performances are layered with double meanings and maintain a keen awareness of historical gaps, furnishing stages on which these absences may be recovered. Within the network of material actants in spectacles of imperialism, the present study interrogates spatial practices and forges an entrance into the politics of performance where communities carry out both hegemonic and resistant practices. Phenomenological performance is a living iteration of the past manifested in the *present* bodies of performers, bringing attention to the very *absence* of originals. At the level of phenomenological exchange, ironies and contradictions swarm between action and memory, present and past, intention and affect.

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Three main performance areas from the period of Christian hegemony in late medieval, early modern Seville constitute the central focus of the book: the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in performance, penitential practices across multiple terrains, and imperial spectacle during the age of Atlantic conquest and colonization. I contextualize the multidisciplinary archive with a set of integrated postures: broad historical frameworks and performance at the micro level, the phenomenology of the embodied mind.

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are a repertory of lyrical songs in which the thirteenth-century King of Castile and León praises the Virgin Mary through the language of courtly love. *Cantigas* scholarship on historical musicianship, poetry, political aims, Mariology, manuscript illuminations, and Islamic influences is vast. Citing Alfonso's explicit instructions for performing the songs in the royal chapel of the Cathedral of Seville, historians generally agree that the *Cantigas* were performed at court and after Alfonso's death. However, the manuscripts themselves reveal additional evidence of performance that has yet to be fully analyzed. Little research has been done on the theatrical presentation of the songs: how performers and audiences occupied and moved through space and implementation of scenography and stage properties in performances. Chapter One aims to redress this shortcoming by examining the coextensive relationships among textual, spatial, and corporeal forms of the Marian praise and miracle songs, which, as staged in the royal chapel of the converted mosque of Seville, disclose traces of Islamic Andalusi poetic and musical forms.

With reaffirmations of Pope Urban IV's 1264 bull establishing the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1311 and 1317, the celebration adopted its most characteristic element: the processional form. The feast spread rapidly across Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the first documented festivals on the Iberian Peninsula were in Barcelona (1319), Lérida (1340), and Valencia (1348). The first reliable evidence of the celebration of Corpus Christi in Seville dates from 1400.[77] Over the next century the Feast in Seville became increasingly ornate and spectacular. This change is reflected in the emergence of new processional routes and public stages for organized devotional

77 Vicente Lleo Cañal, *Fiesta Grande: El Corpus Christi en la historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Artes Gráficas Salesianas, 1980), 24–27.

events in Sevillian streets, fields, and plazas. The subjects of the second chapter include rogation processions, Holy Week, Saints' Days, and Corpus Christi, spectacles of corporal violence and punishment, acts of *imitatio Christi*, and other rituals of physical transformation, debasement, lamentation, and penance. The Sevillian community, writ large, entered a theatrical economy of death and rebirth, transformations, and abrogation.

The development of public spectacles during this period can be fully understood in the context of interreligious relations, especially conversion to Christianity. Starting in 1391, when anti-Jewish violence ignited in Seville and spread across the peninsula, conversions of Jews to Christianity increased markedly; the numbers of Muslims converting to Christianity reached its zenith after the unification of Christian kingdoms in the late fifteenth century. Perceptions of resemblance and difference on the landscape of *Converso* and *Morisco* bodies created a need for performances characterized by interactive semiotics of the body: distinctive markers defining ethnic difference and expressive stamps of humiliation that signal the need to atone for that very difference. New converts in Seville were made to continue a conversion performance of everyday life, which included distinctive clothing and signs of penitential suffering. The need to rid the Christian community of a perceived corruptive otherness was entwined with fantasies of corporeal susceptibility and malleability, and was the impetus for state-sanctioned mass conversions. In late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century Spain, enactment of punitive processions of the Inquisition (the *auto da fé*) coincided with a dramatic rise in devotional theatre, art, and preaching about Christ's Passion. The display of violence in the streets, whether in the *auto da fé* or by brotherhoods of self-flagellants imitating the physical trials of Christ, focused on the extirpation of sin through public acts of shame.

Chapter Three is about the effects of Atlantic exploration and conquest on the performance culture of Seville. Long before Christopher Columbus's ships reached the West Indies, the Spanish encountered aboriginal people of the Canary Islands. The Guanches, as the indigenous peoples of the island of Tenerife were known, were forcefully converted to Christianity but, unlike Iberian Muslims and Jews, could not be enslaved, due to their ontological exteriority to Christian sacred history. Most of the indigenous inhabitants of the Canary Islands were eventually wiped out by Christian settlers. The colonial project in the Americas undertaken in the following century was far more ambitious. Through the period of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, re-enactments of Amerindian rituals, sport, and entertainments were re-presented in the decontextualized space of the metropole. In one event, five Totonac Amerindians were bejewelled and paraded in public. In another performance, two indigenous Mexica brought to Seville by *conquistadores* recreated scenes of Aztec religious sacrifice and warfare. Eyewitness accounts make it clear that the simulation was realized in careful detail. In the final chapter, I pursue answers to the following questions: why did Spanish Europeans render the bodies of their Amerindian guest/prisoners theatrically, and what affective meanings might have arisen in response? Part of the answer to this two-part question lies in the habits and structures of Christian imperial encounters during the *Reconquista*. In the early modern period, the Spanish crown and Christian church adopted centuries-old techniques for engaging with non-Christian enemies and allies alike, and confrontations with the cultures of the Americas were framed as part of this tradition.

While acknowledging the historiographic challenges presented by a sparse and often perplexing archive, this book offers a new path in Iberian theatre studies. It is my hope that performance historians will continue to explore the historical record and offer both refinements and revisions to conclusions that derive from the theoretical framework of phenomenology of coexistence.

Chapter 1

THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA

THEATRICAL ACCULTURATION OF THE ANDALUSI COLONY

> This is the true reason why the one who sincerely believes finds power in a statue. For just as living creatures receive power through hope, if only they believe, likewise the image receives it instantly from the saint it represents.[1]
>
> *Cantiga* 297

THIS CHAPTER IS about theatrical stagings of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in the thirteenth century during the reign of Alfonso X, "El Sabio" (King of Castile, Galicia, y León, 1252–1284). The celebrated work is a multivolume collection of miracle, festival, and praise songs composed by King Alfonso and the poets and musicians of his court. Most compositions in the collection are *cantigas de miragre* that recount miracles worked by the Virgin Mary on earth. *Cantigas de loor* are songs of praise, the text and miniatures of which often involve Alfonso actively adoring, and commanding attention to, Mary. *Cantigas de festa* were written for celebrations of Marian festivals. The verses of the songs from the four extant manuscripts of the *Cantigas* collection were composed in Galician-Portuguese, the preferred vernacular of Peninsular itinerant and court entertainers in thirteenth-century Castile, and employed Islamic Andalusi musical and poetic forms known to the court of Alfonso and Iberian *trovador* culture. The collection of 429 songs was compiled and performed in Seville, the seat of the Castilian monarchy throughout most of Alfonso's reign.[2] Evidence for performance of the songs is embedded in the manuscript verse and illumination, in the marginalia of the Toledo manuscript, and in the codicil of the last will of Alfonso, which commands that

> all the books of hymns, miracles, and praise of the Blessed Mary, that they be given to the church in which our body will be buried, and let them be sung on the feasts of the Blessed Mary and of our Lord Jesus Christ.[3]

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1 Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, trans. Kathleen Kulp-Hill (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 360. All translations of the songs of the *Cantigas* are by Kulp-Hill.

2 I follow Walter Mettmann's numeration of songs in his definitive edition *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Castilia, 1986–89). There are 429 songs in the collection (including two prologues). Stephen Parkinson, dir. "Poem Data," *The Oxford "Cantigas de Santa Maria" Database* (Oxford: Centre for the Study of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*). https://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/index.php?p=poem_list.

3 "Similiter mandamus quod omnes libri cantilenarum, miraculorum et laudum etiam Beate Marie, quod dentur illi ecclesie in qua nostrum corpus oportuherit (sic) sepeliri, et quod eos canere faciant in festis Beate Marie et Nostri Domini Gesu Christi." Excerpt from *El codicilo de testamento de Alfonso X de Castilla (1252–1284)*. Georges Daumet, "Les testaments d'Alphonse X le Savant, roi de Castille," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 67 (1906): 91. Interestingly, the thirteenth-century

The "church in which our body will be buried" is the Seville cathedral, a converted twelfth-century Almohad mosque. According to José M. Llorens Cisteró, the *Cantigas* were performed there through the mid-fourteenth century.[4]

Material, practical, and phenomenological expressions of the *Cantigas* contributed vitally to the cultural colonization of Andalusian cities acquired by the Castilian monarchs in the second half of the thirteenth century, and in particular the city of Seville, the seat of the Alfonsine court (with Toledo and Murcia). From composition and compilation to rehearsal and staging, the *Cantigas* were performed in multiple modes in multiple venues and a wealth of architectural, ecclesiastic, historiographic, and musical evidence establishes a comprehensive picture of playing spaces, stage properties, instrumentation, dance, and *mise-en-scène*. The two venues for which there exists strong evidence of performance are the royal chapels of Seville's mosque-cathedral and the Alcazar palace.[5] This chapter is principally concerned with the staging of the songs in the *capilla real* (royal chapel) of the cathedral in the presence of their progenitor, King Alfonso. The realization of the *Cantigas* in music, voice, and dance took place in the chapel among ancient Muslim tombs, the sepulchres and life-like statues of Alfonso's parents, and a wooden articulated statue known as La Virgen de los Reyes.

In the first sections, I constitute grounds for theatrical analysis of the *Cantigas* by examining the relationships among the four extant manuscripts, thirteenth-century legal codes as they pertained to theatre, and the poetic and musical production of *trovadores* and *juglares* (jongleurs) during the period of Alfonso's reign.[6] In the second part, I offer a reading of the *Cantigas* as they participated in the conquest and colonization of Andalusia and spiritual conversion of non-Christian peoples and spaces. Finally, I conduct a dramatic reconstruction of a *cantiga de festa* in the *capilla real* of the Seville cathedral based on the available evidence in the *Cantigas* manuscripts and cathedral archives. Poetry, music, sacred objects, and the two actor-protagonists of the songs, Alfonso and the Virgin Mary, evoked affective tensions between presence and absence, spirit and matter, and sanctity and fallibility, and these dramatic tensions gave the songs their transformational competence.

Castilian version of the codicil does not indicate the singing of "cantilenarumnor", which in this context refers to the *cantigas de festa* of the *Cantigas*, nor does the Castilian version mention the festivals of Jesus Christ. See Manuel González Jiménez, *Diplomatario Andaluz de Alfonso X* (Seville: El Monte, 1991), 557–64.

4 For performances after Alfonso's death, see José M. Llorens Cisteró, "El 'Códice Rico' de las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio," in *Cantigas de Santa María. Edición facsímil del códice T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, siglo XIII*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Edilan, 1979), 331.

5 Written after Alfonso's death, accounts of King Sancho IV document the use of the royal chapel of the Alcazar for performances of sacred music. Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio* (Barcelona: Diputación provincial, 1958), 120–21.

6 The French words "troubadour" and "jongleur" are associated with the Provençal tradition. Historians of music have argued that an earlier tradition of courtly love poetry may have existed in Iberia. J. A. Carpentier de Gourdon and Cosme Carpentier de Gourdon, "El amor cortés de los juglares, sus fuentes y sus paralelos árabes, persas e indios," in *La juglaresca. Actas del primer congreso internacional sobre la juglaresca*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI, 1986), 76.

The Cantigas de Santa Maria and Performance

Four manuscripts of the *Cantigas* are extant: **To** (*Códice de Toledo*, in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid), **T** (the *Códice Rico*, in the RBME), **F** (*Códice de Florencia*, in the BNCF, Florence), and **E** (the *Códice de los músicos***,** in the RBME). They represent at least three stages in the evolution of the *Cantigas* project: an early collection of over 100 miracle and festal poems with marginal notes that indicate re-enactment (To); an expanded luxury collection of over 400 songs with musical notation and fine illustrations (T and F), of which the second volume (F) was left incomplete; and a hastily completed reference collection with musical notation and illustrations of musicians playing a wide range of instruments (E). The manuscript project was inaugurated as early as 1264 and ended in 1284 upon Alfonso's death, or shortly thereafter.[7] The elaborations and particularities of each stage of manuscript production inform us not only about multiculturalism at Alfonso's court, but also about their uses as objects for performative reading and evidence for, and about, embodied theatrical displays.

The *Cantigas* manuscripts were not handled or read during musical or liturgical performances. Production of medieval luxury manuscripts like the four extant volumes was labour-intensive and costly. Richly decorated, illustrated books were created to inspire awe and demonstrate the prestige of their owners, and were used principally for personal worship and viewing. Few individuals would have had access to the *Cantigas* volumes outside of Alfonso and members of the royal family, the upper tiers of the clerical population, aristocratic guests of the court, scribes, illuminators, and archivists. There are two main views regarding methods and purposes of preserving songs in the four manuscripts that we have today. The first is that the songs were stored in an archive of individual sheets or *rotuli* (rolls), and that manuscripts were compiled by copying these rolls, with or without access to other manuscript compilations.[8] The second view suggests intermediate copies of groups of *cantigas*, or a greater degree of copying from one complete manuscript compilation to others.[9] Three of the four luxury manuscripts (T, F, and E) show no signs of repeated use; marginalia in the To manuscript, the earliest of the four extant *Cantigas* manuscripts, provide instructions for performance of *cantigas de festa* during Marian holidays, suggesting a more direct relationship between manuscript and live performance.[10]

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7 Laura Fernández Fernández, "Los Manuscritos de Las Cantigas de Santa María: Definición Material de Un Proyecto Regio," *Alcanate: Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes* 8 (2012–13): 81–117.

8 *Rotuli* were long strips of parchment or papyrus used for writing and were much less expensive to produce than manuscripts.

9 Walter Mettmann, "Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las Cantigas de Santa María y sobre el problema del autor," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: HSMS, 1987), 355–66; and Stephen Parkinson, "False Refrains in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," *Portuguese Studies* 3 (1987): 21–55.

10 Martha E. Schaffer, "Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript of Alfonso El Sabio's Cantigas de Santa Maria: Observations on Composition, Correction, Compilation, and Performance," *Cantigueiros* 7 (1995): 65–84.

A claim is made in a seventeenth-century document that the *Cantigas* had been preserved for many years in the archive of the cathedral of Seville, and that their contents were sung on Marian feast days. Other than this, "there is no explicit mention in other known sources of the *Cantigas* being performed in the church during the Middle Ages."[11] Yet few historians would argue that the *Cantigas* were closet music-dramas that were never sung in public. Medieval prayer books, books of hours, and song collections were provocations to active and embodied veneration, prayer, and other devotional acts.[12] The majority of *cantigas de miragre* in the T codex are accompanied by pictorial representations of Mary and the baby Jesus seated on a shrine in a church, and in some of these, audiences and individuals interact with the figures to adore, exhort, or do them harm. One can debate whether these images were produced to memorialize or prescribe types of theatrical acts. However, it is unimaginable that the illuminations were evidence of a secretive practice of Marian worship. Throughout the collection, visual and textual references to ritual action and *trovador* performance indicate that the songs were performed openly and widely for their extroverted progenitor, Alfonso X, and for a broad spectrum of society.[13]

As can be said about most medieval theatre, no direct eyewitness accounts of performances of the *Cantigas* survive from the thirteenth century. But this lack does not preclude an analysis of the songs in a performance context. Frustratingly, without a deeper understanding of instrumentation and musicianship in the thirteenth-century Iberian courts, or possession of intermediary musical notation on *rotuli* that might reveal stages of song development, musical improvisation and live performance as techniques in song composition prior to compilation in manuscript form remain largely unexamined.[14] Laura Fernández, Dierdre Jackson, Stephen Parkinson, and Martha Schaffer, among many others, have analyzed the codicological development of the collection over time—from the first 100-song collection (To), to the decorated T/F expansion to 400 songs, and finally to the encyclopedic *Códice de los músicos* (E), representing "not the culmination of the enterprise but the endgame by which a complete set of *cantigas* is recorded to back up the unsustainable effort of T/F."[15] Scholars have tried to better understand a

11 Pedro Ferreira, "The Medieval Fate of the Cantigas," 311.

12 Stevenson argues that late medieval practices of visual piety and manuscript devotion offered opportunities for idiosyncratic interpretations and embodied practices; and cf. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, Marilyn Lawrence, eds., *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005).

13 Visual and textual references to live performance can be found in Prologue A and B, 2, 8, 100, 120, 122, 128, 194, 202, 259, 307, 324, 345, 363, 380, and 400.

14 According to Joseph Snow, music and verse were composed simultaneously. "Self-conscious Reference and the Organic Narrative Pattern of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X," in *Medieval, Renaissance and Folklore Studies in Honor of John Esten Keller*, ed. Joseph Jones (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 1980), 53–66.

15 Stephen Parkinson and Deirdre Jackson, "Collection, Composition, and Compilation in the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria,'" *Portuguese Studies* 22 (2006): 160. See also, Laura Fernández Fernández, "Cantigas de Santa María: fortuna de sus manuscritos," *Alcanate: Revista de estudios Alfonsíes* 6 (2009): 323–48; Martha E. Schaffer, "The 'Evolution' of the *Cantigas de Santa María*: the

number of issues that lead to provisional answers to questions about image and song relationships, sequencing of songs according to genre and theme, and metrical amendments made between editions, among others. The codicological approach is born of necessity: the ephemeral nature of live performance leaves few traces for reconstructing creative processes of musical and poetic composition prior to transcription. Undoubtedly, however, adaptation and translation of source material, rehearsal, playing, singing, and even audience feedback (most importantly, from Alfonso himself) contributed to the development of the 429-song repertoire. In the Toledan and Sevillian courts and scriptoria where music and verses of the *Cantigas* were composed, their songs filled the air as teams of troubadours and musicians collaboratively experimented with metre, verse, rhyme, pitch, tempo, and intensity. Although musical and poetic structures were eventually reformed to meet the needs of scribes and illustrators, it is certain also that live performance was integral to early processes of composition.

With little evidence to rely upon, scholarly debate on sites, audiences, and performance conditions is ongoing and conclusions remain elusive. John Keller offers provocative ideas about the dramatization of the songs. Keller's investigation of the treatment of *juegos* (games) and *autos* in the *Siete Partidas* (statutory codes written and compiled under the direct supervision of Alfonso) is convincing.[16] In particular, the argument that staging is indicated by the change in positions and gestures of Madonna and Child figures (which Keller interprets as the movements of a human actress) from one miniature frame to the next in the T and F manuscripts is compelling. Although Keller seems unaware of the existence of articulated Virgin Mary statues, which would explain shifting positions of heads and limbs in the *Cantigas* images, I agree that the miniatures can begin to help us understand staging situations.[17] Still, it is ultimately impossible to determine for certain if the images are prescriptive or descriptive of an actual performance since the artist may have simply been commending the miraculous animation of Marian figures to the reader's imagination.

Less convincing is Keller's use of terms like "drama" and "opera" in his inquiry since it wrongly suggests that incipient strains of early modern and modern theatrical forms are latent in the *Cantigas*. Based on visual evidence from *cantiga* 90 from the *Códice Rico*, Keller identifies clearly demarcated audience and performance spaces separated by what he terms "dramatic arches" set inside panels of miniatures. However, the suggestion that "[t]he device of the arches, often used outside Spain in manuscripts, in triptychs, and on stage, could make a scene enclosed by arches in a book acquire the char-

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Relationships between Manuscripts T, F, and E," in *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music, and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, ed. Stephen Parkinson (Oxford: Legenda, 2000), 133–53.

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

17 John Keller, *Pious Brief Narrative in Medieval Castilian and Galician Verse: From Berceo to Alfonso X* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978), 109.

acteristics of a *tableau vivant*" is problematic.[18] First, the idea that medieval painting, illumination, and sculpture can be used as direct evidence of theatrical scenery or *mise-en-scène* is controversial in the field of medieval theatre studies, and images benefit from corroborating evidence to be credible.[19] Second, non-representational arches (and other natural and manmade elements) that delineate miniature frames were so pervasive in medieval manuscripts, and in medieval painting and sculpture in general, that the appearance of these arches in the *Cantigas* cannot be considered unique to theatre. Finally, the advent of the stage frame (the proscenium) occurred in seventeenth-century Italy. Francisco Nodar Manso's speculative performance reconstructions of thirteenth-century *cancioneros* repeats the same essentialist tendency of applying ahistorical concepts of theatre production to medieval spectacle. Nodar Manso's reconstructions are based upon classical ideas of unity of theme, characters, and genre, Aristotelian notions that were unknown to the Christian and Islamic courts of medieval Iberia, and deny the fluid, spontaneous quality of medieval *trovador* and *juglar* culture.[20]

It is now a commonplace to say that performance and manuscript cultures were co-creative across medieval geographies and eras. As Carol Symes has persuasively demonstrated, the dramatic impulse in medieval societies "was so pronounced that it informed the production of the very evidence on which we rely for our knowledge of the past. Performance was presupposed by the act of writing."[21] Relationships among scribes and musicians were fostered in monastic culture through the early and High Middle Ages; the cantor himself was very often in charge of ordering manuscripts and designing them for liturgies. Evidence for these practices is especially strong at the Abbey of Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[22] The influential Cluny monastery exported the Roman liturgy to Toledo in the late eleventh century and it is likely that techniques for preserving the language and music of canonical hours and Mass were brought to Castile at that time.[23] Performance was intrinsic to establishing lyrical and musical phraseology and metre, both in and around the scriptoria where *rotuli* and manuscripts were produced in Seville and Toledo, the centres of royal power during Alfonso's reign.

The most thorough study of the performance culture of the *Cantigas* in Alfonsine Castile and Andalusia is musicologist Manuel Pedro Ferreira's indispensable 2016

18 John Keller, "Drama, Ritual, and Incipient Opera in Alfonso's Cantigas," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance,* ed. Robert Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1990), 77.

19 Pamela Sheingorn, "Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 22 (1979): 101–9; Martin Stevens, "The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama," *New Literary History* 22 (Spring 1991): 317–37.

20 Francisco Nodar Manso, *Teatro menor galaico-portugués (siglo XIII): Reconstrucción contextual y teoría del discurso* (Kassel: Universidad de La Coruña, 1990), 13–19.

21 Symes, *A Common Stage*, 12–13.

22 Margot E. Fassler, "The Office of the Cantor in Early Western Monastic Rules and Customaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 51.

23 Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, 22–25.

article "The Medieval Fate of the Cantigas de Santa Maria."[24] In it, the renowned expert of medieval Andalusi song makes a credible argument for potential widespread *Cantigas* performance during the reign of Alfonso X, and his conclusions about the political nature of the project mirror other historical research about the imperialistic goals of the grand cultural enterprise. Live performance accomplished two of the Wise King's crucial objectives, the increased frequency of which would strengthen the songs' performative capacities. First, due to internal strife within the monarchy and caused by the king's own poor health, public, overt appeals to the Virgin Mary for the protection and salubriousness of the Castilian kingdom and its monarch were imperative. The efficacy of these appeals was bound to the religious settings and festivals in which they were performed: Marian feast days in sacred spaces with Her likenesses in statuary and pictorial forms. Second, assertions of Christian superiority over Judaism and Islam found in many of the miracle songs were made tangibly real in the transformational, physicalized space of performance. Theatrical presentations of the songs aroused somatic, aural, and visual reckonings of Christian pre-eminence in the Andalusian colonies. The opportunity to zealously proclaim the miraculous efficacy of the precocious, animated Virgin Mary (as she is described in the miracle songs of the *Cantigas* themselves) would not have been missed by a monarch with imperial aspirations.

Theatre of Law

As they touch upon Iberian theatre practices, the thirteenth-century *Siete Partidas* reveals the ways in which King Alfonso used performance to structure religious and cultural authority. In carefully negotiating the contradiction and ambivalences between legal theories and performance practices, Alfonso provided a privileged space for the performance of the *Cantigas*. On the one hand, the *Siete Partidas* attempts to constrain public enactments based on professional standards of juglaresque performance and differences between sacred and pedestrian stages. On the other hand, the profane elements of the *Cantigas* violate these very codes. This is not unusual when we consider the fact that legal codes and canon law constraining theatre practices often point to the existence of lively traditions the laws were written to suppress. In this case, however, as author of both the laws and the songs the laws were designed to regulate, Alfonso moulded a schizophrenic self-image of an entertainer-king tempering his artistic impulses statutorily. Alfonso's breach of his own expressed limitations on theatrical playing underscores both the exceptionality of the *Cantigas* and how this exceptionality fulfilled the needs of the Andalusi colony.

A definition of "troubadour" (a composer of poetry and music, perhaps aristocratic, who does not necessarily sing, recite or play) as distinct from "minstrels" (the performer of vocal, instrumental, and physical execution of the songs and ballads) began to emerge in the eleventh century within the elite culture of the feudal courts.[25] In practical terms,

24 Pedro Ferreira, "The Medieval Fate of the Cantigas," 295–353.

25 Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural*

however, the professional landscape of itinerant entertainers was far more varied. The records of Iberian chroniclers and encyclopedists include a wide array of terms to describe Castilian and Galician-Portuguese performers, including *trovadores*, *juglares* and *jograles* (musicians/singers), *segreles* (jugglers, minstrels), *cortesanas* (courtesans), *menestrales* (minstrels), *bufónes* (clowns), *contrafazedores* (mimes), *remendadores* (imitators), *soldadeiras* (female dancers), *jograis* (male dancers), *facedores de zaharrones* (masked performers), *mimi* (mimes), *histrione* (actors), and *thymelici* (musical performers in drama). These performers drew from a wellspring of motley talents that were not typologically restricted by professional titles. One *cortesana* might dance and play an instrument; another might only sing. *Trovadores* were usually noblemen, but performers of lower social status could be elevated at court through sheer talent.[26] *Juglar* was perhaps the most capacious category of performer: minstrels displayed a range of talents that included singing, composing, playing instruments, dancing, jesting, puppeteering, and tumbling.[27]

Performance classifications outlined in the *Siete Partidas* could be interpreted as prescriptive, proscriptive, or descriptive, or some combination of the three. Some scholars argue that since many laws of the *Partidas* were glosses of Roman rules and certain language regarding priestly behaviour was reused, the evidence might reflect Italian culture more than Castilian.[28] In reply, Charlotte Stern makes the salient point that when one compares Roman and Castilian law on theatre and performance, there are additions to the *Primera Partida* that indicate original thought. For instance, there is no medieval or Roman precedent for allowing devotional plays "in large cities where there are archbishops or bishops."[29] Stern also argues that the sheer length of Alfonso's laws devoted to religious plays "bespeaks not a mechanical translation but a paraphrase and amplification."[30] My criticism of philological approaches that dismiss the *Partidas* as potential evidence for profane and liturgical theatre traditions in thirteenth-century Castile is that they rely on narrow, comparative analyses of legal documents like papal decretals and the Castilian *Fuero Real* to the exclusion of other types of evidence. Another issue that arises is the habit of seeking sorts of theatrical life that do not accurately describe the diverse, spirited performance culture of medieval Iberia. The phrase "*una tradición teatral*" imposes a modern concept of theatre onto a field of practices whose fluidity and heterogeneity exceeds a cramped conception of uniform theatre

de España (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1983), 12.

26 Filios, *Performing Women*, 42.

27 Daniel S. Keller, "Historical Notes on Spanish Puppetry," *Hispania* 42 (1959): 205–9.

28 See, for instance, Humberto López Morales, "Alfonso X y el teatro medieval castellano," *Revista de Filología Española* 71 (1991): 227–52.

29 "en las cibdades [sic] grandes do hobiere arzobispos ó obispos." Alfonso X, King of Castile and León, *Las siete partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio: cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2008), vol. 1, pt. 1, Título VI, Ley XXXIV.

30 Charlotte Stern, *The Medieval Theater in Castile* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1996), 77.

culture.[31] Alfonso and his courtiers would not be concerned with establishing juridical boundaries around *one* theatrical tradition precisely because a multiplex of performance traditions coexisted simultaneously and intersected in ways that may or may not suggest drama and theatre as we define them today.

Setting the *Siete Partidas* within the social and political contexts of the Castilian court, what emerges is a vision of theatre culture that suited the political, practical, and juridical needs of Alfonso's cultural programs. Therefore, we cannot entirely trust that the definitions disclosed in the laws are historically valid. Considering the fecund performance culture at the Alfonsine court, however, there can be no doubt that to some extent the *Siete Partidas* were carefully written *in respect of* contemporaneous practices, whether or not those performance forms are documented accurately in the statutory codes of the kingdom. I believe that what Alfonso is attempting to accomplish in the *Partidas* is to reign in and compartmentalize a diverse set of practices to protect his own poetry and song at court, including the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

The second and seventh parts of the *Siete Partidas* contain passages that distinguish between proper and improper types of entertainment and spectacle. Title 5, Law 21 of the *Segunda Partida* recognizes the king's need to be entertained by songs and music and to hear "of histories and of romances, and other books that speak of things from which men receive joy and pleasure."[32] The law makes it clear that any other purpose for playing songs was a sin and would degrade the actions of the king.[33] Offending pastimes would have included satirical poems of jest, roughish games and entertainment, and *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer* (songs of derision and cursing), which were overtly sexual and mocking, and in the case of Alfonso's corpus, employed as performative weapons to injure his political enemies.[34] Following in the tradition of his father and other Castilian monarchs, Alfonso authored forty-six profane songs in the Gallego-Portuguese style, the majority of which were *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer*. While Law 21 is permissive of games of chess, listening to songs, and reading romances, the language is clear that these pastimes must be conducted in a manner that is "beneficial and not injurious," a category that would not include *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer*.[35] That "members of the highest ranks could perform comic songs without putting their respectability in jeopardy," demonstrates how nobles and monarchs seemingly lived

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31 "no debe ser esgrimida como testigo de la existencia de una tradición teatral profana y litúrgica en la Castilla del siglo XIII." López Morales, "Alfonso X y el teatro," 252.

32 "…de las hestorias et de los romances, et de los otros libros que fablan de aquellas cosas de que los homes reciben alegria et placer." Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 2, pt. 2, Título V, Ley XXI.

33 "perder cuidados et recibir dellos alegría," Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 2, pt. 2, Título V, Ley XXI.

34 Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Seville: Madrid, Torres, 1913), 191; Simon Doubleday, "*O que foi passar a serra*: Frontier-Crossing and the Thirteenth-Century Castilian Nobility in the *catigas de escarño e maldizer*," in *Le Médiéviste et la Monographie Familiale: Sources, Méthodes et Problématiques*, ed. Martin Aurell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 189–200.

35 "de manera que haya ende pro et non daño," Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 2, pt. 2, Título V, Ley XXI.

above the law despite the codes that were written specifically to shape and circumscribe their behaviour.[36]

In the Seventh Law of the *Partidas*, Alfonso established juridical and generic boundaries between the work of *trovadores* and *juglares* that, if applied strictly, would have smothered his own artistic production, including the *Cantigas*. His intention to separate sets of practices that, in reality, were vitally porous and procreative, has implications for our understanding of the performance life of the *Cantigas*. The paucity of performance evidence for the *Cantigas* may not be due primarily to a lack of actual performance; rather, it may reflect a lack of official documentation of a mercurial social practice fraught with associations of unsanctioned performance activities.

The scope of the Title 6, Law 4 of the Seventh *Partida* implicitly empowers *juglares* and *trovadores* to perform ribald, comic songs in the space of the court by distinguishing between high-class entertainers and base *juglares*, *remedadores*, and *facedores de zaharrones* who sing, dance, and masquerade for whatever remuneration they can earn.

> Also discredited are those minstrels, and mimes, and masked performers that publicly wander through town: or sing, or perform games for money, that is because they abase themselves before everyone…But those who play instruments, or sing in order to amuse only themselves: or in order to entertain their friends: or to give pleasure to the Kings, or to other Lords, they would not be discredited.[37]

Seemingly, money itself is not the essential evil; professional players who "give pleasure to the Kings, or other Lords" were, in fact, compensated for their efforts, although the language of the law does not specify this fact. Rather, the Seventh Law makes distinctions at the level of *social space*, seemingly sanctioning *trovador* entertainments (aristocrats amusing themselves and their friends for no pay) while impugning *juglaresque* performances conducted in public. Interestingly, entertainers working and earning money in public are given names in the law ("*juglares, e los remedadores, e los fazedores de los çaharrones*") while those working at court remain anonymous ("those who play"). The law buries the fact that minstrels, mimes, and masked performers *also* worked at court, and that they did so for money. This omission, perhaps, points to the anxiety surrounding the fluid movement of performers across social strata and the double standards cleverly elided in the language of the law. The fourteenth-century *Libro de las confesiones*, a compendium of knowledge for clergymen written by Martín Pérez, buttresses the juridical line that distinguishes valid spaces for songs and games from "taverns and obscene and dishonest places."[38] When read in the context of the production and performances

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36 Filios, *Performing Women*, 15.

37 "Otrosi son enfamados los que son juglares, e los remedadores, e los fazedores de los çaharrones que públicamente andan por el pueblo: o cantan, o fazen juego por precio, esto es porque se enuilecen ante todos… Mas los que tañeren estrumentos, o cantassen por fazer solza assi mesmos: o por fazer plazer a sus amigos: o dar solaz a los Reyes, o alos otros señores, non serian porende enfamados." Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 3, pt. 7, Título VI, Ley IV.

38 "E algunos destos traen instrumentos para cantar e algunos destos cantan en tavernas e en torpes e deshonestos lugares." Martín Pérez, *Libro de las confesiones: Una radiografía de la sociedad medieval española*, ed. Antonio García y García, Bernardo Alonso Rodríguez, and Francisco Cantelar

of Alfonso's own lyrical canon of *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer, cantigas de festa, cantigas d'amigo* (female-voiced love songs)*, cantigas d'amor* (male-voiced love songs), *cantigas de loor*, and *cantigas de miragre*, the Seventh *Partida* grants the king freedom of artistic expression, at least within the physical boundaries of court.

Echoing the sentiment of the Seventh Law, Guiraut Riquier, a major contributor to the *Cantigas* project and a principal poet in the Alfonsine court from 1265, jealously guarded the title of *trovador* against the vile, low songs and jests of the *juglar* in his *La Suplicatio*: "Those who do their job and go through vile areas shamelessly playing their instruments, doing other things or singing through plazas and roads, day and night they live in dishonour, as they wish and with little monetary gain, without themselves knowing any sense or good taste, and they are not skilled in any knowledge."[39] *La Declaratio*, Alfonso's response to Riquier, further codifies the category of *trovador* by citing the traditional, classical separation of *inventores* from *ioculatori*. His argument relies on etymological analysis, rather than observation of contemporary practices, and his distinctions between "poet" and "performer" are troubled by the verses of his own *Cantigas* where he acts as both *trovador* and participant in staged celebrations of the Virgin Mary.[40]

In practice, a clear boundary between composer and performer did not exist, and the anxieties expressed in Alfonso's, Riquier's and Pérez's insistent claims seem to underscore the point. Playing and singing were part of the process of verse and musical composition for *trovadores*, and itinerant performers were responsible for the development and transformation of songs that were written down in *rotuli* and manuscripts *ex post facto*. Performance culture also flowed between royal and plebeian settings by way of *soldadeiras* and *juglares*, who operated across social strata.[41] About the evidence of troubadour and jongleur performance, Amelia Van Vleck writes, "the inconsistency of extant written sources reflects health rather than sickness, insofar as it reflects an ongoing practice of singing troubadour lyric."[42] In other words, since orality was the base structure for transmission of song culture in the medieval period, historians are asking questions irrelevant to the profession of the *trovador* if parchment with musical notation is the only means of identifying a robust performance tradition. Van Vleck's analysis shows the act of committing a song to parchment most often *proceeded from* composition since the arts of the *juglar* and *trovador* relied on memory techniques for rehearsal

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Rodríguez (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002), 445.

39 "Lo que hacen su trabajo y van por todos los sitios vil y desvorgonzadamente tocando sus instrumentos, haciendo otras cosas o cantando por plazas y caminos, de noche y de día viven en deshonra, pues desean y les gustan menudas ganancias, sin conocerse en ellos ni sentido ni buen grado, y no son diestros en ningún conocimiento." *La Suplicatio*, vv. 326–40, in Carlos Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1977), 251.

40 Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca*, 250. See also Joseph Snow, "Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 129.

41 Filios, *Performing Women*, 11–12.

42 Amelia E. Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation in Troubadour Lyric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 28.

and faithful transmission across performance settings. Minstrel songs and ballads were open texts that, in a sense, were created and recreated continually in an expansive community of authors and composers. Both embodied and textual discourses were responsible for the dissemination and transmission of performance culture, and the *Cantigas* participated in these discourses prior to and during the process of preserving music and lyrics in luxury manuscripts.

The spatial principle of "legitimate theatre" is expressed in Title 6, Law 34 of the *Primera Partida*, which forbids priests from staging plays of mockery to attract people to church. The same law permits the staging of nativity, crucifixion, and resurrection plays "elegantly and with great devotion" in the presence of a bishop or archbishop, and not for profit.[43] In effect, the law outlawed base, obscene entertainments of the court (masquerades, satires, and games) from the church. Even though the *Cantigas* is a devotional songbook, the *cantigas de miragre* have one foot planted firmly in the world of profane entertainment. None are obscene, of course; however, the apocryphal themes in the songs and their narrative structure place the songs within courtly culture. Straddling two scrupulously coded architectural playing areas, the experimental *Cantigas* traversed a careful line between profane and sacred spaces and texts. The *Siete Partidas* could not configure a sanctioned space for the unique songs of the *Cantigas* on its own. *Cantiga* 8, "A Virgen Santa María todos a loar devemos," attempts to resolve these seemingly irreconcilable tensions.

Cantiga 8 from the T manuscript depicts the real-life *juglar*, Pedro de Sigrar, playing his fiddle before a statue of the Virgin Mary (Figure 1). Sigrar prays to the Virgin for light, and miraculously she causes a candle to rest on his vielle. A monk witnesses this scene and returns the candle to the shrine, accusing Sigrar of sorcery. The statue of the Virgin then moves the candle a second time to the vielle. The monk relents and begs for the minstrel's pardon. Incredibly, the monk asks forgiveness from the minstrel and not from the Virgin Mary, effectively raising the status of a court performer to that of the divine. The song ends with the line that "each year the minstrel of whom we have spoken brought Her church a long wax candle."[44] One can easily imagine Sigrar doing this very act during a performance of *cantiga* 8 in a pure moment of meta-theatricality.

What are we to make of this narrative—conspicuously located near the beginning of the collection of songs—of the Virgin Mary defending the art of the *juglar* from a meddling cleric, and in the context of an all-encompassing legal code that appears to forbid profane or extra-liturgical activities in the church? In *cantiga* 8, Sigrar is not performing a nativity, crucifixion, or resurrection play; it is more likely that the reader/viewer was to believe he was performing a song from the *Cantigas* collection itself, since Sigrar was a principal contributor to the project and the production of biblical plays would have been under the domain of ecclesiastics. Sigrar does not play under the surveillance of a bishop, as ordered by the *Primera Partida*, but instead in the presence of a monk who,

43 "apuestamiente et con gran devoción." Alfonso X, *Las Siete Partidas*, vol. 1, pt. 1, Título VI, Ley XXXIV.

44 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 14.

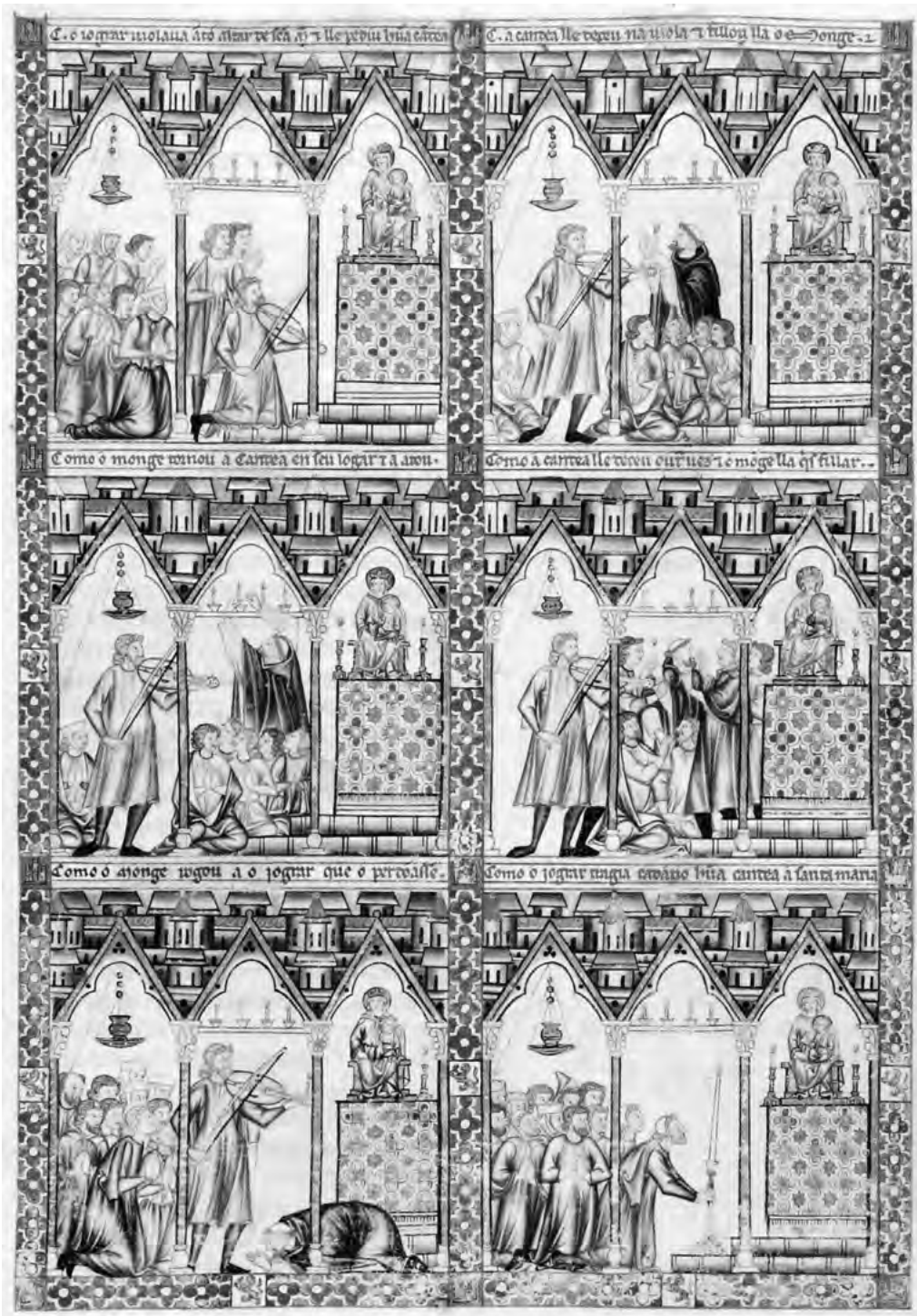

Figure 1.1. Illumination of cantiga 8, Cantigas de Santa Maria. El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (RBME), MS T-I-1 (Códice Rico), fol. 15v. Courtesy of RBME.

by all accounts, is not at all happy about the presence of the *juglar* at church. Between stated values and actual practices, the status quo is represented in the actions of the monk (the antagonist), while the protagonists—Sigrar and the Virgin Mary—subvert the law of the land. In this way, Alfonso's theatre of miracles crossed fields of belief, law, and practice to free itself of social constraints, carving out an exceptional space for the performance of the songs. This was not a unilateral act of hubris, however. Alfonso employed Marian authority to break with social orthodoxy and present his apocryphal miracle tales in sacred spaces. The lack of a legal placeholder for the *Cantigas* was the condition that laid the groundwork for a new genre of theatre that perambulated between the cathedral and secular spaces.

The *Cantigas* collection bridges heavenly and worldly themes, sacred ritual and profane entertainment. Mary is not only a model of Christian piety and object of veneration; she also transforms into an earthly being who possesses particularly human emotions, such as jealousy, anger, sympathy, playfulness, and melancholy. The central themes of thaumaturgical power and transformation in the songs—Mary's protection of Christian interests, punishment of evildoers, and conversion of the unfaithful—were lyrically and visually incorporated into the everyday and political lives of thirteenth-century Iberians. The adventures of the Virgin Mary in Seville and beyond were then conveyed in courtly and juglaresque performance forms traditionally found in songs of love and satire. As the lyrics to *cantiga* 259 explain, "the minstrels of the land…have this power and heal the people so completely that they feel that pain no more."[45]

Manuscripts and Theatre

The Galician-Portuguese lyric can be traced to the late twelfth century and was featured in the popular forms of the Alfonsine period: *cantigas d'amor*, *cantigas d'amigo*, *cantigas d'escarnho e de maldizer*, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Although the Galician-Portuguese oral tradition was formally distinct from imported Provençal song styles, the two traditions were contemporaneous in Iberian courts; both French and Iberian poets worked at Alfonso's court. Many Provençal poets were fluent in Peninsular tongues and many Portuguese, Catalan, and Castilian poets composed in Occitan dialects.[46] French artistic culture entered territories west of Cataluña on the coattails of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Cluniac reforms, as well as through contact between twelfth-century courts of Castile, Cataluña, and Aragón.[47] The oldest literary testimony we have of a Provençal troubadour on the western Peninsula comes from the court of Alfonso VII of Castile and León (reigned 1126–1157).[48] Successive Castilian rulers and kings

45 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 315.

46 Alvar, *La poesía trovadoresca*, 23.

47 Manuel Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España: Estudio de lengua y poesía provenzal* (J. Verdaguer, 1861), 58.

48 A troubadour named Marcabrú from southern France entertained and wrote at the court at some period between 1130 and 1149. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, 106–8.

of Portugal, León, Navarra, Cataluña, and Aragón employed Provençal troubadours. Immediately following Alfonso X's coronation, *trovadores* began arriving at the Castilian court, many of them originally from Italy, where Provençal poetry had taken deep root.[49] Based on the record of the Catalan poet Cerverí of Gerona, by 1269 the dissemination of the Alfonsí songbook was already a fact.[50] Like most of his troubadour contemporaries, Cerverí composed in multiple dialects to satisfy the tastes of a wide range of royal and aristocratic patrons. In addition to the scores of Castilian and Andalusi musicians and dancers that populated his court, Alfonso employed approximately twenty Galician-Portuguese and Provençal *trovadores* during his reign, many of whom participated in composition, rehearsal, and revision of the *Cantigas* repertory.[51]

Diversity of regional influence is apparent in the songs and suggests eclectic composition and performance practices. Alfonso's choice of the Peninsular form for his songs reflected his devotion to heteroglot learning and promotion of Iberian culture. However, practical considerations were also a factor. By the time of Alfonso's reign, Castilian was already a well-established language of prosaic learning and religious narrative poetry, but it was not yet used at court.[52] Also, Galician-Portuguese was understood by literate Spanish speakers in all regions of the Peninsula, and even by many who lacked a formal education, in any dialect.[53] Still, a large segment of society—in particular Arabic-speaking communities in and around Seville—would not have understood the sung or spoken lyrics of the *Cantigas*. This fact supports the theory that the songs required theatricalization to be fully appreciated by the largest number of people.

Manuel Pedro Ferreira's convincing argument that Andalusi and eastern song structures were absorbed into the Christian tradition as early as the twelfth century points to another example of cultural exchange among and between Muslims, Christians, and Jews and helps explain the unique poetic forms found in the *Cantigas*. Scholars have also argued that since the Arabic *zajal* and *muwashshah* lyric forms predate the appearance of the *virelai* in France by four hundred years and are remarkably similar in metre and rhythm, troubadour composition in the Occitan may be indebted to Peninsular song and poetry. It may also suggest that early Islamic Andalusi song forms—in their Romance, Ibero-Arab or Hebrew manifestations—gave rise to the *virelai* lyric and that the *Cantigas* drew from this tradition rather than the French.[54] David Wacks writes that

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49 Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, 464.

50 Juan Ruiz Jiménez. "Las Cantigas de Santa María en Sevilla," *Paisajes Sonoros Históricos* (2016), www.historicalsoundscapes.com/evento/500/sevilla/es.

51 Milá y Fontanals lists ten Provençal troubadours and H. R. Lang has assembled the names of eleven Gallego-Portuguese poets. Lang, "The Relations of the Earliest Portuguese Lyric School with the Troubadours and Trouveres," *Modern Language Notes* 10, no. 5 (1895): 104–16.

52 David Wacks, "An Interstitial History of Medieval Iberian Poetry," *The Routledge Companion to Iberian Studies*, ed. Javier Muñoz-Basols, Laura Lonsdale, and Manuel Delgado (Routledge: New York, 2017), 85.

53 Keller, *Pious Brief Narrative*, 88.

54 *Zajal* is a poetic form that originated in al-Andalus around the ninth century. The musical form for *zajal* is unknown. Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Rondeau and Virelai: The Music of Andalus and the

> [i]f one accepts this still debated *thèse arabe* or Andalusi genesis of troubadour verse, this mixture of Andalusi and troubadouresque verse performed at the court of a Castilian king is nothing less than a poetic family reunion. In Abualafia's verse, the Andalusi *muwashshah* that gave rise to the Provençal *cansó* are reunited in Hebrew back in the Iberian Peninsula, where interstitiality was the norm and was responsible for any number of important innovations.[55]

Musical and poetic traditions of the thirteenth century were hybridized to the point where original cultural sources were likely unrecognizable to musicians and listeners of the period. Cultural intimacies among different religious groups were functions of a shared culture rather than the product of plodding, premeditated exchange. It is the living, mercurial art of theatre that animated these intimacies, and perhaps to a greater extent than in literature, architecture, and the art of translation.

How these verses found their way into the manuscripts now in our possession—from composition to production of *rotuli* and through stages of repertory development and manuscript production—adds to our understanding of musical culture at the court of Alfonso X. The first bound book of the *Cantigas*, the Toledo manuscript, appears to have had a utilitarian link to performance. Although it contains fine decoration, it is the least luxurious of the four manuscripts and it is possible that sheets within the binding were cut from pre-existing *rotuli*. Regarding the group of *cantigas de festa* contained in the appendices of the manuscript, Martha Schaffer concludes that "certain of its corrections and marginal notes demonstrate that it was converted to use as either a working exemplar or a personal copy for an individual involved in composition, compilation, and/or performance."[56] The marginal comments from the bottom of folio 144r of the manuscript appear to be instructions to a church cantor to present the *cantiga de festa* as part of the vigil of the Assumption, and to organize a procession the next day:

> There will be given the day when the Mother of God ascended to heaven / and on this day will be created a procession for the Beatific Mother and Child Mary. This will be the day when the mother of God went to heaven / and on this day will be a procession for the Beatific mother and child Mary created.[57]

Why notations appear only in the margins of the *cantigas de festa* of the To manuscript and not on pages containing *cantigas de miragre* and *loor* is an intriguing question that remains mostly unanswered. It has been suggested that marginal staging instructions for time and manner of presentation (the Assumption celebration and procession) were meant to limit performance of the semi-liturgical *cantigas de festa* to Marian holidays (as the name denotes), whereas *cantigas de miragre* and *loor*, some of which contain unique miracles stories with Iberian place names, may have been more appropriate for performances at court or other non-liturgical settings.

Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13 (2004): 132, 138.

55 Wacks, "An Interstitial History," 86.

56 Schaffer, "Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript," 66–67.

57 "Seia dita Des quando deus sa madr aos ceos leuou / e no dia seia dita a procisson Beêita es maria filla madr e criada." From Schaffer, "Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript," 69.

The second stage in the evolution of manuscripts begins with the copying of the *Códice Rico* (T). Although exact dating is impossible, it is consensus among scholars that the work on T was initiated in the eighth decade of the thirteenth century and after the To, which means the *Cantigas* repertory had been rehearsed and performed over the previous ten-year period.[58] It is likely that urgent political matters drew Alfonso's attention away from the *Cantigas* project in the intervening years between To and T—among them, Muslim revolts in Andalusia and Murcia, an internal conspiracy against the crown, and the compilation of the *Siete Partidas* and *Fuera Real* legal codes. However, the lapse in manuscript production does not indicate a pause in live performance or composition. In fact, the illuminations to T vividly *describe* an extant, exuberant performance culture at court and in the cathedral, situating the troubadour King as artistic progenitor and director of the project. Most of the 100 songs of the To collection were replicated in the T manuscript in one form or another. Codex T was near completion when the second volume of the full repertoire, the Florence manuscript, was begun around 1281. The F manuscript was composed as a companion volume to T, but the narratives are more personal and original. Unlike the *cantigas de miragre* from To and T, which are mainly sourced in pan-European Marian cults, many of the songs from F derive from local oral tradition, contain more distinctly Iberian elements, and may even bear some connection with Alfonso's own itinerary.[59] The move away from the European repertory of Marian miracle stories in F that are interpolated with a personal voice and presence of the king signifies a greater investment of Alfonso in the *Cantigas* project, and real life specific concerns of the Castilian court are revealed in its verses.[60] The personal tone of songs in the F manuscript suggest a more intimate type of theatricalization at this stage of the project, a private event between the king and his books.

Although there are only minimal signs of use and page-turning of the T/F manuscripts, it is certain that they were constructed for performative reading, a kind of closet drama for medieval readers of luxury manuscripts. Performative reading involves interaction with the *mise-en-page*—the arrangement of multimedia on folio pages—rather than theatre in the sense of *mise-en-scène* before a group of spectators. Manuscript reading in the Middle Ages was an interactive and co-creative encounter that took place between the reader-viewer, on the one hand, and the images, verses, and musical elements on manuscript pages, on the other. The paratextual elements in manuscripts like the *Cantigas* would have suggested certain intonations and gestures, for a performer in public or the private reader-viewer. John Dagenais has pointed out that manuscript reading was co-extensive to the world of medieval men and women, where "acts of demonstrative rhetoric that reached out and grabbed [and] engaged the reader" required them

58 The *Códice Rico* was bound in 1284 and, according to Alfonso's wishes, was deposited in the Seville cathedral where it remained until the sixteenth century, when it was moved to El Escorial.

59 Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 10–11.

60 Joseph Snow, "The Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona* of Alfonso X in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 56 (1979): 305–16.

Figure 1.2. Illumination of cantiga 120 (detail). El Escorial, RBME, MS T-I-1 (Códice Rico), fol. 170v. Courtesy of RBME.

to "take a stand about what he or she read."[61] Text, illuminations, marginalia, and, in the case of the *Cantigas* musical notation, were absorbed holistically and in conversation with one another. The verses are enhanced by both the visual and musical information on the page and the embodied engagement with the manuscript—holding, touching, smelling, rhythmic movement, vocal and physical gestures—"constitut[ing] the reader-viewer as a practitioner of affective devotion."[62] Through a physical engagement with

61 John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de Buen Amor"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), xvii.

62 Pamela Sheingorn, "Performing the Illustrated Manuscript: Great Reckonings in Little Books," in *Visualizing Medieval Performance: Perspectives, Histories, Contexts*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 5.

the dynamic elements of a manuscript, the reader-viewer's identity as a devotional actor is shaped alongside the reproduction of spiritual and social values. As the most richly illustrated of all the manuscripts, with fine detail and narrative layout of the miniatures in six vignettes for each miracle story, T and F held transformative powers to produce devotional identities within the contours of images and actions of the king and his object of sacred affection, the Virgin Mary.

Alfonso X is omnipresent in the T/F manuscripts, as Mary's personal devotee and outwardly theatrical troubadour of the Virgin. The intimate tone in the songs is apparent in many miracle songs and it is proclaimed almost immediately in the collection. In Prologue B Alfonso writes: "I wish from this day forth to be Her troubadour, and I pray that She will have me…from now on I choose to sing for no other lady, and I think thereby to recover all that I have wasted on the others."[63] Alfonso's self-granted title, "troubadour of the Virgin," was not novel. The well-known cleric-poet Berceo (1198–1268) was called the "*juglar de Santo Domingo de Silos*" and "*trovador de la Virgen*."[64] The Marian movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had a marked influence on the content of verse in Occitania and the Iberian Peninsula; many poets dedicated their energies to creating love poems for the Virgin.[65] However, there are factors that make Alfonso's treatment of the theme unique.

Alfonso's personal involvement in the multiple stages of composition, compilation, and performance is a distinguishing feature that surpasses the devotional efforts of other poets. Panel 1 of the illumination of *cantiga* 120 from the *Códice Rico* (Figure 1.2), a song of praise, stages Alfonso as an intermediary between Mary, on the one hand, and a group of dancers, musicians, and singers, on the other. Every tenth song is a *cantigas de loor*, a pattern that provided structural signposts to the song cycle and reminded readers of the role of Alfonso as the *Cantigas*' progenitor. Alfonso is commonly situated in the centre of the illustrated panels of the *cantigas de loor* in the T/F collection, a visual intercessor between groups of scribes, performers, courtiers, statues, and the prominent figure of the Virgin Mary and the Christ child. Both Joseph Snow and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez have concluded that Alfonso's visual proximity to the Virgin in the illuminations of T/F solidifies Alfonso's *trovador* persona, an identity that was equal parts king and performance artist.[66] In the imagaic performance of the monarch's voice and gestures resided the nexus of political and sacred power, a centrality that was reinforced in the actual performances of the *Cantigas* in the royal chapel of the cathedral where Alfonso would have occupied a prominent space among spectators and performers, the

63 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 2.

64 María Paz Hortega, "Presencia del juglar en España," in *La juglaresca. Actas del primer congreso internacional sobre la juglaresca*, ed. Manuel Criado de Val (Madrid: EDI–6, 1986), 124–25.

65 Rachel Golden Carlson, "Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Twelfth-Century Aquitanian *Versus*" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000), 2–4.

66 Snow, "Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona*," 305–16, and Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, "Iconografía evangélica en las Cantigas de Santa María," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: Seminary of Hispanic Medieval Studies, 1987), 53–80.

sepulchres and monumental statues of his parents, and the tabernacle of the statue of La Virgen de los Reyes.

This vision of a king residing at the fulcrum of religious and courtly power—protagonist, religious instructor, and intermediary between the eternal Mary and the temporal world—contrasted markedly with the political condition of Alfonso's reign at the time. The middle and late 1270s was a period of political turmoil. With challenges to his rulership mounting on a number of fronts—Castilian nobility, invading Benimerines, and his own family—and his efforts to obtain the title of Holy Roman Emperor coming to a head in 1275, the T/F manuscripts promote a narrative of Alfonsine authority and command.[67] Audiences would have been reminded of the king's skills as an energetic artist and a powerful monarch known for his acts of goodwill, military successes, and abilities to convert the infidel—all in alliance with the Virgin Mary. The performative action of the illustrations of the songs of praise provided Alfonso with the sacred and legal authority to forge a privileged relationship between Mary and the people of his realm.

Collaboration among scribes, musicians, and Alfonso is illustrated in Prologue B of the T manuscript. The illumination depicts the king directing the production team through processes of textual and performance reproduction of the *Cantigas* (Figure 1.3). It is interesting to note that, in the image, Alfonso references a manuscript while directing his scribes to copy down music and lyrics onto *rotuli*. As discussed earlier, the songs of the *Cantigas* were likely copied and stored onto these separate sheets as part of the process of distribution and development of the lyrics and music of the songs. Since production of *rotuli* was less expensive and more expedient than producing a bound manuscript, it would have been an important intermediary technique for compiling materials between manuscript editions.[68] The illumination from Prologue B confirms the theory that *rotuli* functioned as exempla for manuscript production and in the other direction toward performance as well. If we follow the visual narrative outward from Alfonso in the central panel, the image divulges a link between live performance (represented by musicians in the left-hand panel and singers in the right-hand panel) and textual culture (represented by *rotuli*). Although not a single *rotulus* containing songs from Alfonso's court is extant, we can be certain that *rotuli* were, at times, used to facilitate live presentation. In the Middle Ages many editions of "literary" texts were first composed on loose sheets in order that they could be spoken orally. This would have been especially true of romances and other works containing dialogic language that might require multiple orators to bring individual characters to life.[69] Additionally, vocalization would have taken place in the royal scriptorium itself. Once songs were written down on sheets and made their way to the scriptorium for transcription, scribes sang the verses as part of the process of copying; what they wrote was based

67 Jesús Montoya Martínez suggests that Alfonso may have offered the T and F manuscripts to Pope Gregory X to convince the pope to grant him the title in 1275. "El Códice de Florencia: una nueva hipótesis de trabajo," *Romance Quarterly* 33 (1986): 326–27.

68 Mettmann, "Algunas observaciones," 355–66; Parkinson, "False Refrains," 21–55.

69 Nodar Manso, *Teatro menor galaico-portugués (siglo XIII)*, 29.

Figure 1.3. Prologue B, *Cantigas de Santa Maria.* El Escorial, RBME, MS T-I-1 (*Códice Rico*), fol. 5r. Courtesy of RBME.

on what they *heard*, not always what they saw.[70] Performance was a powerful engine of cultural reproduction.

In the illumination to Prologue A, on the preceding verso folio, Alfonso instructs his scribes to copy the songs from his own exemplar onto blank *rotuli* (Figure 1.4). It is crucial to note that both this image and Prologue B indicate a process of copying from an exemplar (in manuscript and *rotuli* forms) onto *additional* sheets of *rotuli*, and not into a bound manuscript. Although some scholars have concluded that *rotuli* were technical apparatuses employed solely for purposes of producing manuscripts, this piece of visual evidence from the *Códice Rico* suggests an additional function.[71] In these cases, the intention of documenting music and lyrics on unbound rolls could only have been to support an active, perhaps widespread, performance culture.[72] T/F manuscripts testify to Alfonso's desire to disseminate the songs to a broad, diverse audience of listeners, viewers, and readers, through the multiplication of forms. Manuscript and public performances functioned symbiotically to reinforce the discursive powers of the *Cantigas*, and each informed the reception of the other. In the illuminations Alfonso is an actor playing multiple roles: teacher, interpreter, guide, and director. Although it is unlikely that the visual *mises-en-page* of T/F were designed to serve as stage directions for a *Cantigas* drama, the arrangement of elements in the illuminations and *capilla real* altar strongly suggests thematic links. Not unlike the illuminations, Alfonso the spectator would have sat near the action of the sung narratives or acts of praise (if not on the altar itself), occupying an intermediate space between audience and action.

A central theme expressed in the songs of Alfonso's colonial theatre was conversion, which can be found in songs across the collection. Like most songs from the collection, *cantiga* 170 ("We should praise her who always does good and in whom all moderation lies") conforms to Andalusi poetic structure. Cantiga 170 from the T codex exemplifies the manner in which stagings and performative readings existed in a double helix relationship to generate the motif of transformation. The entire song of praise reads:

> This is the Mother of Our Lord, Holy Mary, who always is the most excellent. Therefore we should praise Her, and we can never praise Her enough.
>
> Because, in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us in flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels?
>
> In the name of God, she should be devoutly praised by everyone in the world, for some She saves, others win pardon, and She brings peace to the world.
>
> She who always takes away evil and brings good and prays for us and keeps us and defends us from the wicked devil should be praised above all things.

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70 Alphonse Dain identifies recitation as a crucial step during transcription from exemplar into a manuscript. Dain, *Les manuscrits* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1975), 40–46. See also J. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Heffer, 1945), 13.

71 Mettmann, "Algunas observaciones," 355–66, and Parkinson, "False Refrains," 21–55.

72 David Wulstan asserts that the To manuscript may have incorporated sheets of existing *rotuli*, which implies that *rotuli* containing music and verse may well have been produced without a concept of future binding. "The Compilation of the *Cantigas* of Alfonso el Sabio," in *Cobras e son*, 168.

Figure 1.4. Prologue A, Cantigas de Santa Maria. El Escorial, RBME, MS T-I-1 (Códice Rico), fol. 4v. Courtesy of RBME.

> As for me, I swear I will praise Her as long as I live and will always speak well of Her blessings, for I know for certain that when I die I shall see Her face.[73]

Many T/F illuminations are organized in frames reminiscent of modern graphic novels, and the sequence of images (1–6, left to right, top to bottom) tell a chronological narrative. However, in most of the *cantigas de loor* in the T/F collection, including the miniatures that accompany *cantiga* 170, a different visual logic is at work. In these cases, the stack of miniatures offers the reader/viewer thematic correlatives to the verses of the songs. The first frame of *cantiga* 170 (Figure 1.5) corresponds rather loosely to the refrain and the first stanza of the poem.

The next miniature introduces a theme nowhere mentioned in the poem—the Virgin helping the poor and destitute—and connects obliquely to the line about bringing "peace to the world." The "rank of angels" mentioned in the second stanza is visually reinscribed in frames 2 and 5. The sacrifice of Christ in the second stanza is acknowledged only later in the illumination, in frame 4. As the eyes of the reader jump between text and image, she composes an original drama of image-text that unravels on the folio page. If the reader-viewer follows the sequence of images from left to right, top to bottom, the miniatures disrupt and complicate the meaning of the verse, which rehearses well-worn tropes of Marian worship and is not particularly compelling on its own. The re-sequencing and interpolation of pictures incites the imagination of the reader-viewer participating in the creative act of worship.

The images of *cantiga* 170 resonates with themes and lyrical expressions of faith: transubstantiation and the synecdoche of spiritual and earthly spheres. In the passage "in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us in flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels?" we are reminded of the physical realization of spirit, which is juxtaposed with a visual narrative of the transmogrification of Christ's tortured body on the opposing leaf. Taken on their own, the procession of images map performative transformation of physical matter into spiritual presence, and back again. In frame 1 Alfonso directs his courtier's attention to a scene of Mary's benevolent actions in the adjacent frame. In frame 2, Mary inhabits full human form and is escorted by two angels. Frame 3 returns the reader-viewer's attention to Alfonso, who now shares the page space with a life-sized statue of Mary and Jesus. This particularly large rendering of the statue is unique in all the T illuminations. Like the life-like proportions of the doll/statue La Virgen de los Reyes elevated above the altar in the royal chapel of the cathedral, the human-scale Mary statue in *cantiga* 170 sits on an elevated platform.

In the context of the sequence of images, Mary is in a transitional stage in panel 3, between human and statue forms. Identically attired, Mary is framed by a pair of angels, which refers the reader/viewer back to Her human incarnation in frame 2 and forward to Her statue form in frame 6. The formal presentation of Mary in frame 3 is like the

73 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 205. The refrain (the first line in italics) is written at the beginning of the song and repeated five times throughout, after each stanza. First person references are common throughout the songs of praise and represent the voice of the king.

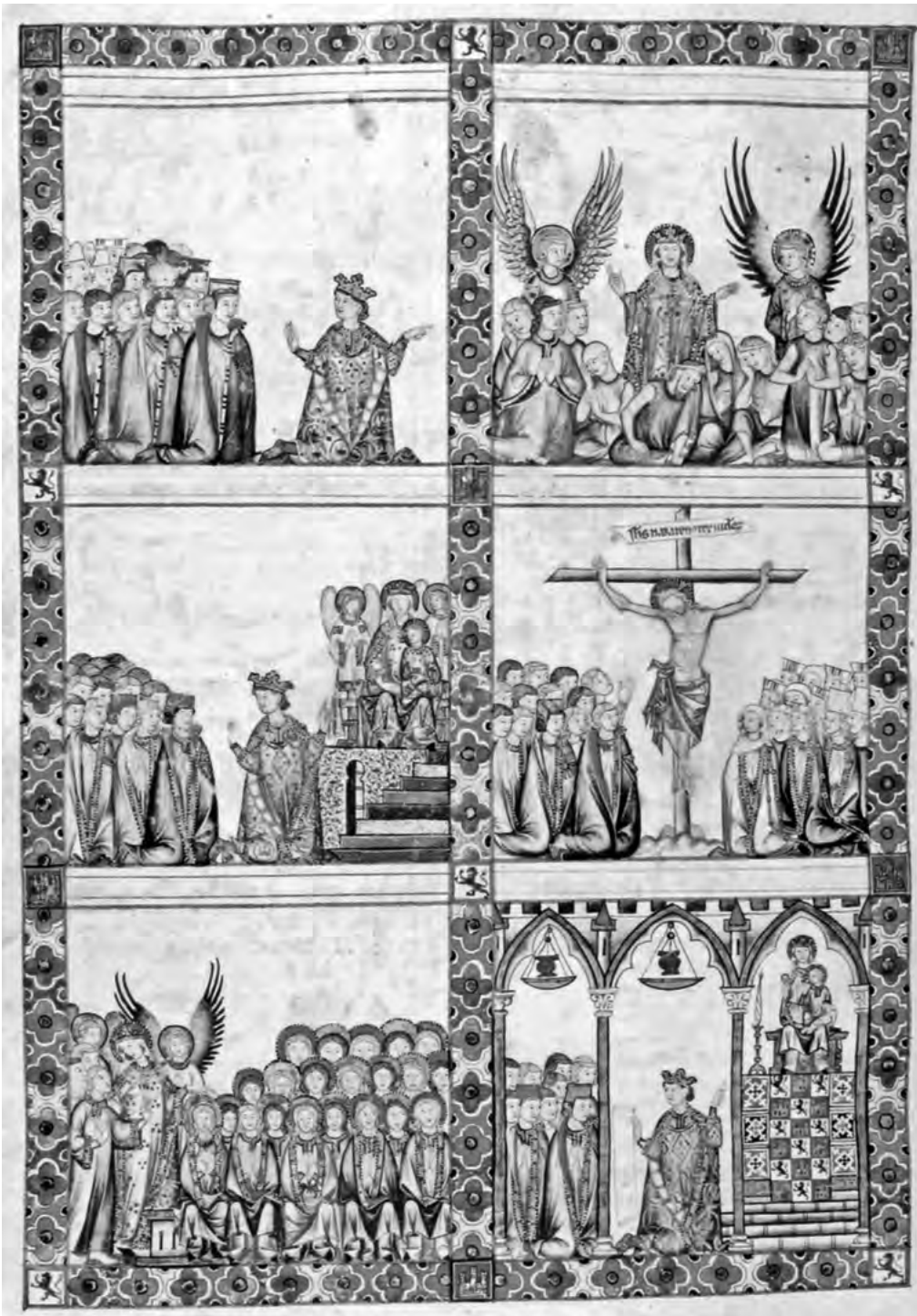

Figure 1.5. Illumination of cantiga 170, Cantigas de Santa Maria. El Escorial, RBME, MS T-I-1 (Códice Rico), fol. 227v. Courtesy of RBME.

smaller image of the Mary and Jesus statue in frame 6 (this visual coda appears many times in the *Cantigas*). In frame 5 Mary temporarily reverts to corporal form, and then, under the direction of Alfonso, She completes Her transformation in the final frame, revealing the typical statue image that recalls the actual Virgin statues of the Seville cathedral and those found in churches and shrines across the Peninsula.[74] In the final frame, a hybrid spiritual/corporeal presence of Mary haunts the folio page as Alfonso re-enters the visual narrative. Alfonso maintains the same posture and intentional gesture throughout, reinforcing his status as spiritual mediator. The last line of the song—"I [Alfonso] swear I will praise Her as long as I live and will always speak well of Her blessings, for I know for certain that when I die I shall see Her face"—restates the theme of doubling and transformation. The face of the Mary to which he ritually prays—the doll/statue Virgen de los Reyes in the *capilla real*—is the *same* face he will see when he dies: the resurrected incarnation of Mary. Alfonso knows his body will reside in the chapel with the remains of his parents and an articulated Virgin statue that was designed for devotional theatre and play. Two figures become one in the metonymic rehearsal of juxtaposition and repetition.

In his final appearance in the illumination, Alfonso is holding a *rotulus* in his right hand, offering for the reader/viewer insight into the gestational moment of the song. The illumination to *cantiga* 170 is a metatheatrical mechanism linking three hypertextual layers: the Immaculate, uncorrupted body of the heavenly Mother with her consort of angels, Alfonso the stage manager mediating the audience's reception of Mary's graces in theatrical space, and the genesis of the songs on paper and again rehearsed on stage. Mary is figuratively and affectively linked to the Passion of Christ in the present moment of performance, whether we interpret performance to mean a readerly engagement with manuscript or aural and kinaesthetic staging in the sacred space of the royal chapel. The conversion of Mary from inanimate matter to fleshy impersonation implies that, like Mary in Her heavenly incarnation, representations of the Virgin—painted, plastic, and textual—possess powers to effect change in the world and deserve no less praise. As M. J. Baudinet writes, "*metamorphosis*, this is the name that designates both the glory of the resurrected body and the work of the spectator's gaze on the icon."[75] In this respect, it was the work of the audience in the *capilla real*—their gaze on the miraculous metamorphosis of Mary enhanced by their faith in her omnipotence—that gave life to the songs and to the figural simulations that populated the altar.

Gautier de Coinci's thirteenth-century collection of Marian songs, the *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, has been identified as a probable model for the *Cantigas* for its stories and lyrical and narrative structures. The artists of the illuminations to the manuscript

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

75 M. J. Baudinet, "The Face of Christ, the Form of the Church," in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part One*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone, 1989), 151.

included images of Virgin Mary statues coming to life, but they "very careful to depict a separate divine manifestation as the enactor of the miracle rather than the statue itself."[76] The illuminations of the T/F manuscripts of the *Cantigas,* on the other hand, contain many images of Marian statues performing miracles in the stead of a spiritual presence of the Virgin. The contrast between the two collections speaks to Alfonso's particular sensitivity to the innate thaumaturgy of statues. For instance, in the illumination to *cantiga* 4, a Jewish boy witnesses a statue of Mary miraculously come to life to provide communion. Later in the story the Virgin saves the boy from death at the hands of his father, and the boy converts to Christianity. *Cantiga* 297 produces a defence of image worship and belief in the powers of statues to heal: "His great power is such that it can act through that thing which He deems worthy to be thus empowered. This is the true reason why the one who sincerely believes finds power in a statue." When an "insolent and foolhardy" friar accuses the king of believing in the "power in carved wood," Alfonso doesn't respond with a theological defence based on ontological differences between earthy renderings and their subjects. Rather, he commits to a concept of spiritual and material oneness, simply stating the friar "disbelieves in Her."[77]

The *Cantigas* abounds with examples of the supernatural powers of Mary statues. *Cantiga* 9 relates a miracle when the image of the Virgin painted on a tablet assumes flesh. In *cantiga* 25 a statue of Mary gives testimony on behalf of a Christian who had given her image as bond to a Jewish money lender. *Cantiga* 42 relates the story of a boy who places a ring on a statue of Mary and pledges devotion to her. Later Mary upbraids him in a dream for marrying another woman. The Virgin of Arrixaca, represented in the miniature to *Cantiga* 169 as a statue, has the power to turn back Moorish armies assaulting a converted mosque-cathedral in Murcia. *Cantiga* 196 tells of a pagan idol transformed into the image of Mary and Child. *Cantiga* 345 relates the story of the Moors of Jerez removing "the statue made in Her likeness" from the chapel to burn it. At the very moment Mary *the statue* rushes out of the burning chapel to save Jesus *the statue* from immolation, a vision of the Virgin appears and speaks to Queen Violante and Alfonso in their sleep. Later, after the monarchs awake and realize that the castle of Jerez was lost to Muslim forces, King Alfonso sends forces, recaptures the town, and the statue of the Virgin is returned to the chapel in a large procession. There is no mention of the statue transforming into human form; Mary and Jesus are simply statues and living beings at once, and it is through the medium of Alfonso's dreaming body that the movement from one state to the other takes place.[78]

It is remarkable that Alfonso associated himself so intimately with the mechanics of miraculous transformation. In the songs of praise, he has cast himself as a necessary part of the process of performative conversion. Throughout the illuminations to T and

76 Anna Russakoff, "The Role of the Image in an Illustrated Manuscript of Les Miracles de Notre-Dame by Gautier de Coinci: Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale 551," *Manuscripta* 47–48 (2004): 135–44.

77 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 360.

78 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 420–21.

F, Mary's actions proceed from Alfonso's efforts to animate her through words, praise, and iconography. Disguised in his *trovador* persona, Alfonso partially camouflages his involvement and intervention into mystical processes. In the dramatic re-representation of miraculous events, Alfonso enacts a kind of theatrical withdrawal from the sacred. However, the performative effect is clear, made more present through thematic repetition across the collection. Alfonso's performance of an agent of conversion gains credibility through the sheer weight of reproduction across the formal spectrum of the manuscripts, both for reader/viewers and audiences. Alfonso's thematic exploration of transformation occurred in two separate, dialogic theatres: the space of a readerly engagement with the manuscripts and the embodied performances of the songs in the Sevillian mosque-cathedral. Reading, viewing, listening, watching, and attending were co-creative activities, in which each crucially influenced the conception, execution, and reception of the other.

At some point, work on the F manuscript was abruptly abandoned, leaving its illustrations half-finished. Near the end of Alfonso's life, work on the E codex began. The *Códice de los músicos* is the most complete of all the surviving *Cantigas* manuscripts, containing nearly all the *cantigas de loor*, *cantigas de miragre*, and *cantigas de festa* of the earlier collections, plus several new feast songs. The positional prominence of *cantigas de festa* suggests they had begun to form a liturgical music repertory of their own.[79] Significantly, all the songs of E have musical notation, whereas the prior manuscript project, F, has none. The imminent death of the king would have spurred the rapid production of a collection that was musically and lyrically complete. Unlike the artistically fine illuminations of T, the miniatures in E do not complement the themes of the verses they accompany. Rather, each of the forty *cantigas de loor* are accompanied by simple miniatures of musicians playing a remarkable variety of instruments. Amendments to the poems and music previously recorded in To, T, and F are evident in E, and as Joseph Snow observes, Alfonso continued to exert editorial control.[80] The comprehensiveness of E also indicates that it was intended to serve as a notational exemplar from which musicians and singers could copy the music and lyrics onto *rotuli*. Musical and poetic emendations in E may reflect refinements made in live performance, however, in some cases errors were made in transcription from one volume to the next.[81]

E's relationship to performance was essentially prescriptive. The creation of the *Códice de los músicos* coincided with the rise of the importance of manuscript dissemination of polyphonic and vernacular monophonic song in thirteenth-century Europe, when "music was increasingly being viewed as a written product of the well-established scrip-

79 The songs for Marian feast days (Nativity, Annunciation, Virginity, Purification and Assumption) are bound into the first twelve folios of the E manuscript, followed by 400 miracle songs and songs of praise. Laura Fernández Fernández, "*Este livro, com' achei, fez á onr' e á loor da virgen Santa Maria*: El proyecto de las Cantigas de Santa María en el marco del escritorio regio. Estado de la cuestión y nuevas reflexiones," in *Alfonso X El Sabio 1221–1284: Las Cantigas de Santa María*, vol. 2, *Códice Rico* (Madrid: Colección scriptorium, 2011), 43–78.

80 Snow, "Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona*," 307.

81 Parkinson and Jackson, "Collection, Composition, and Compilation," 168–72.

torium industry."[82] The E manuscript, in its simplicity and completeness, was designed as a reservoir for wide promulgation of the *Cantigas* repertory. Alfonso, who suffered periods of serious illness throughout the second half of his reign, was likely motivated to concretize his post-mortem presence in the performance repertory as chief poet and *régisseur*. The work on E was done during the same period that Alfonso wrote his second will, which contains instructions for performances of the songs of praise in the mosque-cathedral after his death.

As was the standard practice for troubadour song in European courts at the time, the development and distillation of musical and narrative ideas and of motifs in the four *Cantigas* manuscripts occurred prior to manuscript production. Development of metrical, tonal, and theatrical complexity required intensive processes of musical experimentation.[83] Considering the cultural specificity and artistic originality of the *Cantigas*, we can state with confidence that the unfolding of verse and musical forms in the *Cantigas* took place within a network of physical, vocal, and instrumental rehearsing and playing. Like modern stage directions in which playwrights extend directorial control over plays in production, the miniatures in E encourage the manuscript user—presumably the cantor of the cathedral—to employ a diverse selection of musical instruments, but without assigning individual instruments to specific songs.

Lyrical and musical differences among the four editions of the *Cantigas* represented more than incidental transcription errors. Multiplex processes of composition, rehearsal, transference, transmutation, and recomposition, famously termed *mouvance* by Paul Zumthor, describes the inherent instability and mobility of medieval poetry.[84] Variations were a result of performance practices; *juglares* were not only responsible for disseminating verse and musical culture, they intervened in the development and creation of these works and court poets often welcomed improvisation (while others attempted to limit variation).[85] The speaking and singing voice was a necessary, integrative component of medieval poetic culture, and it helped shape both the content and presentation of poetic works. While mostly undocumented and historically invisible, components in the creation of poetic texts, rehearsal and performance contributed to the creation of manuscripts that on the surface, appear to be the exclusive product of poets.

Although the *Cantigas* resided at the fulcrum of social ritual and theatre in postconquest Seville during the second half of the thirteenth century, at the very centre of *Cantigas* scholarship resides a deep absence of historical documentation of live performance. But the gap in the archive might have an explanation. The extratextual, fluid, and non-

82 John Haines, "Erasure in Thirteenth-Century Music," in *Music and Medieval Manuscripts: Paleography and Performance*, ed. John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 72.

83 "[M]usical performance was inherently an act of composition or recomposition." Susan Boynton, "Women's Performance of the Lyric before 1500," in Medieval *Woman's Song: Cross-Cultural Approaches*, ed. Anne L. Klinck and Ann Marie Rasmussen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 47.

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

85 Van Vleck, *Memory and Re-Creation*, 44–55.

binding quality of live theatre had the capacity to skirt ecclesiastic and juridical norms and provided Alfonso with a peripatetic mechanism for advancing Christian ideals to a broad cross-section of the Sevillian population. The imperial goals of the Castilian court on the Andalusian frontier were bolstered by the wide dissemination of the *Cantigas* in a plurality of forms, producing a vision of a diverse society united under the omnipotent powers of the crown and its spiritual guide, the Mother of God. The dispersal of these narratives across Christian, *mudéjar*, and Jewish communities was facilitated by a restless, ephemeral, and ultimately undocumentable performance culture.

Transformations: Colonization of Bodies and Spaces

The first three quarters of the thirteenth century was a period of rapid gains of Muslim Taifa territory by Christian Castile-León during the *Reconquista*. Of all the Andalusi cities captured by the Castilians during this period, Seville was the largest and most economically viable. Alfonso X took the throne four years after his father captured Seville, in 1252, and continued to wage war against Islamic al-Andalus, albeit with far less success than his predecessors. In 1255 Alfonso besieged and captured Jérez, Arcos, and Lebrija, and throughout his reign he was challenged to protect these and other cities in the south. Alfonso's military goals were not limited to the Iberian Peninsula, though. In an apparent strategy to win the title of Holy Roman Emperor, he sought crusade indulgences from the Pope to invade Northern Africa.

Alfonso "El Sabio" is also known, of course, for his nearly unmatched intellectual and artistic projects, many of which required close interaction with non-Christians. Under the guidance of the Toledo archdiocese, the royal enterprise of translating the Arabic scientific and philosophical library into Latin had been ongoing from 1100. Alfonso recognized the political advantages of establishing a Sevillian school of translation of Islamic and Greek materials independent of Toledo's archdiocese and under his own control.[86] Alfonso's promotion of Castilian over Latin as the target language for translation, and his stewardship of the study of astronomy, Ptolemaic cosmology, mathematics, and other Arabic texts greatly magnified Castilian intellectual culture. A well-known performance/literary text to come out of the Alfonsine court was a Castilian version of the *Kalila wa-Dimna,* originally a Sanskrit collection of fables that arrived on the Peninsula in the Middle Ages in Arabic form. In this context, it is no surprise that Alfonso shaped the capacities of the scriptorium to include intercultural interaction and then enacted this notion with the theatrical project of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.

There has been a historiographic tendency to describe late medieval Spain as a devolution from a more innocent time of tolerance. The era of persecutions of religious minorities inaugurated in the late fourteenth century could be construed as the culmination of centuries of Christian ascendancy on the Peninsula, of which Alfonso X was a crucial part. On the other hand, Alfonso's embrace of multiculturalism marks a sig-

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

nificant departure from the story of Muslim and Jewish dissolution in Spain. As Simon Doubleday points out, Alfonso X was a ruler of contradiction, a king who was "a vigorous proponent of Reconquest," who ruled during a period when "symbiosis and interaction between Christianity and Islam seem in certain respects to reach their apex."[87] Still, these contradictions do little to explain Alfonso's moral character, for good or for bad, since decisions made regarding relations with non-Christians on the Peninsula during the Alfonsine period were born also out of political and economic necessity. Although the living situations for Jews and Muslims residing in Christian domains significantly changed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, total subjugation of the *mudéjar* population in Andalusia was unrealistic. Conditions for Jewish communities, on the other hand, were determined by local economic and social vicissitudes and by the shifting dispositions of Castilian monarchs toward Jews. Although the Fourth and Seventh parts of the *Siete Partidas* clearly demarcate juridical boundaries among Moorish, Christian, and Jewish religious and social communities, the promulgation of these laws occurred almost a century after they were drafted in Alfonso's chancellery. After the fall of Islamic Seville, economic necessity dictated a moderate approach in administering colonial communities and subjects.

Alfonso's policies, artistic output, historical and scientific writing, and translation projects came out of the Toledo tradition of coexistence established by Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. Like his intellectual mentor, Alfonso was concerned with wresting land and power away from Muslim hegemony and inserting notions of crusade into the struggle of the Christian kingdoms with Islam. At the same time, Alfonso (and Jiménez de Rada) demonstrated an interest in maintaining productive, non-violent relations with Muslims and Jews. This suggests that a degree of *Convivencia* may not have been the ideal situation from a religious standpoint, but it was a practical solution to the vagaries and necessities of colonial life. The broad historical movements of *Reconquista* creatively incorporated crusade ideology into the justification of colonial expansion and were mobilized by a strain of evangelization that looked to conversion rather than obliteration as the way to accomplish the short-term goals of Castile and the long-term, enduring proposition of universal Christianity. Alfonso has often been memorialized as a champion of multiculturalism, but his artistic and scholarly engagements with Islamic culture were, to a large extent, positioned to rule the Muslim population in Christian Andalusia through ongoing use of Andalusi forms in Christian contexts.

An estimated 300,000 Muslims lived in regions with Christian landlords in al-Andalus in the middle of the thirteenth century. From the fall of Seville until the middle of the fourteenth century this number declined precipitously, most Muslims emigrating to Granada or northern Africa. According to the *Primera Crónica General*, 100,000 Muslims withdrew from Seville in 1248.[88] The loss of nearly half of the city's population threatened to decimate the Sevillian economy, inducing the Castilian crown to institute a redistribution of the properties (houses, vineyards, lands, and olive groves) to Chris-

87 Doubleday, "O que foi passar a serra," 197.

88 Joseph O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 461.

tian settlers from Castile, Galicia, Portugal, Navarre, and Cataluña, the details of which are drawn up in the *Libro de Repartimiento*.[89] The same is true of the conquest of other Andalusi cities in the mid-thirteenth century, including Jerez de la Frontera, Lebrija, and Jaén. Four years after the fall of Muslim Seville, redistribution activities reached their peak. Parochial cells were organized around converted mosques to further stabilize the community. These actions were important since postconquest Seville occupied a strong military position near the borders of al-Andalus from which newly colonized territories were defended and campaigns into Muslim territory were inaugurated.

The Christian monarchy and nobility assumed a tolerant attitude toward the Moorish inhabitants who remained in Seville after 1248 in order to keep the fragile economic and social life intact.[90] Muslims living in Castile (*mudéjares*) were allowed to practise their faiths and, throughout the thirteenth century, calls to prayer from mosques could be heard across Castilian cities.[91] The spatial segregation of a Jewish or Muslim neighbourhood (variously called the *aljāma*, *judería*, or *morería*) in Christian cities continued from previous times, and legal postures of limited religious and social tolerance were maintained in the cultural life of Seville. In practice, Castilian laws of segregation were only sporadically enforced, or could be evaded for a price, and boundaries between religious neighbourhoods remained porous. For instance, Alfonso X required Jews and Muslims who owned houses outside the *aljāmas* to pay tithes to the crown.[92] Alfonso relied on Jewish financiers and Muslim, *Morisco*, *mudéjar*, and Old Christian stonemasons, carpenters, and craftsman to rebuild Seville after conquest. The massive political and religious realignment of the thirteenth century also had the effect of fortifying boundaries between religious groups. For instance, dress codes requiring Muslims to keep their hair cut short and their beards long, and forbidding them to wear brightly coloured clothing (red, vermillion, and green clothing, and white or gilded shoes) were enacted in 1252—at the start of Alfonso's reign—by the Castilian *cortes*.[93] Although Castilian laws governing interreligious contact and behaviours of non-Christians applied to northern Castile and frontier towns alike, the tenor and quality of life for a Muslim living in the Sevillian colony differed from communities in the north, where long histories of coexistence stabilized relations.

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89 Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1951).

90 Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (July 1993): 518.

91 Alan Forey, "The Crown of Aragón," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, ed. Michal Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 616–17.

92 ACS, caja 5, no. 48, quoted from Jonathan Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 49. *Aljāma*, a Spanish word derived from the Arabic word for community, referred to communities of Jews or Muslims. *Judería* and *morería* referred to physical neighbourhoods.

93 O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 463. The *cortes* was a representative parliamentary body made up of nobles and merchant bourgeoisie.

Of the four conceptions of Muslim life under Christian rule, Muslims living in newly conquered regions were pragmatic and thought about the possibility of *mudéjar* life as a form of compromise. Still, a sense of irreconcilable loss hung over the communities of conquered cities, as vividly expressed in the Arabic poem "Lament for the Fall of Seville" by Abu al-Baqa' al-Rundi (d. 1285). Lines 16–27 read:

> The evil eye has struck [the Peninsula] in its Islam so that [the land] decreased until whole regions and districts were despoiled of [the faith]
>
> Therefore ask Valencia what is the state of Murcia; and where is Jativa, and where is Jaén?
>
> Where is Córdoba, the home of the sciences, and many a scholar whose rank was once lofty in it?
>
> Where is Seville and the pleasures it contains, as well as its sweet river overflowing and brimming full?
>
> [They are] capitals which were the pillars of the land, yet when the pillars are gone, it may no longer endure!
>
> The tap of the white ablution fount weeps in despair, like a passionate lover weeping at the departure of the beloved,
>
> Over dwellings emptied of Islam that were first vacated and are now inhabited by unbelief;
>
> In which the mosques have become churches wherein only bells and crosses may be found.
>
> Even the mihrabs weep though they are solid; even the pulpits mourn though they are wooden!
>
> Oh you who remain heedless though you have a warning in Fate: if you are asleep, Fate is always awake!
>
> And you who walk forth cheerfully while your homeland diverts you [from cares], can a homeland beguile any man after [the loss of] Seville?
>
> This misfortune has caused those that preceded it to be forgotten, nor can it ever be forgotten for the length of all time![94]

Most educated, elite Muslims migrated to Granada or North Africa after Christians captured Andalusi cities, but the *mudéjar* communities that remained intentionally preserved oral and written Arabic to maintain cultural ties to sacred traditions.[95] Only out of necessity did Muslims learn Castilian and Catalan vernaculars. The identity transformation from "Andalusi Muslim" to "*mudéjar*" would not have been instant, in either the minds of the Christian colonizers or the Muslims living close to the frontier and under

94 English text from James T. Monroe, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: A Student Anthology* (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2004), 332–4.

95 Wacks, *Framing Iberia*, 213.

Christian rule, as evidenced in Muslim revolts in newly conquered cities and towns in Andalusia. The 1252 laws designed to regulate outward signs of difference appear to be an attempt to resolve the ambiguity surrounding the identity of Muslims living in recently conquered Islamic cities. The cultural and social life of Seville during the second half of the thirteenth century was tentative and fluid.

During Alfonso's reign, Seville and Toledo were competing homes to the Castilian court. Alfonso spent a significant amount of time in Seville, and in 1281 he went into exile and moved the court there permanently. When he died in 1284, Alfonso's body was interred in the *capilla real* of the Seville mosque-cathedral. In life and in death Alfonso endeavoured to extricate himself from the powerful influence of the Toledo archdiocese and rebellious nobles and family members by establishing Seville as a locus of power.[96] Seville, not Toledo, became the meeting place for Andalusi Muslim kings, potentates, and Alfonso's court. Ibn al-Ahmar, ruler of the Emirate of Granada (1237–1273), made annual pilgrimages to Seville to renew his homage to the Castilian Crown. Not only did Alfonso establish a *studium generale* (university of Arabic and Latin studies) in Seville shortly after his coronation in 1254, he also relocated the *Cantigas* project from Toledo to Seville in the middle of compilation and scribal production of the F and E manuscripts.[97] The relocation of the project imparted vital resources to the Andalusian city, and by transplanting the materials of the scriptorium and the combined talents of scribes, copyists, illustrators, musicians, dancers, and *trovadores* to Seville, Toledo was deprived of the same. In the context of the colonial dynamics of resignification of sacred and civic space, what emerges from the complex processes of composition, rehearsal, transmission, and performance of the *Cantigas* repertory was a hallucinatory enactment of Christian universality threaded into an urban society that was far from coherent.

Alfonso in Seville stood at a juncture between the ideological imperatives of *Reconquista* and the practical needs to administer and safeguard colonized cities.[98] This shift toward the latter is manifested in the *Cantigas*, where stories of religious conflicts are concerned with the suppression of revolts, rather than with past military triumphs. Within the context of *Reconquista* ideology—where Christians understood Muslim culture as a distinct strand of Iberian culture—the *Cantigas* initiate an intentional engagement with Muslim musical, poetic, and performance forms, setting the stage, in the fourteenth century, for a "complex transformative moment in the cultural history of Iberia, a moment where Arabic is not easily separable from the other strands of medieval culture, where it is often a part of a tight weave—as opposed to a proposed foreign 'influence.'"[99] In architecture, textiles, clothing, and design the tight weave of multiculturalism was

96 O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 381; and Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1901), 3.

97 Wulstan, "Compilation of the *Cantigas*," 173–74.

98 José Antonio Maravall, "La idea de la Reconquista en España durante la Edad Media," *Arbor* 101 (1954): 269–87, and O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain*, 4–7.

99 María Rosa Menocal, "Visions of al-Andalus," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6.

expressed in the development of Mudejar design and architecture, a revamping of preconquest Andalusi creative powers at their height. The *Cantigas* operated similarly by reproducing Islamic performance arts in the context of Christian Mariology, while retaining much of the character of the original forms. Alfonso's profound investment is evinced by the many miracle stories linked to specific Peninsular Marian shrines and narratives about the colonial subjects of the expanding Castilian empire—Muslims living in the Christian realm and those existing beyond in Andalusia.[100] By collecting, rearranging, and recontextualizing preconquest artistic resources, Alfonso's *Cantigas* contributed to a transformation of Seville from a city of conquest to colonization, and from colonization to a vision of seamless Christian practice and faith.

Robert Burns, Amy Remensnyder, and Francisco Prado-Vilar have analyzed the songs and images as tools for evangelization and conversion.[101] The investigation of the songs as colonial *theatre*, however, is novel. Performance historians have written about the ambivalences of theatrical cultural production in the colonial setting, often relying on the foundational work of Homi Bhabha. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha theorizes the unresolvable contradiction of the life of colonized subjects, a dialectical notion where the subject is bound in their social position of powerlessness but may still find opportunities for agency within that oppressive system.[102] For instance, the performing body, voice, and kinaesthetic powers of a colonized subject, fixed in an identity of alterity, have the capability to represent or commemorate the lost culture of the vanquished (yet still living) people. Particularly in the mercurial arts of live theatre, which, unlike texts, are difficult for the metropolitan audiences and administrators to surveil and suppress, the colonial actor can reimagine and enact revival and perhaps an alternative vision of society. On the other hand, colonial actors also do the bidding of the dominant group. Contradictions like these arise in the theatre of the *Cantigas*. Like the Muslim craftspeople employed to design and construct Mudejar palaces in the fourteenth century, Alfonso employed Muslim musicians for the promulgation of the *Cantigas*. The use of popular Islamic poetic forms like the *zajal* would have been recognizable and attractive to Muslims and *Moriscos*, suggesting survival and ongoing practice of Islam in Christian society.[103] On the other hand, the rearticulation of Muslim poetic and musical forms in dogmatic stories of Castilian hegemony was the theatrical component of cultural imperialism, amplified through the spaces of the converted mosque-cathedral of Seville.

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100 Snow, "The Central Role of the Troubadour *Persona* of Alfonso X," 306.

101 Amy Remensnyder, "The Colonization of Sacred Architecture: The Virgin Mary, Mosques, and Temples in Medieval Spain and Early Sixteenth-Century Mexico," in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 189–219; Robert Burns, "Christian–Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 1386–434; and Francisco Prado-Vilar, "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 67–100.

102 Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

103 Pedro Ferreira, "The Medieval Fate of the Cantigas," 295–353.

Must cultural production in a colony like Seville's in the late thirteenth century only be characterized as two dichotomous forces occurring simultaneously? Thinking about colonial theatre phenomenologically suggests a more fluid, chaotic situation. Working from Merleau-Ponty, Emily Lee writes that emotional or psychological ambiguity (rather than ambivalence) has the capability to perceive and express rigid situations openly, particularly as a function of the somatic expression at play.[104] Humans have the capability to creatively work through seemingly totalizing or debilitating circumstances by choosing new meanings, the experience and expression of which occurs within the ambiguous flow of relations between human bodies and the indeterminate world. The creative arts amplify potential for phenomenological play between colonized and colonizer, and I suggest that when thinking about the *Cantigas* in performance we recognize that the ambiguous status of Muslim performers carved out a space for imaginative communication that looked forward optimistically as much as reflecting nostalgically on the past.

In the 1280s, when Alfonso's workshop was situated in Seville, the songs produced in the later manuscripts (F and E) reference a great many more Iberian locales than do the early codices (To and T). The rise of Seville's strategic prominence corresponded to the increase of pan-Iberian citations of Marian shrines. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal argues that the increase of citations to Iberian Marian shrines (eighty in total across the collection) served to encourage resettlement along the frontier.[105] Newly conquered towns and communities are featured in the *cantigas de miragre* particularly in the second half of the corpus, and Seville is mentioned in twenty-two of the songs in the second half of the repertory and only three times in the first half. Disseminating the songs through performance beyond the royal chapels of the Seville cathedral and Alcazar—and, in fact, beyond the walls of Seville itself—would have been an effective means of solidifying Christian identity in the Andalusian colonies. This was probably particularly the case in cities like Murcia where the Islamic population remained strong throughout the second half of the thirteenth century.[106]

The music, lyrics, and instrumentation of the *Cantigas* represent a novel blend of artistic elements from a variety of Castilian, Galician, Andalusi, and European cultures, and were unique in their use of the *zajal* poetic form. Historians have posited several reasons for the heterogeneity and originality (musical, lyrical, and thematic) of Alfonso X's collection of songs. I have avoided the use of the term "appropriation" to characterize the cultural work of the *Cantigas* since this would suggest that *zajal* and musical instruments played at court—like the *al-'ūd* and *rabāb*—were endemic Islamic cultural artifacts and stolen by Christian poets and musicians. However, as discussed in the

104 Emily Lee, "Postcolonial Ambivalence and Phenomenological Ambiguity: Towards Recognizing Asian American Women's Agency," *Critical Philosophy of Race* 4 (2016): 56–73.

105 Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, *La España del siglo XIII leída en imagenes* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1986), 21–22.

106 Murcia was a city that Alfonso held in great esteem throughout his life. Although he was entombed in the royal chapel of the Seville cathedral, this was not his first choice of burial site. He directed his survivors to lay his body at the monastery of Santa Maria in Murcia, "el primero logar que Dios quiso que ganásemos a seruicio de Él". Gonzalez Jimenez, *Diplomatario Andaluz*, 561.

introduction, Andalusi culture under Muslim Caliphs was not purely Islamic. Puppetry, storytelling, and, of course, musicianship in Muslim North Africa, Iberia, and the region we now call the Near East crossed confessional boundaries and were themselves adaptations of practices of even older societies. Muslims and Christians danced together in nonreligious contexts throughout the medieval period and into the early Renaissance, and intercultural exchange was especially fluid (and more difficult to document) in the performing arts. Despite the centuries-old interconnectedness of the cultures of Iberian Jews, Muslims, and Christians, in frontier society social and cultural distinctions were still pronounced due to religious and linguistic differences and spatial divisions of communities. Cross-cultural exchange and fusion would have been particularly potent in the mercurial, lived practice of theatre, which followed a set of social rules and paradigms that exceeded normative behaviours and mandates: skill in musicianship and dance, spatial cohabitation, and aural attentiveness. Playing and watching together in an arena of phenomenological communication cultivated social fusion.

In the *Cantigas* collection, fifty-one songs involve Moorish characters, and they are depicted in a range of ways—as military allies (*cantiga* 181), in moments of peaceful coexistence (95, 344, and 358), as fierce but respectable foes (46 and 215), and as a people vulnerable to demonic influence and capable of atrocities toward Christians and their icons (99, 169, 183, and 345). Of the fifty-one songs with Muslim characters, seven include a narrative of conversion of a Muslim sanctuary or soul (28, 46, 167, 192, 292, 328, and 345). In a few songs, Moors are depicted praising Mary or recognizing her powers and they often receive protection from the Virgin Mary for their insight. This should not come as a surprise. Maryam Bint Imran, mother of Isa and Jesus, is an exalted figure in Islam and is mentioned seventy times in the Quran. This interconfessional point of contact would have strengthened the efficacy of Marian songs and stories to convert the infidel. As Amy Remensnyder writes, "[t]hough Christian knights who warred against Muslims made her a patron of their conquests, they recognized that she belonged as much to Islam as to Christianity, a fact that created situations of complexity for members of both sides."[107] The later years of his reign, when Alfonso was more actively colonizing Andalusi territories and defending them from internal revolts and external invasions, was the period when the greatest number of songs with Moorish characters were composed. The musical theatre of the *Cantigas* was a means of redressing ongoing security issues in the colonies, or at least a means of relieving the anxiety of the court and Christian settlers.

Although the secular brotherhoods generally failed in their evangelical efforts to convert sectors of Muslim communities within the expanding Christian kingdom, the symbolic force of public conversion rituals cannot be underestimated. Robert Burns compiled abundant evidence pointing to the historical confluence of papal support for aggressive conversion tactics, crusader sentiment, and renewed proselytizing efforts of Franciscans and Dominicans—what Burns has termed "the thirteenth-century dream of conversion."[108] The conversion of Muslim rulers was an especially potent means of

107 Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora*, 7–8.

108 The Franciscan theologian Raymond Llull and Dominican priest Raymond of Penyafort

progressing Christian empire. Iberian kings understood the importance of baptizing Islamic potentates in public, and often conversions of Muslim rulers were incorporated into rites of surrender after the fall of a city.[109]

Prominent Muslims were not the only antagonists in the dramatization of this Iberian dream of conversion: in the Barcelona Disputation of 1263, Dominican interlocutors engaged with the scholar and philosopher Rabbi Nahmanides to demonstrate the authority of Christian readings of the Old Testament and the Talmud. The phenomenon of the conversion of many learned Jews during this period was followed by evangelizing effort by these converts in the communities of their former coreligionists. Conversion of Jews in medieval Spain and across Europe was part and parcel of Christian discourse of the end of days. As Steven Kruger writes, "Imagined millennial conversion identifies Jewishness with convertibility only at the moment when Judaism must disappear."[110] The Barcelona Disputation foreshadowed the increasing intolerance toward Jews on the Peninsula in the following centuries. In preaching activities, disputations, and baptisms, Christian superiority over minority religions was articulated through the powerful medium of public ceremony.

The size and strength of Jewish communities in Iberia varied greatly from city to city, and the attitudes and policies of Christian and Muslim administrations were equally diverse. The most prominent Jewish communities in Muslim Iberia were in Córdoba, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Málaga, Lucena, and Granada, and most of these communities remained intact when the cities fell to Christian powers (except, of course, Granada, which was conquered in 1492, the same year Jews were expelled from the Peninsula). Jews did not control territory and did not present a direct political challenge to either Muslim or Christian powers. Their segregated presence in Muslim and Christian controlled cities was, for the most part, tolerated by the dominant social group. Unlike Muslims, however, Castilian Jews were legally designated servants to the crown, assigned to the royal treasury, and often had close financial, intellectual, and advisory ties to Castilian royalty. The strength of this relationship can be seen in the crown's protection of the rights of Jews to own converted Muslim slaves, despite strident ecclesiastical objections.[111] Both Jewish and Christian traditions forbade intermarriage, and these bans were incorporated into Roman and canon law.[112] Jews also played a different economic

missionized along the Cataluña frontier and in North Africa. Burns, "Christian–Islamic Confrontation in the West," 1386–434.

109 Burns, "Christian–Islamic Confrontation in the West," 1392–94. For reasons of state, Abû Zayd, defeated *wālī* of Valencia and descendant of the great Almohad founder, kept his 1236 conversion to Christianity private until later in life, at which time his religious transformation was heralded in a bull by Pope Urban IV.

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

111 Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 71.

112 Joseph O'Callaghan, *The Learned King: The Reign of Alfonso X of Castile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 99–102.

role from Muslims in Christian Andalusia, working as artisans (in textiles, leather, and jewellery), tax officials, and doctors.

In the thirteenth century, tolerance of Jews in Christian Castile-León began to erode. Not coincidentally, the change in the political will of Christian monarchs was contemporaneous with the intensification of crusade ideology on the Peninsula. As Jeremy Cohen has noted, the increasing presence of mendicant orders during this period created an atmosphere that encouraged the reclassification of Jewish identity from an antithetical but necessary presence testifying to Christian legitimacy to a subset within a larger group of non-Christians (including Muslims and heretics), all of whom presented opportunities for conversion.[113] Both the *Fuero real* (royal codes) enacted in the *cortes* and the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso's administration devote significant attention to Jewish and Moorish communities living in the Christian kingdom, many of the laws of segregation and prohibition applying equally and simultaneously to both groups. In thirteenth-century Castile-León, Jews maintained certain economic ties to Christians, but the cultural borders separating Jews from Christians hardened through the institutionalization of regulations created to curtail the potential for Christian conversion to Judaism and Islam.

There are forty explicit mentions of Jews in the *Cantigas*, other than those made in reference to the Old Testament. Like Muslim characters featured in the *cantigas de miragre*, most songs about Jews lead to acts of conversion or to corporal punishment. While some songs contain the idea of inconvertibility as a cause for violence (4 and 6), others highlight the miraculous powers and graces of Mary to convert and save Jews (39, 85, 89, and 107). Demonstrating the gap between artistic narrative and historical reality, two songs relate stories of the conversion of synagogues to Christian spaces for worship (27 and 187). Alfonso's grant of three former Sevillian mosques to the Jewish community for use as synagogues, as well as grants of vineyards and urban houses to notable Jewish families of the northern cities, was a function of *repartimiento*. By the end of the century, Seville's Jewish *aljāma* had become one of the largest in Castile. The *Cantigas* suggests an inevitable progress toward Christian totality, although, in fact, Alfonso actively fostered Jewish religious practices in Seville by initiating mosque-to-synagogue conversions.[114]

Lucy Pick argues that the traditional cause-and-effect argument that thirteenth-century polemic texts inflamed the conversion movement may be overstated. She explains that anti-Jewish and Muslim disputations and polemics during this period were still preoccupied with Christian self-representation, and that these discourses were employed to help define Christian selfhood against the backdrop of the other. Pick writes that "the new attention paid to mission seems only to have enhanced its performative aspect… [m]ission, polemic, and disputation continued to confront nonbelievers with Christianity in order to reinforce the claims of the latter, but in ways that became increasingly

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

114 By the end of the century, Seville's Jewish *aljāma* had become one of the largest in Castile. Heather Ecker, "The Conversion of Mosques to Synagogues in Seville: The Case of the Mezquita de la Judería," *Gesta* 36 (1997): 190–207, and Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 18–19, 32.

more public."[115] According to this understanding, in his scholarly *Dialogus libri uite* and in the play *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, Archbishop Jiménez de Rada used performance in order to promote an anti-Jewish polemic, but in the end, conversion was not a crucial outcome. Whether or not we concur with Pick's argument that Jiménez de Rada had a hand in the creation of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, we should at least acknowledge that the performative power of the play was maximized by theatrical repetition, since religious *autos* were scheduled into the repertory season of the Christian calendar.[116] It was in this tradition of his father's court that Alfonso was schooled, and what emerged in the archive as fragmentary evidence for thirteenth-century Castilian theatre was expanded upon and reemphasized for colonial purposes in the grand project of the *Cantigas*. In contrast to the spectacles of the *Dialogus* and *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, literary and performative production in Seville required more persuasive methods, performances, and suggestions of conversion, and these spectacles were grounded in an amalgamation of Jews and Muslims as colonial others.

Conversion of the infidel, and all species of non-Christians, was a common theme in pan-European Christian literature in the High and late Middle Ages, and we should not be surprised by Alfonso's approach of universalizing Jewish and Muslim conversion discourse. The administration of the Andalusi colony was sustained by a manifold cultural venture that borrowed art, literature, and learning from non-Christian cultures and incorporating these into conversion narratives from pan-European sources. Alfonso "wanted to give a final form and unity to all disciplines: law, history, astronomy and other sciences, to the metres of poetry according to the different themes," in order to bind Spanish communities around the centralizing figure of an "emperor of culture"—himself.[117] Cultural imperialism was concomitant with the political imperialism that had historical roots in the projects of Alfonso VII of Castile-León, while it also looked forward to a hope of merging the ever-expanding Castilian realm with the Holy Roman Empire, "a Mediterranean unity of Christians and conquered Muslims."[118] The appearance of both Moorish and Jewish identity-in-conversion in the *Cantigas* may be in part due to the sheer size of a collection that encompasses so many aspects of religious, corporate, artistic, and daily life. During a historical period of intercultural ambivalence, the

115 Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 134.

116 The central argument of the *Dialogus*—that Jews disagree about their own beliefs—is mirrored in the closing passage of Jiménez de Rada's *Auto de los Reyes Magos*, where the Jewish characters argue about the meaning of the scriptures. The Jews function as representatives of a disunited *Synagoga*, and the theatricalization of the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* conveyed to the Castilian-speaking audience a defence of Christianity found in the Latin, scholarly *Dialogus*. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, 190–94.

117 Cayetano J. Socarrás, *Alfonso X of Castile: A Study on Imperialistic Frustration* (Barcelona: Hispam, 1976), 11.

118 Robert Burns, "Stupor Mundi: Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert Burns (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 12.

Cantigas stands out as setting an unambivalent standard that would succeed in some ways and fail in others.[119]

Several narratives in the *Cantigas* conglomerate non-Christians into a discourse of the other under the auspices of the conversion movement. Since many of the *cantigas de miragre* were derived from older, traditional miracle and Marian tales from both Iberian and pan-European cultures, the *Cantigas* cannot be relied upon to provide a complete or accurate picture of Iberian life at the time. However, they can tell us about the political will of the Alfonsine court. By far the most frequent narrative model of the *cantigas de miragre* is as follows: negative social types (frequently Moorish and Jewish characters) are set up as foils for the Holy Mother's intervention and, inevitably, the denouement re-establishing equilibrium and justice in Christian society. Moors and Jews who remain stubbornly intractable to Christian conversion are subjected to corporal immolation (*cantigas* 6 and 186). Fire is also used as a means for initiating conversion (*cantigas* 4 and 205). The bellicose and powerful roles ascribed to the Virgin across the *Cantigas* may indeed have been connected to her presence within converted Islamic sites of worship, since it was thought that Mary's virginal purity had the power to exorcize unclean demons from Muslim spaces and protect Christians from their Moorish enemies.[120] In both instances, purity of the Christian body was metonymically linked to the purity of Christian sacred space. As Prado-Vilar argues, in the seductive forms of performative propaganda of hegemonic Christianity: "the idea of what a good life is has been determined by others, the only choice left to the 'conquered subject' is either to 'gratefully' live it or become collateral damage in the great scheme of history."[121]

In the late medieval and early modern periods of Spanish history, ritual conversion to Christianity depended on successful public acts of religious assent, starting with baptism, and followed by catechism and developing habits of attire and diet: only in the presence of witnesses could two ontologically constructed poles of difference be bridged. It is no coincidence that in the majority of *cantigas de miragre* that contain Muslim and Jewish characters in the *Cantigas*, some manner of transformation takes place. At the end of the thirteenth century, when Islam, Judaism, and Christianity were still practised side-by-side, performances of conversion in the case studies of the miracle songs represented Alfonso's desire for imminent transformation.

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

120 Remensnyder, "Colonization of Sacred Architecture," 197–203.

121 Prado-Vilar, "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze," 73.

Although the strongest evidence of a performance locale for the *Cantigas* points to the *capilla royal*, the songs were likely performed in diverse social spaces: in the chapels and chambers of the court, in procession in and around the cathedral, and in open-air plazas. Like other medieval Iberian songbooks, popular musical and verse forms from the *Cantigas* were employed to communicate sacred ideas. For instance, the books of the twelfth-century *Codex Calixtinus* were compiled for the edification and entertainment of pilgrims of Santiago de Compostela, and like many of the *Cantigas*, the miracle songs from the *Calixtinus* cite particular urban locales and suggest performance at particular shrines.[122] Unlike the *Cantigas*, however, the miracle and liturgical songs of the *Calixtinus* are contained in separate books, carefully observing the boundary between ecclesiastic and parochial realms, at least on parchment. The fourteenth-century *Llibre Vermell* of Montserrat offers an even closer comparison, since both Marian anthologies are distinguished by formal hybridity. Like the *Cantigas*, the music of the songs from Montserrat are drawn from popular Iberian melodies but contain verses that are more doctrinaire than troubadour poetry. Additionally, the songs of the *Llibre Vermell* were performed in a liminal space that allowed for heterodox practices: a pilgrim's hostel that had been converted from a liturgical space. The 1399 manuscript contains instructions for performing the songs of worship:

> Since sometimes pilgrims, when they keep vigil in the church of Holy Mary in Montserrat, wish to sing and dance, and even in the street in daytime, but should sing there nothing but decent and pious songs, for that reason the various [songs] above and below have been written. And these should be used properly and with moderation so as not to disturb sermons in course and devout contemplation in which all pilgrims alike should dwell, and spend their time in devotion.[123]

The songs of *Codex Calixtinus*, *Llibre Vermell*, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were composed for dancing, celebration, and embodied contemplation, and their formal diversity offered opportunities for staging in secular and liturgical settings.

The transformational capabilities of the spiritual protagonist of the songs provided a dynamic medium through which spatial conversions were realized. The later compositions of the *Cantigas* collection especially make associations between Seville and its satellite colonies on the Atlantic coast, El Puerto de Santa María, and Jerez de la Frontera (both near Cádiz), as well as other locales along the Andalusi frontier. The network of shrines and churches dedicated to Mary are mentioned in the songs, performatively linking reconquered space with the Castilian court in the southern Peninsula. Twenty-three songs about El Puerto de Santa María appear exclusively in the *Códice de los músicos*, the last *Cantigas* manuscript to be assembled. Joseph O'Callaghan argues that the Puerto de Santa María songs were composed and performed for the public to broad-

122 Klaus Herbers, "The Miracles of Saint James," in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of Saint James*, ed. John Williams and Alison Stones (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1992), 25–29. The songs in the collection are set to some of the earliest known polyphonic music.

123 Liber Vermell, c. 1399. Translation by Nigel Wilkins, *Music in the Age of Chaucer: Revised Edition, with Chaucer Songs* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995), 97.

cast the advantages of the new Andalusi colony to prospective settlers.[124] By embodying metaphors and acts of conversion on multiple levels (textual, aural, figural, and spatial), performance functioned as a privileged social mechanism for executing processes of re-signification of socio-spiritual space.

Writing about the gestation of Galicia-Portuguese comic poetry along the combative frontier between Castile and Andalusia, Elvira Fidalgo argues that satirical songs composed for the entertainment of knights, troubadours, and lords were integral to a military culture of fraternization and political competition during the mid-thirteenth century. This thriving culture drew Occitan and Iberian *trovadores* to the aristocratic society of warriors behind battle lines. It was here that the Infant Alfonso learned how to employ the poetic performance arts to accomplish political goals.[125] The same *trovadores* who collaborated in the *Cantigas* project travelled with the itinerant court and aristocracy during sieges. Therefore, it is more than likely that the *cantigas de miragre* dedicated to the bellicose Virgin, particularly the ones that narrate victories against Her enemies, would have been performed in various places along the warring borders of Christianity and Islam during the reign of Alfonso X. It is possible the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* were leveraged by Alfonso in and around the new, unstable Christian colonies and behind battle lines to support his imperial project.

Acts of ritual conversion were central to the process of colonial spatial reorganization and re-signification. Ecclesiastic jurisdictions in the Christian colony were anchored to pre-established urban mosques; therefore, social space and structure retained a distinct appearance of preconquest Seville. However, the Christianization of these holy spaces, with the communities linked to them, occurred rapidly and was measurably different from the gradual process of Muslim-to-Christian spatial conversion in postconquest Toledo nearly two centuries earlier. Unlike Andalusi cities that fell to the Christians in the thirteenth century, a large portion of Toledo's Muslim population remained in the city and the transformation of civic and religious spaces in Toledo occurred at a slower pace. In most conquered Andalusi cities, however, the performances of both quotidian and special functions (Mass, baptism, daily prayer, funerals, and payment of tithes) in and around the mosque-churches had an extra-religious (or co-religious) function to colonize vacated places.[126] Most of Seville's buildings remained intact after conquest, and converted mosques served as geographic signposts when the Castilians partitioned the city into parochial cells. Since the old Islamic structures were not razed, conversion of space relied on human occupation and embodied ritual for the creation of the new Christian urban domain. Christian rituals imbued preconquest structures with values and spatial signification through the occupation by human actors bearing identifying sets of symbols and practices. About the production of sacred environments through

124 O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 174.

125 Elvira Fidalgo, "La gestación de las Cantigas de Santa Maria en el contexto de la escuela poética gallego-portuguesa," *Alcanate: Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes* 8 (2012–13): 25–26.

126 The exception is Murcia, a vassal Muslim kingdom during the reign of Fernando III, where most of the Muslim population was not displaced by Castilian Christians.

active emplacement, Jonathan Z. Smith writes that "[i]t is the relationship to the human body, and our experience of it, that orients us in space, that confers meaning to place. Human beings are not placed; they bring place into being."[127] Accordingly, the emplacement of Christian practices and human presences reinscribed Islamic architecture with new meanings.

The most significant conversion of a building in postconquest Seville was the ritual cleansing of the centrally located *masjid jami'* (Friday Mosque) on December 22, 1248. Fernando III consecrated the mosque on the day of his triumphal entrance into the city, dedicating the new cathedral to Santa María de la Sede. The massive Almohad structure, believed to have been built on the foundation of an ancient Visigoth church, was completed in 1176, and the minaret was completed in 1198. The *masjid jami'* footprint was nearly as large as the mosque of Córdoba, and the *mihrab*, *qibla*, and *maqsūra* were richly decorated.[128] Consecration of the edifice would have taken place in three phases: first, the bishop, clergy, and lay community processed around the circumference of the building; next, the clergy and bishop entered and purified the space with aspersions of hyssop and blessed water to drive malefactors away from the space; lastly, relics (that had been the subject of vigils the prior night) were inserted into the church and the remains of holy bodies were interred.[129] Once converted, the mosque-cathedral became the pre-eminent arena for the production of spectacular religious rites and festivals, and the starting point for processions.

Although the use of the Sevillian Friday mosque for daily mass and other activities through the end of the fourteenth century was due, at least in part, to convenience and the effort to conserve resources, its initial conversion was rooted in the production of a symbolic message of conquest over Muslim sacred space and, by extension, the Muslim community of Seville.[130] Where a complete destruction of the Friday mosque and construction of a more traditional Christian ritual space (i.e., a Gothic cathedral) would have better served the Christian liturgy, appropriation and conversion of the emblematic Islamic structure preserved the memory of the vanquished Muslims of *Išbīliya* and gave the new Castilian residents a means of symbolically projecting religious dominance over Muslim society. Certainly, Fernando III and the entering armies, ecclesiastics, and set-

127 Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 28.

128 The *qibla* wall orients praying Muslims toward Mecca. The *mihrab*, set within the *qibla*, is a prayer niche where the *imam* is positioned. The *maqsūra* is a separate enclosure within the mosque and near the prayer niche, usually reserved for a ruler. José Ramírez del Río, "La mezquita mayor de los almohades," in *Sevilla almohade*, ed. M. Valor and A. Tahiri (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 259, and Heather Ecker, "How to Administer a Conquered City in Al-Andalus: Mosques, Parish Churches and Parishes," in *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 46–48.

129 *Le Pontifical romain au Moyen-Âge, 1*, ed. Michel Andrieu (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1938), 176–95.

130 Julie Harris, "Mosque to Church Conversions in the Reconquest," *Medieval Encounters* 3 (1997): 160.

tlers were aware of the contradictions and opportunities inherent in the reuse of symbolically laden Islamic sacred sites, and this awareness was reflected in the exclamatory placement of Mary statues along the perimeter walls of mosques in recently conquered Andalusi cities.

The Toledo history of mosque-to-cathedral conversion and replacement must have been fresh in the minds of the colonists.[131] The ninth-century *masjid jami'* of Toledo was converted to a cathedral just a few years after Christian conquest, in 1085. The mosque continued to be used for nearly a century and a half, until it was dismantled in 1221 because of deterioration and the fact that the architectural dimensions of the mosque did not support the Christian liturgy. Medieval Iberian mosques were constructed with dozens of corridors of horseshoe-shaped arches, designed to optimize sightlines along a north-south axis. When a mosque was converted into a church, the orientation of the gaze of parishioners was turned to the eastern wall. This created challenges, both acoustic and visual. Sightlines from the nave to the altar were partly obstructed by the broad face of arch corridors now crossing the nave north to south, critically blocking views of the Elevation of the Host. Architectural amendments made as part of an effort to produce a neutral space on and through which Christian signs and practices could be inscribed included walling off the large portals to the prayer hall (which would have all but eliminated the abundant natural light) and concealing Islamic emblems—practices that went beyond pontifical standards for Christian ceremonial conversion. By darkening the inner mosque environment, the striking particularities of Islamic architecture and design were deemphasized, establishing a *less significant* space. Embedding properties of the Christian ritual and sacred representations (chapels, crosses, reliquary, and *Las Virgenes de los Reyes*, *de la Sede*, and *de las Batallas* statues) within the Almohad structure were particularly effective in desacralizing Islamic space since idols were forbidden from mosques by Islamic law.[132]

Unlike medieval cities in the northern Peninsula, Seville's narrow streets discouraged public interaction: public plazas for assembly and festival did not exist. The architectonics of the Islamic urban space was maze of blind alleys and irregular walkways that created the feeling of intimacy and secrecy.[133] Christian corporal presence in the colony pushed back against these material constraints and signs of difference, finding purchase among, and dominating the discourses of, Islamic urban design. As Heather Ecker has shown, colonial transformation of medieval Iberian cities that were depopulated after conquest, like Córdoba and Seville, required less of an effort of *reformation* by ecclesiastical institutions than an effort of *invention*.[134]

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131 The construction of the Gothic cathedral in Toledo began in 1224 and was still underway when Seville fell to Fernando's armies.

132 Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 128.

133 José Guerrero Lovillo, "Sevilla Musulmana," in *Historia del Urbanismo Sevillano*, ed. Antonio Blanco Freijeiro (Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría, 1972), 27–28.

134 Ecker, "How to Administer a Conquered City," 56.

The new colony required sacral-political conversion on affective, corporal grounds: movement, music, sacred texts. Although the Patristic fathers were generally critical of the performing arts for their corrupting influences, Augustine wrote that music had the power to ignite pious behaviour: "I am aware that when sung these sacred words stir my mind to greater religious fervour and kindle in me a more burning flame of piety than they would if they were not sung; and I know as well that there are certain modes in song and voice, corresponding to my various emotions and able to stimulate them because of some mysterious relationship between the two."[135] The Christian liturgy and extra-liturgical musical tropes carried in the voices and bodies of priests and lay people reformed the sociopsychological environment. These processes intersected in musical performances of the *Cantigas*, where the visceral experience of playing and consuming the songs stimulated somatic communion with the divine.

During the High Middle Ages, the exercise of impermanent human body in built spaces was "integral to the establishment of a medieval sacred place [and] central to its function."[136] The Franciscan Brothers—who first established themselves in Seville from the moment of Christian conquest in 1248—voiced scripture and preaching into public spaces. Scholars of medieval religion have observed the metonymic and figurative junctures among the medieval social body, the body of Christ, and sacred space. Sarah Beckwith writes that "the Aristotelian notion of the body as a representation of society is sacralized in the notion of Christ's body, simultaneously the consecrated host which emerges to consolidate the function of priesthood, and Christian society."[137] The following comments by the influential twelfth-century philosopher and mystic, Hugo of Saint Victor, succinctly illustrate these connections:

> For the faithful soul is the true temple of God by the covenant of virtues which is built, as it were, by a kind of structure of spiritual stones where faith makes the foundation, hope raises the building, charity imposes the finish. But the Church herself also, brought together as one from the multitude of the faithful, is the house of God constructed of living stones, where Christ has been placed as the cornerstone, joining the two walls of the Jews and the gentiles in one faith.[138]

The "spiritual stones" of the *Cantigas* found purchase in a symbolic space of conversion—the mosque-cathedral of Seville—and the approximation of conversion narratives to the monumental Islamic architecture emphasized for the audiences the power of the Virgin Mary and Alfonso to conduct a Christian revival. Significantly, performances of the *Cantigas* in the later decades of Alfonso's reign, occurred in a sparsely populated city—emptied of most of the Muslim populations and only partially repopulated by

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135 Saint Augustine, *Confessions* (Book 10, Chapter 33), trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), 231.

136 Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe: 1100–1389* (London: Routledge, 2003), 25.

137 Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), 32.

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

Castilian Christians and Jews. Within the Andalusi architecture of the central mosque-cathedral at the centre of the politically, religiously, and economically unstable Christian colony, the *Cantigas* offered theatrical metaphors of social cohesion to fill this absence performatively.

Contiguity between Christian and Muslim religious and political practices was effectuated in performance metonymy, creating lines of association among signs, objects, and utterances without transferring the *qualities* or *prior meanings* of those signs (Islam). There are many historical instances of interfaith religious observances (coercive and noncoercive) in medieval Europe, particularly in Islamic Andalusia and in Christian Castile and Aragón. Medieval kings were analogous to caliphs, priests to imams, and worshipers of Mary to worshipers of Maryam (although to a far lesser degree). Despite the extreme dimensional and architectural differences between *haram* corridors and the naves of Romanesque and Gothic churches, the long aisles framed by Islamic arches in the prayer hall of the La Mezquita were reconceived as naves for use in the Christian liturgy. The *domain of usage* in medieval Iberian mosques and churches remained the same, since arched aisles, *qibla* walls, naves, colonnades, and altars all oriented spectators, worshippers, and devotees toward sacred centres of the world: Jerusalem in the west, or Mecca in the south. Within the universally recognized sacred space of the mosque-cathedral of Seville, the metonymic transmission of nonreligious poetry, music, and other signs of cultural distinction resonated across sectarian boundaries. In *Cantigas* theatre, embodied metaphors transferred non-associative meanings into a new spatial domain. Islamic spatial referents of the *masjid jami'* remained historically meaningful despite the insertion of liturgical symbols of Christianity, due to the phenomenological power of the massive structure at the centre of the city and the Muslim ablutionary fountain in the Patio de los Naranjos. Context and referent were arranged in a dialectical relationship, the friction between them creating a third meaning, that of contrast, tension, and fissure. A good example of a metaphor of spiritual contrast and dominance was the *Virgen de Antiguos* painting set against the Islamic *mihrab*, on the southern end of La Mezquita. The legendary origin of the painting was Visigoth, reiterating Christian primogeniture in reconquered space.

For the Alfonsine court, converting Seville from a major economic and spiritual centre in the Muslim kingdom into a military, economic, and spiritual hub at the edge of the Christian frontier required a forceful operation of infusing preserved Islamic sacred architecture, city spaces, and artistic practices with new Christian dogma. To some extent these were successful. The metonymic reorientation in the songs redirected the audience's gaze toward the Mother Mary despite the context of familiar Muslim artifacts, architectures, and oral and musical cultures. Alfonso's task was to transform the landscape symbolically, but only in degrees and without *materially* transforming the urban environment. The task of transforming the referent of a sign without changing the material structure of the signifier was partly accomplished through social performances that maximized sensory and experiential phenomena of bodies in space, performatively recombining artifacts from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim cultures to produce a new society.

Figuratively speaking, the centripetal force of the mosque-cathedral gathered resources inward, while a centrifugal force proclaimed the new dominant culture outwardly. Using medieval examples, Mircea Eliade defines *homo religiosus* as a broad, communal consciousness of individuals seeking to occupy sacred spaces, which to them appear more objectively meaningful. The sacred realm's most potent manifestation is in

> religious man's will to take his stand at the very heart of the real, at the Center of the World—that is, exactly where the cosmos came into existence and began to spread out toward the four horizons, and where, too, there is possibility of communication with the gods….We have seen that the symbolism of the center not only of the countries, cities, temples, and palaces, but also in the humblest human dwelling…. [T]o settle somewhere, to inhabit a space, is equivalent to repeating the cosmogony and hence to imitating the work of the gods.[139]

These spaces are sought out then recognized through rites of orientation and foundation. Henri Lefebvre arrives at a similar conclusion about religious space, arguing that consensus in the community is rendered through ritual, embodied practices. A gathering of a city's population, a forceful presence that converges on a singular purpose of spatial action, "overcomes conflicts, at least momentarily, even though it does not resolve them; it opens a way from everyday concerns to collective joy."[140] At the affective level of communal bodies—with its symmetries, rhythms, theatrical utterances, and ceremonial unities—a monumental, sacred home for a godly presence is produced by a consenting, performing group of humans.

With the *Cantigas*, Alfonso sought to accomplish three of the ideological goals outlined in Eliade's statement: reconstituting the sacred central space of the city as distinctly Christian; performatively situating Seville at a new *axis mundus* by citationally interconnecting Sevillian culture with cities and shrines across Iberian kingdoms and Christendom; and communicating directly with the Virgin deity. The staging of the *Cantigas* took place at the centre of Alfonso's vision of an imperial, Iberian network, a sacred space that did more than represent a microcosm of Alfonso's Christian kingdom; it was also "a vision of Christian *practice* that acts as a medium of transition and transformation."[141]

Metonymic correlations among conversion tropes—miraculous conversion of mundane objects (statues) into sacred ones, colonial conversion of city spaces and mosques, and conversion of the bodies of Muslims and Jews into vessels of Christian belief—were personified in the theatre of the *Cantigas*. The auxiliary details of daily life in the songs—both connotative and ornamental—created an environmental matrix within which conversion narratives and other demonstrations of sacred transformation were embedded. In manuscripts and play spaces, Mary underwent incarnational changes, the miracle of holy transformation expanding her power to produce the miracles described in the

139 Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1987), 64–65.

140 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 222.

141 Philip Sheldrake, *Spaces for the Sacred: Place, Memory, and Identity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 55.

songs. *Cantiga* 349 attributes specific powers to a statue of Mary. In Alfonso's chapel (which could indicate the royal chapel of La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede or the Alcazar palace), the "beautiful statue of this Blessed Virgin performed many miracles and worked many miracles, healing men and women and their sons and daughters." When a person orally reiterated Mary's words, "the power of her statue was doubled."[142] The words of the verses iterate the essential power of the living art of theatre to blur ontological boundaries between object, body, and spirit. In late thirteenth-century Seville, the articulated doll-statue La Virgen de los Reyes was the virtuosic machine of object/body/spirit transformation.

Phenomenology of Performance

The following is a performance reconstruction of two *cantigas de festa* for the celebration of the Vigil of Saint Mary (the Feast of the Assumption, August 15) at the royal chapel of the cathedral of Seville. Historians have been cautious in proposing performance conditions of the songs of the *Cantigas* during Alfonso's reign. However, a bold outline of *Cantigas* theatre emerges from the archive when diverse forms of evidence are considered holistically: contemporaneous performance practices; records of theatrical scenery and objects; manuscript illuminations; verses of the *Cantigas* poems; and architecture. Discussing *cantigas de festa* 419 and 420 for the celebration of the Assumption, Pedro Ferreira states that, in all likelihood, "some form of performance of the CSM in or around the church occurred as planned, drawing on the many clerical singers available."[143] In support of Pedro Ferreira's argument, I examine metrical forms and themes of *cantigas de festa* 419 and 420, both of which were composed with ritual theatre in mind, but in different ways. Finally, a careful analysis of the first illumination of the *Códice de Florencia* makes the likelihood of performance an inevitability.

Alfonso and his courtiers celebrated the event in the royal chapel of the cathedral of Seville in the presence of the tombs of his parents and with an articulating mannequin of the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus, with an internal mechanism for autonomous movement, and known as La Virgen de los Reyes (Figure 1.6). Believed to have been the result of Fernando's desire to possess a sculptural representation of the "sweet beauty and candid expression" of the Mother of God, who appeared to him in visions of battlefield victories, the wooden statue was covered in white kidskin, simulating human flesh.[144] Although the costumes for the mannequin have changed over the centuries, the slippers on the feet of La Virgen de los Reyes today are from the thirteenth century. The insteps of each of her slippers is a flanked by three eight-pointed stars, and on the side, the word *Amor*. For the festival of the Assumption, the Virgin Mary often wore a silk veil about

142 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 424. Apparently, this song was of special importance to the compilers of the E manuscript; the song is a duplicate of *cantiga* 387.

143 Pedro Ferreira, "The Medieval Fate," 310–11.

144 José Hernández Díaz, *La Virgen de los Reyes, Patrona de Sevilla y de la Archidiócesis. Estudio Iconográfico* (Sevilla: Imprenta Suárez, 1947), 24.

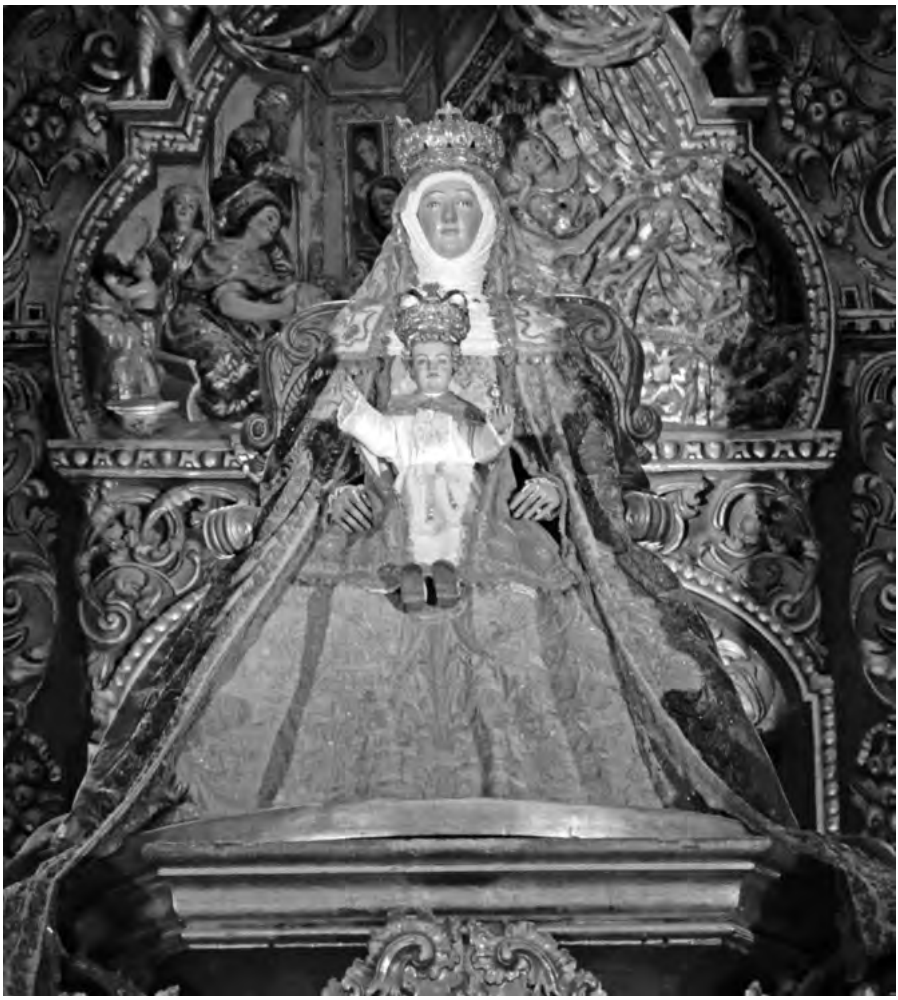

Figure 1.6. La Virgen de los Reyes, thirteenth century, wood, gold, silk, kidskin. Seville, Royal chapel, Cathedral of Seville. Photograph by author.

her head.[145] The mannequin/statue is decorated with silver, rubies and emeralds, and an enormous skein of gold thread is bound to her oblong scalp with minuscule pins. The limbs of Mary and baby Jesus articulate at the knees, wrists, elbows, and shoulders by way of a complex biscuit joint system with flexion and rotation. This gives the puppeteer the ability to simulate human movement with a degree of realism. A different mecha-

145 *Cantiga* 18 relates the story of a miracle occurring on the day of the Assumption and mentions a veil: "the silkworms made another veil, so that there might be a pair…King don Alfonso, as I learned, took the most beautiful of them to his chapel." Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 27.

Figure 1.7. La Virgen de los Reyes, (a) Jesus and (b) Mary, rear view of internal mechanisms, thirteenth century, wood, gold, silk, kidskin. From José Hernández Díaz, Iconografia Medieval de la Madre de Dios en el Antiguo Reino de Sevilla (Madrid: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1971), plate II. Courtesy of Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

nism controlled the movements of their heads: set between the shoulder blades of both Mary and Jesus, an internal apparatus consisting of cogs, straps, and pinion moved the heads of Mary and Jesus horizontally (Figures 1.7a and 1.7b).[146]

Further research is needed to identify the source of knowledge or inspiration for the internal mechanisms in each of the figures, the earliest extant examples of a gear-driven humanoid or zoological figures in Europe. Similar robotic and automation technologies were recorded in al-Jaziri's thirteenth-century *Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices*. The "First Water Raising Machine" was designed with a segmental gear whose teeth raised a lantern pinion very similar to the internal machines of La Virgen de los Reyes automata.[147] Earlier, in the eleventh century, al-Murādī of Toledo described elaborate gears, and his designs inspired Islamic sources which were compiled at the court of Alfonso X in 1276.[148] Still, the provenance of La Virgen de los Reyes is unknown. The *fleur-de-lis* design on Her slippers suggests that the mechanical statue was a gift to Fernando III from his French cousin Frederick II.[149] Teresa Laguna Paúl observes that the materials of the mannequins are similar to those used by sculptor Jorge de Toledo

146 Arquíllo Torres, "Aspectos socio-religiosos," 72–73.

147 Donald R. Hill, *A History of Engineering in Classical and Medieval Times* (London: Croom Helm & La Salle, 1984), 148.

148 Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization: A Thousand-Year History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 43.

149 Hernández Díaz, *La Virgen de los Reyes*, 19–21.

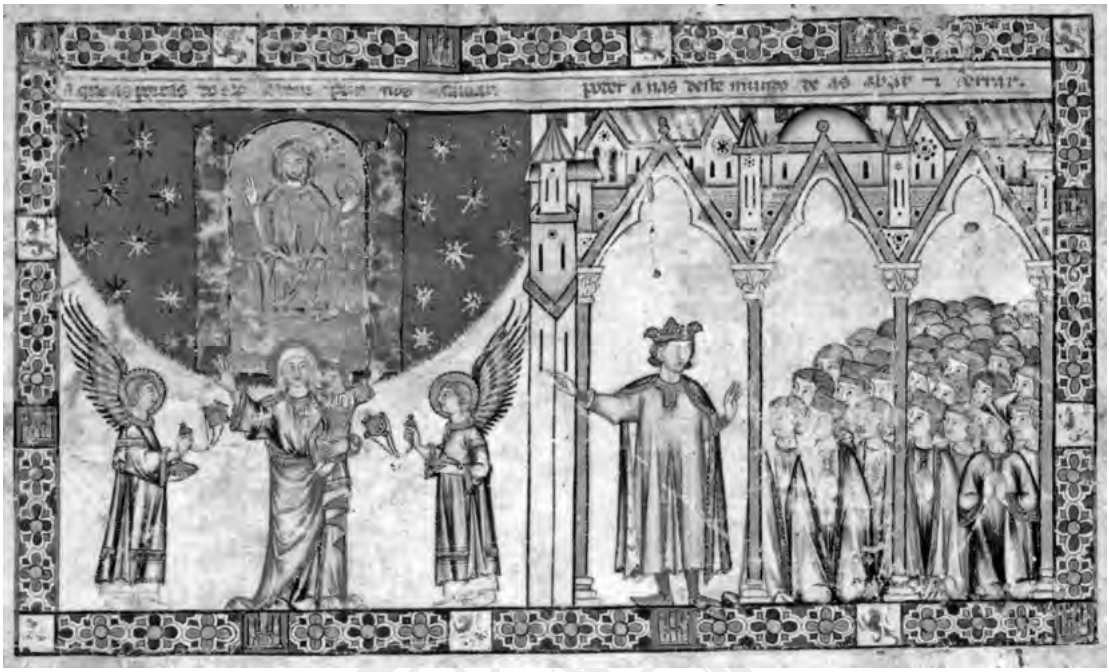

Figure 1.8. Illumination, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (BNCF), Banco Rari 20, sec. XIII, fol. 1r. Courtesy of BNCF, CC BY-SA. 4.0.

for King Alfonso.[150] Alfonso the Wise had an abiding interest in Islamic technology, astronomy, literature, and the arts, and it is unlikely that his translation projects were the end point of his engagement with Islamic learning.

With thirty stanzas, *cantiga* 419 (and 411) are the longest of all the festival songs. The poem of *cantiga* 419 has a uniform metrical structure (thirty stanzas of *zajal* verse interspersed with a common refrain) and clear rhyming scheme (AA/bbba). The poem relates the standard narrative of the legend of the Assumption known at the time, hewing closely to the popular apocryphal story and observing many of its finer details. It tells of the blessed Mother's quartan fever and her prayer on Mount Olivet, where "She entered Her bath and put on Her finest clothes." In the song, the Virgin weeps, accepts a palm branch from an angel, is buried in a "beautiful sepulchre," throws a girdle to Saint Thomas, and, of course, ascends to heaven.[151] If *cantiga* 419 was staged for the Assumption, the verses offered clerics and members of Alfonso's artistic team intertextual stage directions for realizing the spectacle: dressing, throwing, ascending.

From at least 1255, La Virgen de los Reyes resided in the royal chapel and was carried in procession during Marian feast days, the festival of San Clemente honouring the conquest of Seville, and rogation ceremonies. This fact tantalizingly suggests active participation of the articulating mannequin in the staging of the songs in the *capilla real* of

150 Teresa Laguna Paúl, "El tabernáculo de *La Virgen de los Reyes* y la memoria documental de otros tabernáculos góticos de la catedral de Sevilla," *Medievalia* 23 (2020): 278.

151 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 503–5.

the mosque-cathedral.[152] The first miniature of the F manuscript substantiates a theatrical connection between the *Cantigas* and the two automata of La Virgen de los Reyes (Figure 1.8). The half-page illustration is one of the most remarkable images in all the *Cantigas* collection and has never previously been analyzed as evidence for staging. The text of the *cantiga de miragre* on the bottom half of the recto folio page is unrelated to the framed image at the top. The miniature is a visual prologue for all the songs in the manuscript. In it, Alfonso casts himself in the role of spiritual mediator between the altar-stage and audience, steering their attention toward two Mary figures: the downstage Mary with baby Jesus in her arms and the mystical, heavenly Mary set in a tabernacle among a constellation of stars. This is the only instance in the *Cantigas* of a double image of Mary in a single frame that captures a moment in time. There is no other iconographic precedent in Iberian or French visual culture that I know of. Anna Russakoff has identified a double image of the Virgin in an illuminated French manuscript of the *Ci nous dit*, a fourteenth-century compendium of biblical extracts, bestiaries, lives of saints, and miracle stories. However, the representations of Mary on folios 173v and 174r of the manuscript from the Musée Condé in Chantilly are chronologically ordered, representing two moments in time within a single miniature frame.[153] The image from the first page of the Florence manuscript, on the other hand, does not represent narrative progression. In it, Alfonso directs the attention of the audience to the action on the altar, two angels swinging censers, and two Virgin Marys poised in simultaneous contraposition. The upstage (background) Virgin, *without* the baby Jesus and set inside the doored tabernacle of an actual star-spangled thirteenth-century *retablo* of the *capilla real*, represents Mary in her post-Assumption incarnation.[154] The downstage (foreground) image of Mary and Jesus obscures the bottom portion of the tabernacle Mary, reinforcing the simultaneity of action.

Typical of medieval iconography of the Assumption, the downstage Mary image is accompanied by an escort of angels. Atypical are the size, positions, and actions of the angels. Angels in Assumption iconography during the High and late Middle Ages—and in the *Cantigas*—are substantially smaller than Mary figures and are often drawn in midflight behind the Virgin. I have been unable to identify anywhere in the art of the Western church or the *Cantigas* illuminations of angels of the Assumption carrying liturgical props of the Christian rite, like incense burners. The human-sized, earthbound angels of the F manuscript, on the other hand, are standing upright, feet on the ground, customar-

152 Juan Carrero Rodríguez, *Nuestra Señora de los Reyes y su Historia* (Sevilla: J. Rodríguez Castillejo, 1989), 81–82. The *Cantigas* also provides textual and visual evidence of Marian statues carried in procession: *cantigas* 2, 24, 128, 208, 324 and 345.

153 Anna Russakoff, *Imagining the Miraculous: Miraculous Images of the Virgin Mary in French Illuminated Manuscripts, ca. 1250–ca. 1450* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2019), 88–89.

154 The interior and canopy of the ancient retablo where La Virgen de los Reyes sat were decorated with stars. María Jesús Sanz Serrano, "Imagen del antiguo tabernáculo de plata, de la Capilla Real de Sevilla, a través de dos sellos medievales," *Laboratorio de Arte. Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte* 11 (1998): 51–68.

ily perfuming a cult object of the church—a Virgin Mary statue. The angels in the miniature belong to the world of the liturgical theatre; they are performers. Angel characters on stage have precedents in Iberian Christian churches. The twelfth-century liturgical drama *Verses pascales de tres Maries* from Vic, Catalonia, is a unique version of the three Marys at the tomb of Christ. In it, the actor-cum-angel utters one of the best-known lines from biblical theatre in Europe: Quem quaeritis (Whom do you seek).

The gestures of Mary and Jesus in the miniature are also unusual in Marian iconography as well and support the theory that the F miniature contains an image of an articulating statue capable of a range of human gestural expressions, including waving. Typically, Mary is pictured with hands held in expressions of praying, blessing, humility, pointing, or holding an apple, as she does in the background image from F, fol. 1r. The downstage Mary and Jesus unconventionally wave to the spectators in the chapel (and the readers of the manuscript). With multi-jointed, articulating limbs and hands, the expressive capabilities of La Virgen de los Reyes could easily have committed the ludic, celebratory movements of the figures in the manuscript illumination.

As described in 1345 by Hernán Pérez de Guzmán, the ancient altar of the royal chapel had three tabernacles, each framing three commemorative seats for royal cenotaphs (life-sized simulacra of the dead) one each for Fernando III, Beatriz of Swabia (Queen of Castile, 1219–1235, and León, 1230–1235) and their son Alfonso.[155] The realistic cenotaph of Fernando III is represented in *cantiga* 292, so we can conclude that at least Fernando's cenotaph was set on the altar of the *capilla real* when the F manuscript was produced in the 1280s. Verisimilitude and theatricality appear to have been on the minds of the craftsmen of the tableaux of figures: illuminated by candles and four silver lamps, the simulacra were dressed in clothing from their actual lives, wore crowns of gold and precious stones, and sat on majestic, silver-coated chairs. Sometime shortly before or after Alfonso's death, the sword carried by Fernando during the conquest of Seville (*la Lobera*) was placed in the cenotaph's right hand, an event retold in *cantiga* 292. The monuments were rendered in the realist style in vogue during the reign of Federico II Hofenstaufen (Alfonso's grandfather).[156] The final stage tableaux would have included the cenotaphs of Alfonso's parents, the articulating La Virgen de los Reyes dolls, two clerical performers acting the parts of angels of the Assumption, and, perhaps, Alfonso X himself. As depicted in illuminations of *cantigas de loor*, Alfonso beckons the audience to spectate on the Mary figure. It is possible that a minstrel from Alfonso's court—Pero de Ponte, Bernaldo de Bonaval, María Pérez Balteira, or Aires Numes—sang the verses of *cantiga* 419 at the Assumption. Is it possible that the characters of Saint Thomas and Saint Peter in the poem were performed by the *trovador* king himself?

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155 *Papeles del Conde de Aguila, tomo 51, Memoria Sacada de un libro de Hernán Pérez de Guzmán que fue escrito en la era de 1303* (recte 1345), Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, published in Miguel de Manuel Rodríguez, *Memorias para la vida del santo rey don Fernando III* (Barcelona: El Albir, 1974), 133–35; 213–16.

156 Teresa Laguna Paúl. "Mobiliario medieval de la capilla de los Reyes de la catedral de Sevilla: Aportaciones a los 'ornamenta ecclesiae' de su etapa fundacional," *Laboratorio de Arte: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte*, 25 (2013): 53–77.

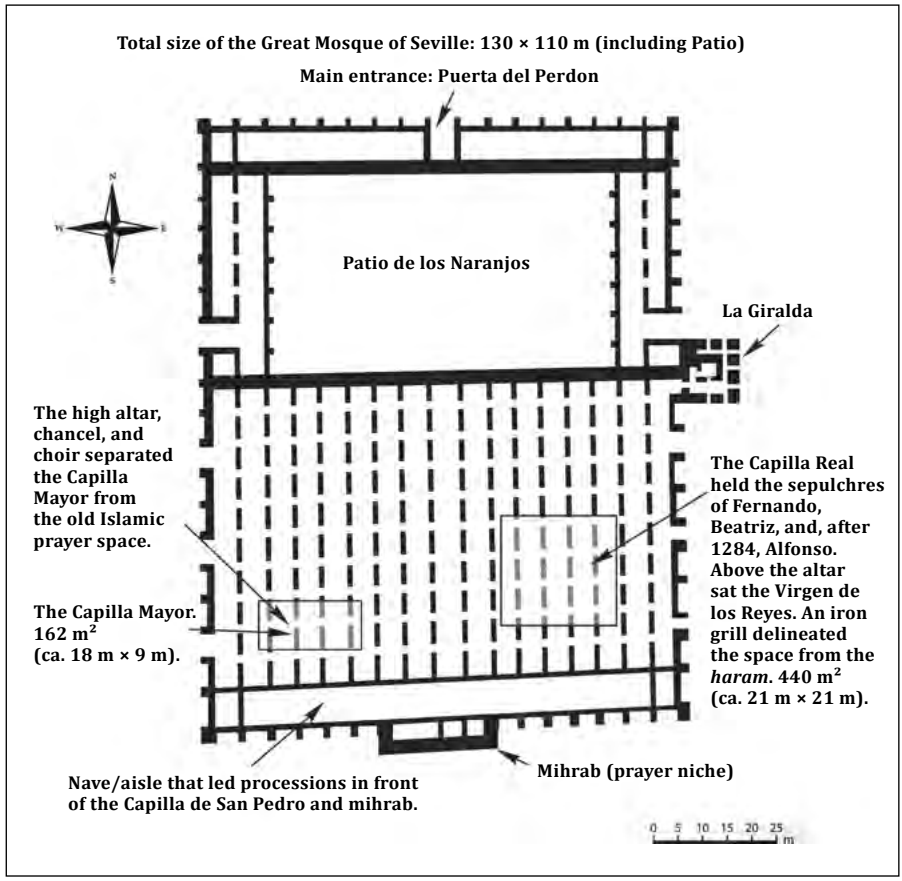

Figure 1.9. Plan of the Mosque of Seville, from 1261 up to its destruction in 1401. Figure by author.

The *capilla real*, completed approximately thirteen years after conquest of Seville, occupied 440 square metres in the middle, eastern half of the original *haram* of the mosque (Figure 1.9) The space had the capacity to seat sixty parishioners, three royal sepulchres, an altar, and three tabernacles. Below the floor of the chapel lay preconquest remains of Muslims from the Almohad period. Within the 12-metre-high Islamic horseshoe arches of the main prayer space of the Almohad mosque, a monumental, double-platformed royal chapel was constructed. Ascending hierarchical planes rose above the seating for parishioners. On the first level were the sepulchres of Fernando III (inscribed with dedications in Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Arabic) and Beatriz. The costumed simulacra were situated on the upper platform, above their own physical remains and to the left of the centre altarpiece. The western-oriented gaze of the audience was confronted with a spectacle of riches, royalty, and religious symbols and figures, into which the principal actor of the drama would make her entrance. At the apex of the tableaux sat the

2-metre-high, winged tabernacle of the Virgin.[157] From the perspective of parishioners in the nave, the spatial organization symbolically and ritually linked monarchs living and dead with the heavenly mother of Jesus.

Muslims and Jews were not prohibited from entering Iberian medieval churches, and so it is plausible that the Christian, Muslim, and Jewish musicians depicted in the E manuscript played an array of medieval instruments for the performance of *cantiga* 419: zithers, shawms, harps, fiddles, portative organs, pipes and tabors, and bagpipes. Islamic *al-'ūd*, *rabāb*, *qītār*, *al-daff*, and *al-bandader* are also represented in E, which were introduced to the European continent by way of Seville, the centre of Arabic musical culture during the Islamic period.[158] The atmosphere in the inner sanctum was close, filled with the odour of burning wax and oil. As music, smoke, and light escaped from the royal chapel through the iron railings that delineated the space, the *Cantigas* theatre brought the chapel to life in the vast, dark emptiness of the surrounding mosque space.[159]

The transformation of Mary and Jesus statues into fleshy, life-like mannequins implies that, like Mary in her heavenly incarnation, painted, sculpted, and mechanized versions of the Virgin possess powers to effect change in the world. In this respect, it was the imaginative work and religious faith of the audience in the *capilla real*—their gaze fixed on the miraculous ascension of Mary—that gave life to the songs and to the figural simulations that populated the altar. *Cantiga de loor* 170 proclaims, "in what way can we sufficiently praise the One who revealed God to us in flesh and caused us to be saved and placed us in Her ranks of angels."[160] By raising her arm, Mary could indicate the ranks of angels carved on the insides of the tabernacle doors, or the actors portraying angels on the altar-stage. When turning their necks to face the left and right sides of the chapel, Mary and Jesus encountered the other characters of the drama: the representational Fernando, Beatriz, and Alfonso, and the living performers. When facing forward, their eyes would have implicated the audience, involving them in the sacred, monumental world of the performance.

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157 Teresa Laguna Paúl, "La Capilla de los Reyes de la Primitiva Catedral de Santa María de Sevilla y las Relaciones de la Corona Castellana en el Cabildo Hispalense en su Etapa Fundacional (1248–1285)," in *Maravillas de la España Medieval*, vol. 1, ed. Tesoro Sagrado y Monarquía (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001), 244–47.

158 Rosario Álvarez, "Los instrumentos musicales en los códices alfonsinos: Su tipología, su uso y su origen. Algunos problemas iconográficos," *Revista de Musicología* 10 (1987): 67–104. In Muslim medieval Iberia it is estimated that in addition to indigenous types, over forty musical instruments were imported from the Middle East and crafted in al-Andalus: Mahmoud Guettat, "The Andalusian Musical Heritage," *Garland Encyclopedia of Music*, vol. 6, ed. Virginia Danielson (New York: Routledge, 2001), 446. Regarding Arabic instrumentation in the *Cantigas*, see Dwight Reynolds, "New Directions in the Study of Medieval Andalusi Music," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 1 (January 2009): 37–51.

159 As part of the process of converting the mosque, Christian conquerors walled off the nineteen open arches between the Patio de los Naranjos and the prayer hall, eliminating natural light and ventilation from the interior.

160 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 205.

After *cantiga de festa* 419 was sung, in the *capilla real* the nearly two-metre-high wooden, costumed articulated mannequin of Mary and Child was lifted from the altar and set on a *paso* (processional carriage).[161] Music and singing of the subsequent *cantiga de festa* from the collection, 420, "This tenth [festival] song is on the day of the Procession, telling how the processions of Heaven received Holy Mary when She ascended to Heaven," propelled the procession of celebrants and La Virgen de los Reyes through the prayer space of the converted mosque. *Cantiga* 420 is much shorter than 419 and follows a metrical form used specifically for processional performance. Unlike *cantiga* 419, it has no refrain. In six stanzas, each line of verse starts with the word *Bẽeita* (Blessed). The verse is alliterative, and the metre is rhythmically simple. Like processions that begin and end at the cathedral, the verse is circular. The word *Bẽeita* might have marked the steps of the *costaleros* (carriers) of the Virgin's *paso* (moveable platform): "Blessed the day you were born…Blessed the silk you spun…Blessed was your sacred virginity… Blessed was your milk…Blessed was the band of beautiful angels."[162] The Virgin of the Kings might have been transported along the southern wall of the *masjid jami'*. There, in the darkened space of the sanctuary, the procession would have passed the Islamic *mihrab* and a painting of the *Virgen de la Antigua*. Processional actors would have also seen images of San Cristobal, Santa Elena, and Fernando painted on the pillars of the distinctive Islamic, horseshoe arches of the prayer space. The route of the parade might have passed the *capilla mayor* and the *Virgen de la Sede*, another subject of the *Cantigas*, then northward through the Patio de los Naranjos, and into the Sevillian streets. Finally, as described in *cantiga* 354, "the statue returned to the chapel with a very large procession, as is fitting."[163]

In these multi-staged performances, embodied, phenomenological communion among actors (human and humanoid), objects, and audiences relied on repertories of motor schema that were shared, recognizable, and compelling to the senses.[164] On an iconographic level, the golden threads of hair on a statue of the Virgin Mary were understood by medieval viewers as a sign of divinity. But in the hands of the statue's dresser or puppeteer while preparing the doll/puppet/automaton for public display, intimate contact with her golden skein of hair may have engendered a range of feelings that exceeded symbolic meanings—tranquility, care, desire, anxiety. Likewise, when beholding the flickering luminescence of candlelight refracting off the Virgin Mary's golden mantle, devotees would not have read divinity on an intellectual level as much experience the awe of divine presence emanating from the restless halo.

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161 The unadorned statue measures 1 metre, 76 centimetres lengthwise. Carrero Rodríguez, *Nuestra Señora de los Reyes*, 31.

162 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 506. The orders of angels are listed in the poem, creating another form of processional litany of words: angels, archangels, Thrones, Dominations, Principalities, Powers, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Virtues.

163 Alfonso X, *Songs of Holy Mary*, 431.

164 For the medieval viewer, images and representations entered and were held in the "Ark" or storehouse of the mind. Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 51–54, 91.

Material metamorphosis of objects, transformational metaphors in song, and conversion of colonial spaces and bodies in Seville intersected in the theatricalization of the *Cantigas*. In the sociopolitical realm of quasi-religious, quasi-courtly performance, the accumulative force of transfiguration themes provided Castilian Christian audiences with a means of interpreting the unfamiliar Andalusi world around them. As performed in the mosque-cathedral, its altar facing eastward, the repertory oriented the sacred spaces and citizenry of Seville toward the East and Jerusalem. In this function they were crucially aided by the central figure in Alfonsine conversion practices—the Virgin Mary. When contemplating the meaning and function of medieval images in a ritual setting, it is helpful to remember that "[r]ather than viewing objects as the culminating point in a process of production, distillates of styles and sources, we should envisage them as catalysts to series of open-ended uses and interpretations."[165] The fully phenomenological experience of sacred theatre facilitated moments of *becoming*: conversion of flesh, conversion of spirit, and the conversion of colonized cultural forms into a new, universal poetry. In the colonial capital of Castilian *Reconquista*, the *Cantigas* helped initiate a historical shift from a society of negotiated coexistence and tolerance to one of empire building and religious consolidation.

165 Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure and the Cura Monialium: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript,"
Gesta 31 (1992): 126.

Chapter 2

PENANCE, CONVERSION, AND AFFECTIVE *CONVIVENCIA*

> The ordinary practitioners of the city live "down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk—an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, *Wandersmänner*, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban "text" they write without being able to read it.[1]

THE WORD *CONVIVENCIA* in the title of the chapter will, at first, seem misplaced. Even historians who place faith in the historiographic concept argue that, however one might define it, *Convivencia* had, for all purposes, ended after the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence across the Peninsula in 1391. However, as I discuss in the introduction, "living togetherness" of medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims was never a utopian ideal, always required negotiations, often relied on laws of separation and inequality, and were marked by interreligious violence—in both Christian and Islamic realms. Many times throughout the *Reconquista*, for instance, diplomatic alliances and resolution of political conflicts between Muslims and Christians were negotiated through the theatre of hospitality and spectacles of violence. This took on a penitential character in Seville in 1360 when King Peter I of Castile mounted his guest-cum-prisoner Muhammad VI of Granada on an ass, dressed him in a scarlet robe, paraded him before his military escorts, and finally struck him with a lance as punishment for a past military loss.[2] This chapter is about the ways in which acts of public penance and discipline contributed to the formation of religious and ethnic identities in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Seville. The growth of public spectacles during this period can be better understood in the context of interreligious relationships, from peaceful expressions of communal cooperation to inflammatory acts of coercion.

In the early fourteenth century in Seville, when the culture of outdoor, public processions and spectacles grew, Muslims and Jews celebrated the royal entries of Christian monarchs. More unexpectedly, the minority religious groups also participated in parades of Easter and Corpus Christi. According to Nathan Robert Dodgen, these events suggest "a normal social relationship between the minorities that simply carried with it the baggage of rivalry when it came to 'performing' before the majority authorities."[3] It is not clear if competition between Muslims and Jews was the true motivational factor. The processional routes of Christian festivals often crossed into Jewish and Muslim *aljama* and so participation was, to a degree, a matter of spatial necessity. Festival

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1 de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 93.

2 L. P. Harvey, *Islamic Spain: 1250 to 1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 213–14.

3 Nathan Robert Dodgens, "Conversions in the Kingdoms of Castile, Aragon and Valencia: A Point of Cohabitation," *Hamsa: Journal of Judaic and Islamic Studies* 4 (2018): 49.

space in medieval towns was difficult to contain since the boundaries between spectators and participants was fluid and permeable. However, in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, interreligious tensions were exacerbated by the increasing demand for resources in Seville. The population of the city quadrupled between 1384 and 1500 (reaching 60,000 souls) and more than doubled again between 1500 and 1588, leading to urban congestion, unsanitary conditions, and competition for space.[4] These demographic conditions had consequences for social relations in an Andalusian city noted for its composite character, which included disputes regarding the organization of processional routes.[5] The competition for living, commercial, and theatrical spaces created tensions among the dominant Christian community, foreigners (Genovese sailors, foreign soldiers, and African slaves), Romani, Jews, *Conversos*, Muslims and, later, Muslim converts to Christianity (*Moriscos*).[6] It was partly due to the heterogeneity and size and strength of Seville's non-Christian community that the city was chosen as the site for inaugurating the Inquisition in 1481.[7]

Eventually, some of the styles of living that were dangerous for the *Converso* and *Morisco* communities were inevitably institutionalized in legal statutes. Under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs, clothing influenced by the historical dress of the Muslims was coded as "luxury" and could be worn only by the most economically privileged people of Spain.[8] In May 1480, the Spanish sovereigns revived a seventy-year-old law that enforced the physical segregation of Jews and Muslims from Christians. Accordingly, Jews had two years to vacate Christian residential communities. The intent of re-enacting this law was to try and prevent Jews from exerting influence on *Conversos*.[9] By the late fifteenth century, statutes forbade Christians from entering Jewish houses on the Sabbath, and Jews and Muslims (confined to their quarters during the morning Mass on Sundays and holidays) had to prostrate themselves before the consecrated host when it passed in procession. This was also the period when Jews and Muslims were required to wear badges.[10]

Starting in the fourteenth century, penitential concepts and rituals of corporal mortification permeated public ritual. Inquisitorial theatre and Christian penitential suffer-

4 Alfonso Pozo Ruiz, "Demografía de Sevilla en el siglo XVI," *La Sevilla del Quinientos* (Comisariado del V Centenario Universidad Sevilla), http://personal.us.es/alporu/histsevilla/poblacion.htm.

5 Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980), 2–5.

6 José Joaquín Cortés, María José García Jaén, and Horencio Zoido Naranjo, eds., *Planos de Sevilla: Colección histórica (1771–1918)* (Sevilla: Centro Municipal de Documentación Histórica, 1985), 11.

7 When Isabel and Fernando visited the city of Seville in 1477, the Dominican Order persuaded them to institute an inquisition to deal with heresy among *Conversos*. Yitzhak Baer, *The History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1992), vol. 2, 324–25.

8 José D. González Arce, *Apariencia y poder. La legislación suntuaria castellana en los siglos XIII y XV* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1998), 113.

9 Baer, *The History of the Jews*, vol. 2, 325.

10 Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 278.

ing shared performance spaces and liturgical schedules and gestured toward similar spiritual and communal themes.[11] Notions of mortality, martyrdom, future salvation, and damnation were expressed in the *autos da fé* and interwoven into acts of self-mortification during Holy Week. As Mitchell Merback writes, "it was not uncommon to look upon the suffering convict as a pseudo-martyr, and thus Christlike, physical pain at the scaffold stood within this very same constellation of beliefs and feeling."[12] Manuel Gómez Lara and Jorge Jiménez Barrientos have noted that the design of hoods and masks covering the heads prisoners of the inquisition in the *auto da fé* inspired similar attire worn by Christian penitents in the seventeenth century.[13] Both of these public spectacles operated within a shared penitential discourse and theatricality, producing social meanings that exceeded the customary narratives of each practice. The *auto da fé* and Holy Week celebrations have mostly been studied separately—the *auto da fé* is the interest of historians of the Inquisition, while Holy Week processionals are the bailiwick of religious studies, art history, and performance studies. There are some exceptions. In his 1996 monograph, Thomas Bestul devotes a chapter to describing the parallel relationship between bodily violence in Passion devotion and the rise of judicial torture in the thirteenth century. Robert Potter has written about the thematic congruencies between medieval Passion plays and the *auto da fé*, as well as in the deeply felt penitential messages that were common to Christian piety in both spectacles.[14]

In this chapter I argue that the two performance forms functioned within a general penitential structure of feeling and an affective medium through which somatic acts of coexistence-in-difference operated. Raymond Williams defines structures of feeling as pervasive, generalized social awareness and belief, particularly significant and legible in art and literature that have "characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone; specifically affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity."[15] Emotional, expressive, inter-communal, and interpretive social operations provide a frame for clarifying the relationships among the devotional and judiciary practices of Old Christians (Christians who claimed

11 *Autos da fé* were organized around Christian religious feasts. In 1561, Inquisitorial rules officially established the practice to ensure maximum public participation. Jean Plaidy, *The Spanish Inquisition: Its Rise, Growth, and End, Part 2: The Growth of the Spanish Inquisition* (New York: Citadel, 1967), 121.

12 Mitchell Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1999.

13 Manuel Gómez Lara and Jorge Jiménez Barrientos, *Semana Santa: Fiesta Mayor en Sevilla* (Sevilla: Alfar Tajuña, 1990), 27.

14 Thomas Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Robert Potter, "The *Auto da Fé* as Medieval Drama," in *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre, Lancaster*, ed. Meg Twycross (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996), 110–18.

15 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 128.

a family ancestry "clean" of any Jewish or Islamic blood) and New Christians (*Conversos* and *Moriscos*). What emerges are patterns of difference-making wrapped up in phenomenological, sensory interaction among the three faiths of the city.

The social prerogative of *all* Christians in late medieval Seville, both old and new, was to demonstrate strong faith and contrition in manners that could be coherently read, understood, and believed. Penitential rituals were bound by this sense of *theatricality*: processional actors prepared in advance of public displays of penance to match the expectations, excitement, and artistic standards of their audience, whether those were parochial, inquisitorial, familial, or communal. The cosmology of late medieval Spanish penance provided a common frame and means through which re-enactments of Christ's Passion and the corporal discipline of non-Christians conversed on a phenomenological level, beyond institutional logic, while also providing the basis for the reiteration of belief. Penitential violence centred around the Passion of Christ was haunted by the spectre of Judaism, calling forth in effigy the displaced and the dead.

By suggesting affinities between *voluntary* Holy Week self-discipline, on the one hand, and *involuntary* institutional discipline and ritual execution, on the other, I do not mean to obscure the fact that there were clear winners and losers in theatrical penance. However, symbolic and activity-based concordances among penitential processional events (both judicial and devotional) were not entirely coincidental, since they drew from the same cultural well of belief and practice. "The stage [of the *auto da fé*] is conceived as a space of religious and social significance...The seating arrangements for the clergy and invited civic magistrates had also to be precisely observed, since their placing signified the honour accorded to the tribunal as well as their own symbolic rank."[16] Voluntary and coerced contrition were structured around devotional ontology designed to bring one closer to God through spiritual conversion, a structure that established boundaries of both affirmation and violation.

Public penance also offered opportunities for dissension and apostasy. In 1473, anti-*Converso* violence was incited when a blacksmith claimed that a *Converso* girl had poured urine from her house onto a procession of a Christian festival.[17] In 1449, in an extraordinary breach of Judaic custom and with the support of the Seville Archbishopric, the Jews of Seville marched in a procession asking for divine intercession to end the plague. In imitation of the customs and rituals of Christians, who regularly carried the Eucharist in rogation processions in the town, Jewish ritual actors carried Torah scrolls at the head of the procession, scattered branches, and decorated the streets.[18] In the first instance, the violation of community orthodoxy created a narrative of religious difference; in the second, an outside threat to the entire community called forth an act of

16 Francisco Bethencourt, "The Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 55 (1992): 160.

17 Baer, *The History of the Jews*, vol. 2, 307.

18 The event was relayed in letter from Pope Nicholas V to the Bishop-administrator of Seville. ASV, Reg. Vat. 389, fols. 136r–137r, in Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 930–32. For an example of Jewish participation in a Christian procession elsewhere, see Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 249.

togetherness in difference. Religious affiliation or violation was not the only means of expressing community identity in a theatrical setting. In the later Middle Ages, wealthy Jewish merchants and landowners imitated the dress of their upwardly mobile Christian counterparts, demonstrating "their identities to be as much a product of the prevailing historical processes and social dynamics of the age as they were of the discrete traditions of the Jewish community."[19]

In this chapter I explore strategies, tactics, and intersections of walking, whipping, kneeling, prostrating, and dying. Drawing on Michel de Certeau's theory of social action, processional and penitential *strategies* emerged in the city as a "calculus of force-relationships," ones that assumed "a place that can be circumscribed as *proper* and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it (competitors, clientele, objects of research)." On the other hand, *tactics* correspond to a place that "belongs to the other" and insinuate themselves "into the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety."[20] Strategies and tactics express social power through the body (often contradictorily) to produce a thick history of ritual performance that exceeds the ideologically-driven binaries that often emerge from an archive preserved almost entirely by the Christian hegemony.

In this chapter I provide a roadmap both for understanding penitential precepts organized around the sacrament of confession and Passion theology in the Christian community, and for understanding penance among Iberian Jews. The ideological superstructure, which incorporated humoral concepts of the body and devotional religiosity, laid the groundwork for affective responses to theatricalization of penance. The next section is about public, out-of-door confessional culture in Seville: phenomenological coexistence and penance in processional rituals of Holy Week, Vía Crucis, and the *auto da fé* in the context of intolerance and persecution of *Conversos* and *Moriscos*. I describe the formal attributes of penitential and judicial processions, as well as everyday symbols of otherness, including markers of ethnic and religious difference promulgated by *limpieza de sangre* statutes. The escalation of theatrical penance and conversion in Spain was distinguished by racial identification based on defect. In the last section, I investigate the emotional investments and stakes in performances of blood purity, physical suffering, and demonstrative contrition between and through the malleable and porous bodies of ritual actants. Affect flowed in territories between presence and absence: sympathies, potentialities, spontaneous sensations, and associative memory. As penitents committed themselves to punishments and co-Passions, their bodies expressed meanings that exceeded, in many instances, official narratives proffered in archives. Profound contradictions are revealed in the affective life of late medieval penance: gestures and texts from antagonistic faiths and ritual theatre calling forth that which has been made absent.

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19 Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval *Convivencia*," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 11–12.

20 de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xv–xix.

A Penitential Structure of Feeling

In his poem *La Trivagia* (1521), Juan del Encina wrote about his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the company of the Marquis Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera and other Spanish noblemen. The form of Encina's account broke from traditional pilgrimage poetry by infusing the verse with particularly personal and uncharacteristically emotional language.[21] Encina's eyewitness narrative of penitential procession in Jerusalem gave Castilian readers a textual touchstone for creating an imaginative pilgrimage to the Holy Land:

> Oh how many sobs, moans and tears,
> then sounded from devout people;
> from one station to another they walked barefoot,
> praying and weeping with sorrow and grief.[22]

La Trivagia received multiple printings alongside Enríquez de Ribera's *Viaje de Jerusalén*, a prose account of the Marquis's trip to Jerusalem. *Viaje* was the basis for the establishment of the Vía Crucis (Way of the Cross) in Seville, a processional route of the Stations of the Cross that duplicated Jerusalem's *Vía Dolorosa*, following measurements taken by Enríquez de Ribera.[23] In effect, *La Trivagia* and *Viaje de Jerusalem* were guidebooks for medieval penitents to transpose the Holy City onto the topography of Seville. The Vía Crucis processional incorporated penitential self-flagellation during Holy Week.[24]

A few decades earlier, a *conversa* named Juana González of Guadalupe had fashioned a quasi-Jewish prayer to support her new Christian practice. It began "Adonay, I live; you are my shelter from punishment and aid; I trust in Him and in His great mercies." Juana testified to Inquisitional authorities that she would say the prayer in order to be saved and to gain days that would otherwise be lost in purgatory.[25] The prayer was formed, in part, by Kedushah doxology, and closely resembled the intercessory prayers of the Christian Church.[26] Although different from Catholic ideas of sin and penance, elements of the Jewish faith are imbued with concepts of repentance and atonement, especially

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

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

23 Enríquez de Ribera, Don Fadrique, and Juan de la Encina. *Este libro es de el viaje q[ue] hize a Ierusalem …* (Sevilla: Francisco Perez en las casas del Duque de Alcalá, 1606), BCC.

24 Susan Verdi Webster, *Art and Ritual in Golden-Age Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 25–35.

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

26 The Kedushah is a prayer of sanctification. The nucleus of the prayer is based on Isaiah 6:3, Ezekiel 3:12, and Psalms 146:10. Bathja Bayer, "Kedushah," *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed., vol. 12, ed. Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 56.

during Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, when medieval Jews fasted to atone for their misdeeds.[27] Juana's amalgamation of Jewish and Christian prayers was not unique: *Converso* communities across the Peninsula revived their observance of Jewish feasts and fasts in order to craft "a series of penitential practices that wove together Christian and Jewish theological traditions in new and personally satisfying ways."[28] Juana's prayer and Encina's poem were scripts for the production of devotional affect in a wide penitential structure of feeling in late medieval Spain.

Within the complex field of penitential practices, how did practitioners of disciplinary *imitatio Christi* prepare themselves for performances of lachrymose displays that evoked pity? Likewise, how did *Conversos*—who were subject to strong prerogatives to produce a theatre of contrition in daily life, during trials of the Inquisition, and reconciliation with the Church—learn and adopt convincing Christian attitudes and practices? I locate the answers to these questions within a network of psychophysical performances, and I argue that sincere expressions of repentance and contrition could be cognitively, emotionally, and physically rehearsed in advance. Preparation for public display of contrition, a phenomenon that was prevalent in Spain but has been identified in Christian devotional practices across medieval Europe, would likely have been aided by the reading of poems, devotional manuals, and theological tracts. For instance, Sarah McNamer examines "scripts for the performance of feeling" in affective meditations on the Passion.[29] Relatively unfamiliar with the Christian penitential structure of feeling yet impelled to demonstrate Christian remorse during confession to parochial priests and inquisitors, *Conversos* read Augustine, Juan de Ávila, and the writing of other theologians. To provoke feelings of contrition and satisfy the Holy Office's imperative of a credible confession, *Conversos* may have accessed latent affective devotion of Jewish penitential prayers or relied on the teachings of the New Testament by Christian proselytizers. Evidence suggests that public weeping and self-mortification—whether provoked by impassioned preaching or in response to a crisis—could be learned, practised, and repeated by the lay community.[30] Preparation was also aided by private devotional rites imbued with narratives of sacrifice and forgiveness.[31] In order to effectively

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27 Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, 27.

28 Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, "Piety and Penance among Spain's Judeoconversas," *Cuaderno internacional de estudios humanísticos y literatura* (Fall 2008): 59.

29 Sarah McNamer *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 12.

30 William Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping in Early Modern Spain," in *Religious Organization and Religious Experience*, ed. J. Davis (London: Academic Press, 1982), 97–114. See also Maureen Flynn, who makes connections between performance of affect and confessional manuals. "The Spectacle of Suffering in Spanish Streets," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 153–68.

31 See Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), and Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

facilitate the act of performing the drama of contrition, social actors relied on suggestive texts and cognitive and physical tools to stimulate emotions.

Affectus was a non-doctrinal concept familiar to readers of Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, and Castilian. In the late Middle Ages *affectus* was understood as a physiological state that operated across spheres of intellectual, spiritual, and somatic grounds. "'Affection' and 'emotion' are both words that must be understood physiologically,"[32] and these concepts intersected with practices—such as medicine—that transcended boundaries between religious communities. The particular Iberian concept *afeiçom* or *afección* speaks to the confluence of mutable emotions, physical infirmity, and emotional-sensory spiritual status.[33] The Ciceronian concept *afectio* was available in Castilian translation by the first quarter of the fifteenth century: "[*afección*] is called that change that occurs in the heart or in the body in some time for some reason, such as joy, lust, fear, sadness, illness, weakness or other such things."[34] Galenic medical philosophy confirms the responsive link between perturbations of the soul and physical effects, and this concept was rehearsed by the twelfth-century scholar-physician Moses Maimonides: "passions of the psyche produce changes in the body that are great, evident and manifest to all…[C]oncern and care should always be given to the movements of the psyche; these should be kept in balance in the state of health as well as in disease, and no other regimen should be given precedence in any wise."[35]

Conceptual *afección* was meted out and given form in late medieval Spanish communal penance, characterized especially by mortification of the flesh and public weeping. In addition to Encina's *La Trivagia*, late medieval poetic and devotional texts in Spain provided models for penitential tears and bloodletting. The translation of Ludoph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* was widely available in late medieval Spain and influenced the theology of Ignatius Loyola. In the *Vita*, Ludoph recommends that the penitent "try as hard as he can to have tears" while pondering the Passion.[36] The textual and spatial links that insinuate the human actor into the sacred narrative of penitence in Iberia were also supported by late medieval *recogimiento* (recollection), a meditative technique and form of prayer popularized by the Seville-born Franciscan Francisco de Osuna. Practitioners of *recogimiento* believed inward concentration on one's emotional and intellectual energies would lead to an infusion of God's wisdom and grace. It is certain that clerical and

32 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 302n14.

33 Josiah Blackmore, "Afeiçom and History-Writing: The Prologue of the 'Crónica de D. João I,'" *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, no. 2 (Winter 1997): 15–24.

34 "La afección se dize aquella mudación que acaesce en el coraçón o en el cuerpo en algunt tiempo por alguna cabsa, como alegría, cobdiçia, miedo, tristeza, dolençia, flaqueza o otras cosas semejantes." Cicero, *La rethorica de M. Tullio Ciceron*, trans. Alfonso de Cartagena, ed. Rosalba Mascagna (Napoli: Liguori, 1969), 69.

35 Ariel Bar-Sela et al., "Moses Maimonides' Two Treatises on the Regimen of Health: Fī Tadbīr al-Sihhah and Maqālah fi Bayān Ba'd al-A'rād wa-al-Jawāb 'anhā," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 54, no. 4 (1964): 25.

36 Ludolphus, IV: Ch. 59, 65v, quoted in Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 107.

lay devotees employed these methods of concentration when conjuring tears in public and private prayer.[37]

Public weeping during festivals of the Christian calendar and rogation processions from the fifteenth century and into the early modern period occurred side by side with the rise in processional *imitatio Christi*—the "loving contemplation of the tortured Christ"—organized by confraternities across Spain.[38] Congruent with these developments, the doctrinal and experiential discourses within public penitential rituals were linked to the sacrament of confession, which was a prerequisite for communal acts of penance.[39] In some cases—as in the sacrament of confession—penitents of public rituals were obligated to weep on cue.[40] Preparing oneself mentally to withstand the pain of the scourge and to weep upon command during the dramatization of Passion of Christ, for instance, is similar to the work of actors in traditions around the globe who invest in the imaginative world of the drama by reading texts and instigating memories and fresh mental images in order to produce believable emotion on cue.

The apostolic preacher Juan de Ávila, who came from a *Converso* family, spent most of his professional life as a priest in Granada and Seville, performing sermons linking the blood of Christ (and by inference the blood of self-flagellants) with the shedding of tears. His sermons in the early sixteenth century were so popular, people thronged churches to hear him preach.[41] The prose of his impassioned sermon was clearly designed to engage his audience emotionally:

> The blood of Christ, pour it out and take it in your soul; I know for certain it will penetrate your soul, will make the non-religious devout, and make the tepid ardent in their love of God, and make the hard tender and loving…when you stop to think about the passion of Christ, do you not feel that you are affected with new love and new devotion? Does it not soften the soul? Do you not gain strength? Do you not ask forgiveness for your sins? Do you not shed tears? Oh delicious tears that spill out for the passion of Christ, they do melt in his love![42]

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37 Francisco de Osuna, *Tercer abecedario espiritual* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1972), 342. "The techniques [of recollection] were so common among Spanish Franciscans that their monasteries were known as Recolectorios and Casas de recolección." Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, and Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 102.

38 Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 53.

39 Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, "Lay Piety and Community Identity in the Early Modern World," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 395–99.

40 In the early seventeenth century, Sánchez Gordillo reported on penitential processions that began in silent reverence and culminated in coordinated, clamorous expressions of sorrow. Alonso Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones que frecuenta la religiosidad sevillana* (1630) (Sevilla: Consejo General de Hermandades y Cofradía de la Ciudad de Sevilla, 1982), 167.

41 Fame also brought unwanted attention. In 1534, Ávila was brought before the Seville Inquisition and charged with exaggerating the harms of wealth, but the *Converso* priest was acquitted. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, ed. Charles George Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1907), 469.

42 "La sangre de Cristo échala y métela en tu alma; que yo sé cierto que pasará tu alma, y de indevota la hará devota, y de tibia la hará ardiente en el amor de Dios, y de dura la hará blanda y

Ávila's use of the liquiform metaphor seems intentional. By painting a highly sensual picture in the minds of his audience, Ávila fashioned an imaginative domain for his listeners to enter with tears of their own. In his well-known spiritual treatise, *Audi Filia*, Ávila suggests that a proper devotional attitude, *afectos*, can be obtained by moving one's attention away from outward affect and back on the inner devotional image:

> if with your mind at rest, the Lord gives you tears, compassion and other devout feelings, you should accept them, on the condition that they not take possession of you to such an excessive degree as to notably harm your health, or to leave you so weak in resisting them that they make you show your feelings through moans and other exterior signs to show what you feel…for which it is reasonable that you flee them: and for this you have to accept these feelings or tears; in such a way that you do not seek them out, lest you lose the thought or spiritual affection that caused them.[43]

Not unlike Hamlet's advice to the players to "o'erstep not the modesty of nature," Ávila warns against showing exterior signs of emotion. The passage identifies the practice of weeping "in public, and with great notoriety," an activity Ávila opposed. Earlier in the treatise, Ávila suggests that "you do not have to go by thought to contemplate the Lord in Jerusalem, where this happened; because this does much damage to the mind and dries up devotion." Rather, the best way to imitate the Passion prayerfully is to "realize that you have him present there; and place the eyes of your soul on his feet, or on the ground near him; and with total reverence watch what then was happening, *as if* you were present; and listen to what the Lord is saying, with complete attention."[44] These remarkable instructions allow the ritual actor to expediently produce an inner circumstance to effectuate a chain of occupational transformations. What is interesting about Ávila's advocation is his distinction between thinking about a prior event in a faraway location, on the one hand, and calling God into the immediate and simultaneous presence of the devotee, on the other. Ávila offers a method for the penitent to move from metaphor and memory to the present experience of the divine, seeking in the liquid wounds of Christ a rebirth of the soul.

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amorosa…cuando te paras a pensar en la pasión de Cristo, ¿no sientes que te pega nuevo amor y nueva devoción? ¿No se te ablanda el ánima? ¿No recibes fuerza? ¿No pides perdón de tus pecados? ¿No derramas lágrimas? Oh lágrimas sabrosas las que se derraman por la pasión de Cristo, que hacen derretir en amor suyo!" Juan de Ávila, *Obras completas del Maestro Juan de Ávila. Edición crítica*, vol. 1, ed. Luis Sala Balust (Madrid: La Editorial Católica, 1953), 711.

43 "si con vuestro pensar sosegado, el Señor os da lágrimas, compasion y otros sentimientos devotos, debéislos tomar, con condicion que no sea tanto el exceso con que se enseñoreen de vos, que os dañen á la salud con daño notable, ó que quedeis tan flaca en los resistir, que os hagan con gritos, y con otras exteriores señales, dar muestra de lo que sentís…de lo qual es razon que huyais: y por esto habeis de tomar estos sentimientos, ó lágrimas; de tal arte, que no os váyais mucho tras ellas, porque no perdais, por seguirlas, aquel pensamiento ó afeccion espiritual que las causó." Juan de Ávila, *Obras: Audi Filia et Vide*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1792), 10–11.

44 "no habeis de ir con el pensamiento á contemplar al Señor á Jerusalen, donde esto acaeció; porque esto daña mucho á la cabeza y seca la devocion; mas haced cuenta que lo teneis allí presente; y poned los ojos de vuestra ánima en los pies de él, ó en el suelo cercano á él; y con toda reverencia mirad lo que entonces pasaba, como si á ello presente estuvierades; y escuchad lo que el Señor habla, con toda atencion." Juan de Ávila, *Audi Filia*, 9–10 (emphasis mine).

Aligning with the inner image of remorse, devotional paintings and objects were available for contemplation and preparation for tearful penitential performances. The *Llibre Vermell de Montserrat*, a fourteenth-century songbook for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, contains a miniature showing a procession of partially nude penitents with sorrowful expressions. Illuminations in this manuscript may have been used by pilgrims to the Monastery of Montserrat as visual stimuli for acts of penance, confession, and praise.[45] In *Audi Filia*, Ávila documents the tradition of adorning images for use in ritual devotion in order to obtain states of intense sorrow and contrition: "And when they want to take a statue, in order to cause weeping, they dress it in mourning and put on it everything that encourages sadness."[46] Passion re-enactments were artistically rendered from the mid-fifteenth century through the early seventeenth century.[47] Commissioned by the Seville cathedral in 1548, Antón Pérez's painting *La Alegoría de la redención del género humano* depicts a group of Christlike figures (men of all ages) bearing diminutive crosses, their size indicating a symbolic use in re-enactments rather than an attempt at biblical realism.[48] Affective devotion is a *capacity* for emotion, incipient action, a muscular status of waiting, and a fully embodied presentation of inner life. Affective information was available in the instant of performance, occurring with experience of other bodies, and bodies of *others*.

Statues of the weeping Virgin Mary were also evocative representations for the contemplation of affective sorrow in early modern Seville. Statues and religious iconography were carried in litters during processions of Marian festivals and Holy Week, the latter including penitential self-flagellation. Franciscan Brothers encouraged the use of devotional objects both for empathetic association with the sorrows of the Virgin Mary and for contemplation of the tortured Christ through the navigation of one's own physiological and emotional apparatus. "Franciscanism described the gestural techniques of *affectus* in its development of imitative and meditational schema for the production of contrition. Like Bernardine piety, Franciscanism was a decisive reorientation of the relations between sacred and profane."[49] Alonso Sánchez Gordillo reported the playing of "mournful trumpets" and singing of "sad songs of devotion" during penitential

45 These and other examples can be found in Gabriel Llompart, "Penitencias y penitentes en la pintura y en la piedad catalanas bajomedievales," *Revista de dialectología y tradiciones populares* 28 (1972): 229–49.

46 "Y cuando quieren sacar una imagen, para hacer llorar, vístenla de luto y pónenle todo lo que incita a tristeza." Juan de Ávila, *Aviso y reglas cristianas sobre aquel verso de David. Audi, Filia* (Barcelona: J. Flors, 1963), 264.

47 Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, "La Evolución del 'Paso' de Misterio," in *Las Cofradías de Sevilla: Historia, antropología, arte*, ed. José Sánchez Herrero (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 51. See also, Cynthia Robinson, *Imaging the Passion in Multiconfessional Castile* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

48 William Maxwell, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, vol. 2 (London: John Olivier, 1848), 362.

49 Beckwith, *Christ's Body*, 53, 59.

rites in Seville. Such music would have further augmented sensory engagement with lachrymosity.[50]

Texts, sermons, and artifacts rely on certain psychophysical parameters to explore penitential feelings of *compassio*. According to Silvan Tomkins, affect is intrinsic to motivation because it stems from the need for humans to prepare for action; crying is *performed* to elicit a response.[51] As Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella demonstrate in their study of emotional and cognitive reciprocity, "purely mental 'events' can evoke strong emotions," and these events are constructed around planning for future tasks and desired outcomes:

> by maintaining an explicit representation of an agent's plans one can easily reason about future possible outcomes—essential for modeling emotions like hope and fear that involve future expectations. Explicit representations allow one to recognize how the plans or actions of an agent facilitate or hinder the goals of others—essential for modeling emotions like anger or reproach which typically involve multiple actors.[52]

The practices of cognitive preparation and physical acting out for eliciting affective responses in the mind and body suggest that, unlike culturally bound styles of habit, certain biological parameters dictate limits on, and blueprints of, expression and reception, each of which may persist across historical boundaries. Since the 1980s, when the social constructionist view of emotions was most influential, new psychological studies on evolutionary and genetic components of emotion evinced the existence of a substratum of emotional structures that exist across culture and time. It was suggested that a repertory of elemental emotional states is stock material for moral and social behaviours that play out in specific ways and in specific cultural settings, including medieval cultures.[53] Within basic cognitive and evolutionary parameters, communities and individuals rehearse common emotions in ways that meet the horizon of expectation unique to individual cultures. In other words, basic human feelings like guilt, sorrow, and anger are tools all humans use to prepare for action in social life, and the manifestation of these affective methods (blushing, tears, and screaming) are accessed when particular social preconditions and systems of communication elicit appropriate means. It follows, then, that in order to realize these social expectations, individuals must develop meth-

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50 "trompetas dolorosas" and "los cantos…tristes y devotas." Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 45, 158, 172.

51 E. Verginia Demos, "An Affect Revolution: Silvan Tomkins' Affect Theory," in *Exploring Affect: The Selected Writings of Silvan S. Tomkins*, ed. E. Verginia Demos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 17–26.

52 Jonathan Gratch and Stacy Marsella, "Tears and Fears: Modeling Emotions and Emotional Behaviors in Synthetic Agents," *International Conference on Autonomous Agents, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Autonomous Agents* (Montreal: 2001), 278–79.

53 R. M. Nesse, "Evolutionary Explanation of Emotions," *Human Nature* 1 (1990): 261–83, and J. Tooby and I. Cosmides, "The Past Explains the Present: Emotional Adaptation and the Structure of Ancestral Environments," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 2 (1990): 375–424; and Carolyne Larrington, "The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 252–3.

ods of integrating basic human feelings with legible corporal and vocal signs to be read not only by the community, but also by social actors themselves as they physiologically process their feelings.[54] While the texts of the medieval and early modern poets, commentators, and priests admit links between inner affect and outer signs of affect, more recent sciences of acting and cognition—not available to these writers—reinforce and give meaningful texture to the theories and idioms of Juan del Encina and Juan de Ávila.

The Sacrament of Penance

About physical displays of contrition, Thomas Aquinas (an avid reader of Aristotle) wrote "just as inward joy redounds into the outward parts of the body, so does interior sorrow show itself in the exterior members."[55] This theory speaks to the idea that devotional actors in the medieval period strove to unite cognitive and gestural acts of contrition. The idea of an *inner* spiritual life counterpoised with an *outer* body capable of expressing spiritual/emotional truths and corporeal misinformation can be traced back to Aristotle.

> From the point of view of Aristotle's analysis of dramatic impersonation, then, there exists an interdependence between the apprehension of internal feelings and thoughts and the apprehension of external acts and speech. We might say that this interdependence is a first principle of Aristotle's understanding of dramatic mimesis.[56]

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

Confessors and the lay community believed that exterior movements of the body could communicate the interior psychospiritual life of a person. For a medieval Christian, demonstrating sincere contrition was a crucial step toward receiving forgiveness from God. Aquinas believed that purposeful contrition and sorrow required outward, somatic signs and gestures, or "a corporeal passion," and the most effective were the shedding of tears and blood.[57] Throughout the Middle Ages, confessors were given detailed instructions on ways to coax meaningful and sincere expressions of repentance. It follows that, despite the scarcity of literature testifying to the experience of laypeople during confession and other acts of contrition, they also contemplated the challenge of physical *becoming* and devised means of their own for accessing emotive spirituality. As Karen Wagner argues, physical and emotive responses of the lay community to sacra-

54 William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xii.

55 Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Third Part*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Washbourne, 1917), 132.

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

57 Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Third Part*, 102.

mental contrition would have "helped shape—overtly or not, consciously or not—the discipline of penance."[58]

The capacity to communicate recognizable and true emotions between penitential actor/audience and clerical audience/actor through sympathetic responses of the sensorial systems of the body was crucial for the successful performance of contrition. The Church was aware of the potential for false expressions of remorse, and so, in many *ordines*, the confessor is expected to both *induce* and *participate in* the penitent's feelings of remorse. Priests were encouraged to bring about feelings of contrition by providing gestures meant for mimetic duplication by the penitent, and then, in response, mimic the penitent's own expressions of remorse and sadness back to her.[59] The goal of ritual acts that effectuated the internalization of the other was to bind members of the community of believers. The construction of an ideological community occurred within a broad cognitive template through which somatic signs were uttered and deciphered.

The fact that a person, representation, or any material object of the world entered a confessional, prayerful, or penitentiary experience, especially to provoke a feeling of contrition, exposed a doctrinal contradiction that lay at the heart of medieval Christian devotional practices. For the Church Fathers and theologians throughout the Middle Ages, the body and its sensory apparatuses were, in a very basic way, both impediments to, and vehicles for, spiritual understanding of God. As Bruce Holsinger points out about Augustine's ambivalence about sacred music and the experience of the body, "[b]y listening carefully to Augustine's agonizings over the music of the flesh, we can begin to perceive the many contradictions subtending the Christian realization of the musical body over the next millennium."[60] The foundational ontological dualism of flesh/spirit, body/mind—traceable through Paul's *Epistle to the Romans* and Augustine's *Confessions*—created theological and devotional paradoxes that Christian thinkers grappled with for centuries.

Through efforts to explain devotional apprehension of spirit via the senses, theologians produced wonderfully creative means of explaining, exploiting, and working around this basic doctrinal paradox. For instance, while Augustine's hierarchies held out, through the intelligible (rather than sensible) realm, the prospect of spiritual and paternal unity, and of love, they also make possible the revelation of God to men in their "creaturely reality."[61] In the sacrament of confession, bridging the gap between the inner sensory life (sensible and intangible) and "outward, public expression in oral and corporal language" (atemporal, eternal truths) was possible through affective experi-

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

59 Wagner, "*Cum aliquis venerit*," 212–13.

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

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

ence.[62] Performance was another way of sensitizing the experience of the sacred. For instance, eleventh- and twelfth-century Eucharistic controversies and debates on transubstantiation were productive in laying the groundwork for the feast of Corpus Christi, established by Pope Urban IV in 1246.[63]

Changes in confessional theology and practice occurred in the High Middle Ages, and by the twelfth century, *contritio*—the state of sorrow for one's sins that itself justified grace—was front and centre in the discussion of penance. Acts of visible remorse during confession lay the groundwork for *contritio*. Theologians cited early Christian writers for their authority. Cyprian wrote: "Do penance in full, give proof of the sorrow that comes from a grieving and lamenting soul…[T]hey who do away with repentance for sin, close the door to satisfaction."[64] In *De Paenitentia*, Tertullian expounds on the particularly performative *exomologesis*, physical acts of contrition that elicit a sympathetic response from an audience of priests and devotees:

> Exomologesis is a discipline for man's prostration and humiliation, enjoining a demeanor calculated to move mercy. With regard also to the very dress and food, it commands (the penitent) to lie in sackcloth and ashes, to cover his body in mourning, to lay his spirit low in sorrows, to exchange for severe treatment the sins which he has committed…to feed prayers on fasting, to groan, to weep and make outcries unto the Lord your God.[65]

During the Scholastic period, there was greater recognition of the need for the priest-confessor to supervise the process of confession in order to steer penitents away from feigned remorse and fully enunciate emotional states.[66] In order for a confession to be valid, and to justify absolution and the gift of grace, clerics were instructed to seek from the penitent demonstrations of sufficient contrition, which often meant the display of tears.[67] Expressions of remorse arising from fear rather than those stemming from profound humility were provided a distinct—less potent—sacramental category called attrition: "Attrition denotes approach to perfect contrition…[I]n spiritual matters, attrition signifies a certain but not perfect displeasure for sins committed, whereas contrition denotes perfect displeasure."[68] Aquinas suggests that physical and verbal signs

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62 Michael Mendelson, "Saint Augustine," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2000), accessed May 23, 2010, http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/augustine/.

63 Barbara Walters, "The Feast and its Founder," in *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, ed. Barbara Walters, Vincent Corrigan, and Peter Ricketts (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 32–33.

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

65 Tertullian, "On Repentance," trans. Sidney Thelwall, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 3., ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo: Christian Literature, 1887), 664.

66 Wagner, "Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem," 218.

67 Henry Ansgar, "Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century," in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 240–317.

68 Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Third Part*, 103. "For high scholasticism, then (e.g., Thomas Aquinas), *contritio* is the contrition that is given and characterized by grace itself, whereas *attritio*

presented by an attrite person did not include sorrow or grief, or at least that expressive remorse was overshadowed by confessions motivated by fear of damnation; moreover, contrition and attrition required different interventions by the priest during the sacramental ritual.

Scholastic theologians carefully parsed these definitions, and opinions varied on the intercessory role of the priest.[69] The scrupulous attention paid to this issue by medieval theologians speaks to the importance of inner emotion in activating spiritual transformation, but it also reflects the lack of clarity in the communication of emotions during *practices* of expressing and identifying penitential affect. The combination of a new appreciation of an inner spiritual life to account for God's grace during this period, on the one hand, and the prerogatives of priests to maintain their necessary role in the sacramental ritual, on the other, created a conundrum for theologians.[70] What were the recognizable qualities of, and relationships between, interior feelings of attrition and contrition, and what were the exterior signs and acts that would satisfy the sacrament? How does one determine if there exists a cause-and-effect connection between the two—or that they are merely coincidental? The following passage from Peter Lombard's *Four Books of Sentences* fairly illustrates the type of gnarled reasoning employed to engage with the difficulty of the matter:

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

By reasoning that interior and exterior penances are two sides of a single sacramental coin, each a sign *and* the thing signified, Lombard's acrobatic reasoning resolved conflicts between the two.[71]

These complexities were likely of less concern to penitents themselves, who, in late medieval Spain, pursued forms of ecstatic, bloody, and tearful remorse and sadness, especially in public devotional events.[72] When private rituals of tearful confession and self-mortification expanded into public performance in the later Middle Ages, expressions of emotional contrition garnered social prerogatives in the presentation and

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is attrition that is not given by grace." Michael Schmaus, *Dogma: The Church as Sacrament* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1975), 228.

69 Bonaventure, for instance, asserted the power of contrition to remove sin, even without confession. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, ed. Charles George Herbermann, et al. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913), 63.

70 Andrew James Johnston, "The Secret of the Sacred: Confession and the Self in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*," in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 57.

71 Peter Lombard, *Four Books of Sentences*, 22.2.5, quoted in Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick: Richwood, 1976), 76.

72 Christian, "Provoked Religious Weeping," 98–100, 110.

reception of affective play. During penitential self-flagellation and tearful petitioning of God for relief from famine or plague, emotive devotional displays were mediated by networks of communal and interpersonal expectancy. In these cases, true expressions of remorse were crucial not only for the individual remission of sin but also for the salvation of the entire community.

A significant aspect of late medieval communal penance was the expanded ecclesiastical and theological focus on intention.[73] In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spain, distrust of the outer body to express inner intention and spiritual cleanliness provided a template that would be pressed into service in *limpieza de sangre* statutes, methods for determining genealogical truths and falsehoods of the body. *Conversos* were compelled (under threat of harm) to produce perceptibly honest confessions to the mendicant arbiters of the Inquisition. This required penitents to perform contrition under conditions that belied confessional directness: to enjoin inner remorse with an outward, corporal transcript of sorrow before a scrutinizing audience. Under the auspices of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, the sacramental rite of confession took on its own form and tenor. Inquisitors surveilled intention and inner affect. The process, if carried through to the end, was lengthy and arduous for the prosecuted and, unlike confession before a parish priest, each confessional situation was attended by multiple authorities.[74] Inquisitorial acts of faith began at Mass on a designated Sunday. At the end of the sermon, the congregation was obliged to swear allegiance to the Holy Office.[75] Especially during the first decades of the Inquisition, the institution relied on community informers to produce suspected heretics, Judaizers, and other sinners, and the ritual "edict of faith" at Mass presented opportunities for members of the community to observe signs of insincerity or noncompliance in the behaviour of their neighbours. Arrests were followed by terms of imprisonment, and the accused were given three occasions to confess their guilt to a priest. During these encounters, priests would work to arouse the victim's sense of guilt to produce a confession; in a minority of cases, torture was used to persuade. Expressions of public contrition were even coerced from the victims of the *auto da fé* prior to execution.[76]

What is unclear from the records is the degree to which confessors sought to produce (or apprehend) signs of affective contrition during Inquisitorial confession. It may have been that Dominican priests modelled their methods on sacramental practices. On the other hand, institution was a judicial project of massive, sometimes unwieldy proportions, and it is possible that even the most insincere confessions might have satis-

73 Gretchen Starr-Lebeau, "Lay Piety," 399–400.

74 At a minimum, a secretary, a representative of the bishop, and the inquisitor priest attended confessional hearings. Often present as well were advocates, translators, and other clerics, and when torture was used, soldiers and doctors. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 187–92.

75 Helen Rawlings, *The Spanish Inquisition* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006), 30–31.

76 Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 207.

fied interrogators.[77] When physical tortures were implemented, confessions were not considered valid until they were made the day after a physical ordeal, because it was assumed that statements made under pressure were not truthful.[78] Contrite *Conversos* may have accessed modes of penitential affect to match the expectations of the confessors. The fact that penitential spirituality was a bedrock principle of the Abrahamic faiths in the late medieval period suggests that *Conversos* may have already possessed some of the skills required to produce convincing confessions.[79] Along with *Conversos* and *Moriscos* who converted in order to be integrated into the hegemonic Christian majority, unwilling Jewish converts and Judaizers may have accessed penitential prayers and sensibilities. Gretchen Starr-Lebeau writes that Yom Kippur and Jewish holidays were observed by Judaizers and "mined for expressions of penitential piety" by "*Conversos* anxious about their uncertain status straddling the Christian and Jewish worlds."[80] Converted Muslims as well may have sought exegetical and theological common ground, to facilitate a meaningful conversion of spiritual habit and belief. Confession is one of the Five Pillars of Faith in Islam and, as in Christianity, the sincerity of one's spiritual proclamations was guided by a meticulous exegetical system to guarantee the efficacy of a declaration of faith. The practice of fasting in Islam—evidently an adaptation of Jewish practice—constituted a penitential or expiratory measure, especially during the holy month of Ramadan.[81]

Penitential Theatre: Tears, Blood, and Sweat

Like penitential tears and confessional repentance, the shedding of blood during acts of *imitatio* had cleansing powers. The link between spiritual and bodily health was a common trope in medieval preaching, and, as Carole Rawcliffe has demonstrated, medicinal vocabulary was absorbed into homilies and sermons.[82] A 1240 English manual of confession advised that

> He gives us relief from our pain through contrition, and through confession we receive a purgative, he recommends a healthful diet through our keeping of fasts; he orders therapeutic baths through our outpouring of tears; he prescribes blood-letting through our recollection of Christ's passion. But what is this medicine? Penance.[83]

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77 During the first decades of the Inquisition, large numbers of people were given penance, reconciled, or condemned in a short amount of time. Although the numbers of condemned decreased in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *autos da fé* grew in pomp and spectacle and the processions would commonly continue into the night. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 208.

78 Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 188.

79 As mentioned earlier, the *Converso* Juana González of Guadalupe employed semi-Jewish penitential prayers and psalms in the service of Christian salvation.

80 Starr-Lebeau, "Lay Piety," 401–2.

81 Philip Khurti Hitti, *Islam: A Way of Life* (St. Paul: University of Minnesota Press, 1970), 36.

82 Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 212.

83 John Shinners and William Dohar, eds., *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 171.

In Christian exegesis, spiritual and somatic health were not simply aligned metaphorically; medieval Christians understood the physical benefits of confession, tears, and bloodshed.[84] Sweat, the emotive residue that preceded and exuded from rapture, effort, and intensity, was also evidence of a humoral and spiritual balance. Passions produced inside the body were carried through the bloodstream and then excreted as surplus matter.[85] As an essential component of humoral balance theory, blood was understood by literate specialists and commoners alike to be a physical and physiological fact.[86] It was the special substance that joined spiritual and bodily realms, able to rehabilitate and sinful. In late medieval and early modern Seville, the doctrine of spiritual and bodily salubrity was practised by ritual actors walking the Stations of the Cross during Holy Week. In Seville's Vía Crucis, the sixth station commemorating the legend of Veronica invited active participation by the observers. Women from the crowd joined the processional space and wiped blood and sweat from penitents' brows.[87] As was commonly believed at the time, Veronica's handkerchief—and the accompanying ritual action—had purgative powers.[88] The expression of blood gave penitents and their audiences the means with which to theatrically transform the ubiquitous symbols of Christ's blood in art and texts into embodied practice.

Self-flagellation and other forms of devotional bloodletting were a development of the High and late Middle Ages. In the beginning of the medieval period, people interpreted the crucifixion event as Jesus the man both revealing himself to be God and triumphing over death, as a moment of spiritual transcendence over mortality. Beginning in the twelfth century, the crucifixion transformed into a symbol instead of the cruellest and most sombre moment of the life of Christ. For the first time in Christian art, the dying or dead figure of Christ on the cross bled, conveying intense suffering and corporal pain.[89] The devotional symbol of the crucifix displaying Christ's bloody, broken body was fraught with the tensions between ideal and real and became the locus of affective experience of the divine. Blood in particular became a uniquely prominent substance, a symbol in devotional literature, sermons, meditations, and images that "expressed something quite specific about the saving action of Christ when it underlined the separated discreteness of a part that was nonetheless whole, the bubbling, roseate, and organic life of an immutable deity, the complete exsanguinations of a Christ whose tiniest particle would in itself save the world."[90] Disseminated in texts, statues, crucifixes, stained glass, illuminations, and theatrical displays, blood was the medium

84 Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 242.

85 Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 22.

86 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 187.

87 Antonio Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," *Archivo Hispalense* 16 (1952): 52.

88 Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, 244.

89 Marcia Ann Kupfer, "Introduction," in *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama*, ed. Marcia Ann Kupfer (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 7.

90 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 185.

through which devotees could practise empathetic associations with the divine. The flow of affective piety travelled through physical channels, sight, thought, and blood, and nurtured compassion. Quoting Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141) approvingly, Bonaventure wrote that "[t]he power of love transforms the lover into an image of the beloved," and that the depth of Mary's suffering on Calvary and her loving compassion for her son "transformed her into the likeness of Christ."[91] Compassion gravitates toward its object (suffering, *passio*) and fuses to it.

In Franciscan life and letters, the suffering of Christ held a dominant position, and both late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Franciscan manuscripts and murals represent a distinctly human form of Christ suffering during the Passion: images of mocking, scourging, and physical pain.[92] It is through the preaching and pastoral care of the Franciscans and Dominicans that the penitential attitudes and practices entered Passion devotion. As Cynthia Robinson has shown, the cult of the Passion took full hold in Castile in the fifteenth century.[93] By physically transforming (wounding) oneself into a representation of the God-man—like the stigmata of Francis of Assisi (d. 1226)—one's spirit (the locus of salvation) could also be transformed. For Franciscans and Dominicans, compassionate (or impassioned) shedding of blood was salvific, although the two groups departed on the precise ways in which blood signified. Dominicans (who practised self-flagellation more assiduously) stressed that blood *itself* was alive and divine, whereas Franciscans were more semiotically inclined. Franciscans believed blood referred to the life and death of Christ, and, although they did not deny bodily relics of Christ's blood, they believed that "[b]lood relics, miracle hosts, and stigmatics were not so much literally the blood of sacrifice itself as visible marks in matter—reminding Christians of the bodily death in which salvation lies."[94]

Soteriological performances gave the ritual actor opportunities to experience the sacred first through compassionate observation of suggestive imagery and recitation of evocative language. They responded to the crucified figure of Christ streaming fountains of blood from five wounds, the sustenance of the life of the Church and Christian faithful. But they also experienced blood through a direct experience of pain, embodying Christlike affect and suffering. These two devotional points of access were not nearly as distinct as they may seem, since the medieval understanding of physiognomy and sensory perception was itself mutable, diffuse, and porous. Blood, which was popularly and doctrinally seen as alive and mutable, had the power to transform the experience of the bleeding penitent from compassion (*co-passio*) to impassioned (*em patior*). Blood—as a concept and a thing—helped devotees bridge the paradoxical divide of body and spirit

91 Quoted from Otto G. von Simson, "*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Roger van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*," *Art Bulletin* 35 (1953): 13.

92 Bert Roest, "A Meditative Spectacle: Christ's Bodily Passion in the *Satirica Ystoria*," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. Alasdair MacDonald, et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 33, 41.

93 Robinson, *Imaging the Passion*, 13.

94 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 168.

that resided at the conflictive heart of medieval Christianity. The special medieval devotion to the Blood of Christ was reactivated through the iconographic theme of Christ as the source of life, in particular his blood: his crucified figure streaming fountains of blood was a clear allusion to blood as basic sustenance of the life of the Church, and ultimately all the Christian faithful.

The memory of the historical sacrifice of Christ on Calvary was rehearsed and ritualized by Christians daily in the Eucharistic rite, and in the late Middle Ages in extraliturgical Passion celebration and procession. However, treating the Passion as a single category of art or performance is problematic. Indeed, the commemoration of the Passion appeared in every art form in the late Middle Ages.[95] The distinctiveness of Passion drama from the Eucharistic rite becomes especially apparent when examining theatrical presentations of the Passion at the local level, where economic, municipal, and practical considerations were more pressing. Passion themes and narratives informed liturgical and extraliturgical practices. For instance, Passion dramas were presented at Passiontide and during Corpus Christi, and pilgrims to Jerusalem performed *imitatio Christi* throughout the year along the Way of the Cross.[96] The Passion processions of late medieval Spain were expressions of popular piety and, as a practical matter, developed independently from the Church liturgies of Holy Week.

Blood in the Streets: Holy Week and the Vía Crucis

In the fifteenth century, penitential brotherhoods took up the cult of bloodletting and scourging in the Holy Week procession of Seville in earnest. The confraternity of *La Preciosa Sangre de Cristo* and other confraternities of the Passion were active from the mid-fifteenth century, while less organized forms of Passion devotion are documented from the fourteenth century.[97] Spontaneous acts of public penance were practised by men, women, and children from a cross-section of Spanish society, sometimes in connection with conversion rituals.[98] The following vivid description of by Henri Ghéon is illustrative:

> with faces veiled, backs and shoulders bared…the men and women Flagellants came to the church behind the friar and his assistants. All intoned the chant that [Ferrer] had composed for the Confraternity…And the voice of supplication repeated the word

95 R. N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture*, ed. Alasdair MacDonald, et al. (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), 1.

96 Lynette Muir, *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 19–27.

97 José Sánchez Herrero and Silvia María Pérez González, *La Cofradía de la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo de Sevilla. La importancia de la devoción a la Preciosa Sangre de Cristo en el desarrollo de la devoción y la imaginería de la Semana Santa* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1999), 14–15.

98 Mitchell Merback, "Living Image of Pity: Mimetic Violence, Peacemaking and Salvific Spectacle in the Flagellant Processions of the Later Middle Ages," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honor of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 163.

> "mercy" again and again and again. Then the voices died away, the Flagellants knelt down before the porch; the moment had come. There was no longer a cry to be heard or a word. No sound in the air save the noise as of heavy rain produced by the blows of scourges upon flesh…Often the people, swept on by example, would tear off their clothes to imitate the scourgers. Men and women joined in, and children little more than babies.[99]

Ghéon's narrative suggests that in this early period boundaries between spectators and performing *disiplinantes* often broke down, if ever a clear line existed at all.[100]

The theology of tearful contrition was promulgated by Vincent Ferrer, revivalist preacher the late fourteenth- to early fifteenth-century whose sermons were well-known for provoking tears. It is believed that Ferrer was also at least partly responsible for bringing public practices of self-mortification to Spain from Italy, where it the practice was already established. Overall, the Spanish devotional experience was profoundly influenced by Franciscans. Don Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga documents disciplinary activities among members of Seville confraternities from 1408, crediting Ferrer's presence in the city for the institution of public forms of disciplinary penance.[101] Although it was not until 1538 that an indulgence from Rome formally sanctioned Holy Week rites of self-mortification in Seville, penitential practices in public had already been established for decades.[102] For instance, we know from a church synod of 1511 in Seville that night vigils and representations of religious dramas were prohibited in churches and monasteries. The careful delineation of regular feast days from extraliturgical representations in the synod suggests that the archdiocese was compelled to enforce prohibitions of ongoing penitential activities during this period.[103] Susan Verdi Webster points out that the prohibitions refer to descent and resurrection ceremonies that were routinely celebrated by local penitential groups.[104]

Unlike most other penitential confraternities across Europe, whose practices of self-mortification were secondary to charitable and trade-related activities, mortification was the organizing principle and ritual focus of Spanish penitential brotherhoods.[105] Penitential confraternities in Spain were called *cofradías de sangre y luz* (brotherhoods of blood and light), highlighting their processional involvement in Holy Week: carrying candles and shedding blood. The performances of self-mortification were carried out during the forty days of Lent as well. By the sixteenth century, Apostolic Bulls and Privileges limited all processions of self-mortification to the daylight hours of Holy Wednes-

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99 Henri Ghéon, *Saint Vincent Ferrer* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1954), 77–80.

100 Merback, "Living Image of Pity," 163.

101 José Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias religiosas de Sevilla. Ó noticia histórico-descriptiva de todas las cofradías de Penitencia, Sangre y Luz fundadas en esta ciudad* (Sevilla: Imprenta y Librería del Salvador, 1882), 3–5.

102 William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 184–86.

103 Archivo de Catedral (Archobiprado) *Fondo Histórico General*, Legajo 42 4/1, n.p., "Sinodo de Diego de Deza, 1511," fols. 20r, 21r.

104 Webster, *Art and Ritual*, 42.

105 Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 23–24.

day, Thursday, and Friday—except for the Confraternity of Santa Vera Cruz, which conducted their rituals in the evening, ending at 10 p.m.[106] One group of penitents, called *aspados* (cross-men), paraded during Lent, Holy Week and rogation periods wrapped in robes, hands tied either to a Roman cross or an X-shaped cross to suggest the martyrdom of Saint Andrew. Others, tied to a pole or trunk of a tree with arms outstretched, were physically wounded in the manner of Christ on the cross.[107]

Cofradías de Conversos (confraternities with an exclusively *Converso* membership) existed in Seville from the late Middle Ages, the numbers of which increased after 1391.[108] In the late 1400s, there was a movement in Spain among religious leaders (some of whom may have been of *Converso* origin) to pacify tensions and competition between *Converso* and Old Christian *cofradías* by uniting the members of each or prohibiting the creation of new brotherhoods based on this distinction.[109] This occurred in both Toledo and Alcalá in the second half of the century, although policies of segregation between Old and New Christians in Seville confraternities appear to have persisted through the end of the century.[110] The *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz*—the first to officially adopt corporal penance into their regular practices in the early fifteenth century—appears not to have forbidden membership of *Conversos* in their rulebook of 1538, although the rulebooks of other penitential brotherhoods that formed after Vera Cruz denied membership to "blacks, mulattos, nor those of Moorish caste, nor *Conversos*, nor Jews, nor penitents of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, nor to be of vile trade and infamy, nor infamous person because of the judiciary, nor misbehavers, nor gamblers."[111] The fact that the Confraternity of San Mateo, an all-*Converso* confraternity founded in the sixteenth century, was not categorized as a *cofradía de sangre y luz* suggests that *Conversos* were kept at a distance from rituals of the passion and death of Jesus.[112]

The *Cofradía de la Vera Cruz*, the first known confraternity to officially incorporate self-flagellation into its Holy Week processional activities, was founded in 1448, and Sánchez Gordillo estimates that this brotherhood practised self-disciplinary acts in public at the Convent of San Francisco as early as 1480, the year the Inquisition was established in Seville.[113] The frontispiece to its Rulebook of 1631, most likely a copy of its 1538 rules, gives us an idea of the appearance of the hooded penitents of the processional entourage. The brothers covered their heads during processions of self-flagellation, obscuring their distinctive familial and social identities while foregrounding a working, suffering body. To varying degrees, bodies of penitents were stripped bare and

106 Swanson, "Passion and Practice," 152.

107 Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," 52.

108 José Sánchez Herrero, *La Semana Santa de Sevilla* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2003), 22.

109 Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, 103.

110 José Sánchez Herrero, "Las cofradías sevillanas. Los comienzos," *Las cofradías de Sevilla. Historia, antropología, arte* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1985), 31, 9–11, 18–19.

111 Sánchez Herrero, *La Semana Santa de Sevilla*, 73–84, 87.

112 Webster, *Art and Ritual*, 33–34.

113 Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 151.

the tips of scourges wiped with wax to draw blood. (Figure 2.1) By re-enacting the torments of Christ, penitents mitigated the terrors of mortality by imaginatively incorporating the eternal Christ into their own bodies, etching the possibility of grace in blood on their backs. Each painful stroke of the lash represented a resurrection of the soul with the mortification of flesh.

Although performances of *imitatio Christi* included stylized gestures, sights, and sounds, the very real pain felt by flagellants would have produced tears, and it is likely that sweat and tears would have soaked their white, linen hoods.[114] The *Vera Cruz* Rulebook also describes an evening procession led by the *mayordomo* carrying a black flag with a red cross, after which the penitents walked in pairs. After every four or five pairs of self-flagellators, two members of the confraternity walked with candles in hand. Following the train was a cleric carrying a large Crucifix accompanied by additional brothers in black shirts carrying axes. Franciscan friars brought up the rear of the train. The only musical accompaniment were "four trumpets blasting in pain." The procession visited five stations: the Convent of San Francisco, La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, and the churches of El Salvador, Santa María Magdalena, and San Pablo.[115]

The Seville cityscape of today is a product of Roman, Almohad, medieval Christian, and Baroque era design and re-construction. In the eighteenth century, large, open-air plazas were carved out of the medieval topography during a phase of major reconstruction, but early modern Seville maintained its ancient, Islamic character. Smaller plazas from the medieval period formed hexagons, rhombuses, triangles, and semicircles. Meandering streets connected a network of these small plazas, often adjacent to parish churches or convents. The streets were private and narrow, which made congregation for outdoor performances difficult. Medieval architectonics of Seville structured the manners in which festivals were performed and watched. To accommodate the large crowds of spectators for religious and disciplinary festivals, the processional stream was organized to pass through as many of these plazas as possible. Even during contemporary festivals many of Seville's streets can barely accommodate processional actors, so the viewing public will often stand in shallow doorways, peer from windows, or congregate in plazas and wait for the procession to arrive. The cramped corridors of the Islamic streetscape brought celebrants into intimate proximity with the *arma Christi* and the porous bodies of flagellants.

It would be a mistake to suggest that spectators at the edges of the processional were in some way excluded from the drama of the Passion. Members of the community who did not shed their own blood performing self-mortification rituals had many opportunities to participate in the sorrowful drama, most concretely by revivifying the temporal-spatial narrative of Christ's journey to Golgotha in the roles of biblical characters and witnesses. Spectators of these, and other occasions of theatrical penance, insinuated themselves into the narrative with tearful demonstrations, as described in Encina's *La*

114 Flynn, "Spectacle of Suffering," 154.

115 "[C]uatro trompetas tañendo de dolor." Teresa Laguna Paúl and José Sánchez Herrero, *Regla de la Cofradía de la Santísima Vera Cruz* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1999), 58.

Figure 2.1. Castilian flagellant on Holy Thursday. Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg*, Hs. 22474. Bild 178 (1530). Image in the public domain.

Trivagia. By the early sixteenth century, both male and female confraternity members participated in penitential processions, and although women were later banned from flagellant activities by the Church, they played a part in the procession in other ways. Women entered the procession carrying candles, tending to penitents' wounds, wiping their brows, and offering water; these merciful interventions into the processional flow impersonated Veronica's legendary role in the Passion.[116] Women also partook in public weeping, which during Holy Week created a strong association with the Virgin Mary, who, from the earlier period of *Reconquista*, was the primary focal point for devotion in the constellation of saints.

In 1521, several Sevillian penitential confraternities adopted Marquis Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera's Vía Crucis for their processional route, using it at a site for engaging in acts of flagellation and reciting prayers. The participating brotherhoods included the Exaltación de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Pendiente del Santo Madero de la Cruz y Lágrimas de Nuestra Señora, Santo Crucifijo del San Agustín, and Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, the last a "*cofradía del negros*." The Seville Vía Crucis began in the chapel of the

116 Webster, *Art and Ritual*, 157–58; Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 133.

palace of Enríquez de Ribera and concluded at a location outside the city walls known as Cruz del Campo, which represented Calvary. Like the Quemado de la Tablada (Burning Place), which marked the end of the procession of victims of the Inquisition, Cruz del Campo was beyond the walls of the city. The trajectory of both processions moved in an easterly direction, toward Jerusalem. The course of the Vía Crucis began near the centre of the city and passed through the parish of San Esteban, a *Converso* neighbourhood surveilled by the Inquisition. José Bermejo y Carballo estimated the distance of the passage from the palace to the Cruz del Campo to be 3,321 paces.[117]

The first Station of the Cross was commemorated within the courtyard of Enríquez de Ribera's palace (Casa de Pilatos), after Mass was heard in the chapel. The chapel contains stone replica of the column upon which Jesus was bound and received lashes, brought from Jerusalem. Because the penitents could not all fit in the chapel, they congregated in the patio outside. From the patio the procession passed beneath the classical revival entrance arch (built in 1528), which was inscribed with the narrative of the Marquis's pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[118] In the small square outside the palace, the murmur of prayers and the crack of lashes emanated from the crowd of penitents as they began their march. According to archival records from 1653, existing churches, convents, and hermitages served as stational landmarks along the Vía Crucis.[119]

Station two, where Christ is burdened with the cross, was located about twenty-three yards from the entrance arch of the Casa de Pilatos. At this point a large cross carefully wrapped in rough cloth (presumably to protect the cross from the blood of the penitents, or the penitents from the splinters of the cross) was elevated. The parish church of San Esteban (station three) stood for the place of Jesus's first fall and further down the street near the Puerta de Carmona Jesus's encounter with his mother (station four) was commemorated. The area before the gates of the city was open and provided space for additional mourners and spectators to take part in the ritual. Penitents paused here, at the plaza of Santas Justa y Rufina (now Plaza de San Agustín). According to the poet Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán, when Fernando III defeated the Muslims of Seville, he dedicated "a magnificent church and monastery on the site of the prison of Justa and Rufina."[120] The two saints were also commemorated at this location during the Corpus Christi procession and the day of their feast through the early modern period, instigating a powerful amalgamation of political, hagiographic, and sacrificial meanings through the present experience of sacred space, sight, and pain.[121] Logistically and narratively,

117 Descriptions of the Vía Crucis in Seville are from Juan Gomez de Blas, *Memoria muy devota y Recuerdo muy provechoso*… (Seville, 1653), BCC, 57-1-12, fols. 167r–168r; Bermejo y Carballo, *Glorias religiosas*, 64, 184–89; Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," 49–104; and Sánchez Gordillo, *Religiosas estaciones*, 151–72.

118 Vicente Lleó Cañal, *La Casa de Pilatos* (Madrid: Electa, 1998), 35.

119 Gomez de Blas, "*Memoria muy devota*," fols. 167r–168r.

120 Medieval and early modern Sevillians celebrated the feast of Justa and Rufina with sermons and religious procession on July 17. Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 36.

121 Martín de la Torre, "Vía Crucis a la Cruz del Campo," 49–104.

station four would have implored spectators to weep and wail. Station six, where Veronica wipes the sweat from Christ's brow, was located at the Convent of San Benito. Along with the eighth station of the cross, "*las hijas de Sion, llorando a Cristo*" (the daughters of Zion, weeping for Christ), the sixth station offered an opportunity for spectators to enter the historical narrative with tearful re-enactments of pity.[122] The simultaneity of the phenomena of tearful lamentations and physical signs of pain during Holy Week flagellant processions was not coincidental: disclosure of human blood resonated metonymically with the expelling of fluid tears.

The Vía Crucis merged co-*passio* with embodied Passion performance, where penitents mediated competing demands on the social subject: the sacred and profane, body and spirit, present ritual and future salvation, substance, and metaphor. These dichotomies were bridged by the technical and kinaesthetic accomplishment of performing bodies to imitate the divine in gruesome detail, displaying strength of spirit overcoming the weaknesses of bodies in pain. The Spanish Passion procession was a gateway for the mobilization of *afecçãón*: a path for the tortured body to accomplish affective empathy and engage performative memory, not as a representation of the past, but rather as a "perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present."[123] The suffering flesh was conceived of as open and malleable, and the experience of a bleeding, tearful body coalesced around a nexus of strenuous performances. The corporal technique of recalling the divine into being depended on the human subject effectuating a union of contrition with imitation, and the degree to which this junction was possible depended on the degree of commitment, imagination, and concentration of the ritual participant. Disciplines, penitence, and ecstatic athleticism "have the effect of something more than human, the dignity and gravitas of tragedy."[124] These activities move the body from conventional ritual to the space of the sacred.

Penitential Theatre: Conversion and Punishment

From 1391, when anti-Jewish violence ignited in Seville and spread across the peninsula, conversions of Jews to Christianity increased markedly; the numbers of Muslims converting to Christianity reached its zenith after the unification of Christian kingdoms in the late fifteenth century. Jews and Muslims were segregated from Holy Week and Corpus Christi rituals in the period after 1391 in Spain, which, rather than promoting social stability, effectuated disorder since religious performance was a common source for the eruption of anti-*Converso* riots in fifteenth century in the Castilian realm.[125]

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122 Gomez de Blas, "*Memoria muy devota*," fol. 167v.

123 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 8.

124 Simon Shepherd, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London: Routledge, 2006), 147.

125 There is evidence from Catalonia of participation of Jews in Passion plays. Sebastiá J. M. Doñate, "Aportación a la historia del teatro, siglos XIV–XVI," in *Martínez Ferrando Archivero. Miscelánea de studios dedicados a su memoria* (Madrid: Asociación Nacional de Bibliotecarios, Archiveros, y Arquéologos, 1968), 149–64; and Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 215.

Perceptions of resemblance and difference on the landscape of *Converso* and *Morisco* bodies created a need for performances characterized by interactive semiotics of the body: distinctive markers defining ethnic difference and expressive stamps of humiliation that signal the need to atone for that very difference. New converts in Seville were made to continue a conversion performance of everyday life, which included distinctive clothing and penitential suffering. The need to rid the Christian community of a perceived corruptive otherness was entwined with fantasies of corporeal susceptibility and malleability and underwrote state-sanctioned mass conversions.

While Protestants, criminals, and *Moriscos* were also subject to public humiliations, Christian anxieties about apostatic Jews were most pronounced, and were expressed fervently in the performative acts of penance and punishment. Steven Kruger writes that through medieval Christian thought ran a discourse in which "[e]ven as it is made to die, to disappear, Judaism comes to occupy our field of vision…Jewishness is a *spectral* presence, strongly felt and yet just as strongly derealized."[126] On the one hand, Jewish presence was an "Other who had guaranteed the integrity of Christendom by marking its exteriority"—a reminder of the incarnational moment of Christian history.[127] On the other hand, the spectral Jew produced deep doubts about genuine Christian transformation. As the Jewish presence in the city diminished, New Christians (*Conversos* and *Moriscos*) and Old took up practices of public penance like *imitatio Christi*—acts of self-mortification that reanimated Christ's tortuous path to Golgotha. The concomitant juxtaposition of two processional forms, the *auto da fé* for condemned Judaizers and Christian self-flagellation, highlights the ways in which the Sevillian community entered an economy of dissolution and rebirth across confessional lines. In the wake of the disappearance of Judaism from the Sevillian terrain, spectral presences haunted Passion Week penitential processions, some of which flowed through the old *judería* and past converted synagogues that offered religious sanctuary and prayer spaces for Muslims and Christians.

The year 1391 marks a radical change in Christian–Jewish relations on the Peninsula. Acts of violence committed against Jews prior to this date were mostly ritualistic in nature, but the pogroms of 1391—initiated in Seville and spreading across Castile and eastern Iberian kingdoms—resulted in the destruction of entire Jewish communities and deaths of thousands. Economic jealousies and ethnic fears among Christians were aroused by the anti-Semitic preaching of fanatical priests—especially the Dominican Ferrand Martínez, Archdeacon of Ecija (Seville). On March 15, 1391, Martínez delivered a sermon at the church of Santa María in Seville encouraging parishioners to enter the *judería* and commit acts of violence.[128] The cataclysmic events of 1391 put tremendous pressure on Castilian and Catalonian Jews to convert to Christianity; in some cities,

126 Kruger, *The Spectral Jew*, xvi–xvii.

127 Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 119.

128 Antonio Cascales Ramos, *La Inquisición en Andalucía. Resistencia de los conversos a su implantación* (Sevilla: Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1986), 14.

Jews were baptized by force.[129] Unstable political conditions and revolts of the nobility against the crown in Castile weakened the usual amount of protection afforded to Jewish and *Converso* communities. Further exacerbating the calamitous situation for Jews, unsuccessful attempts of the rabbinical leaders to abandon the Disputation of Tortosa in 1413–1414 (a debate designed by Christian clerics to undermine the influence of rabbinical leaders) gave Christian mendicants propagandistic ammunition for persuasive forms of proselytizing. Many Jewish spiritual leaders fled to northern Africa, leaving synagogues leaderless and weakening the resolve of the remaining Jewish communities. Jews converted in great numbers throughout the century, especially in Seville.[130]

Despite efforts of Church and state to strictly delineate an autonomous category of Old Christian against the identities of Jews, *Conversos*, and crypto-Judaizer—the historical picture is far hazier. In his *Memoria*, written in Seville, Fray Agustín Salucio attests to the complex ancestral makeup of the category of Old Christian, writing that it stemmed from four different social groups: "the conquerors, those who were conquered, those who were neither conquerors or conquered, and a mixture of some or all of the above."[131] *Converso* was an unstable social category, about which the heterodox Christian community felt significant anxiety, intensified by concerns about their own blood lines. Markers of ethnic and religious difference promulgated by *limpieza de sangre* statutes were laden with semiotic information regarding otherness.[132]

The following description by Fernando del Pulgar, the *Converso* royal chronicler to Fernando II (King of Aragón, 1479–1516) and Isabel (Queen of Castile and León, 1469–1504), demonstrates the juridical and confessional binary that the Christian church and monarchies wished to establish: "[a]nd it happened that in some households the husband kept certain Jewish ceremonies and the wife was a good Christian, and that one son and daughter might be good Christians while another son was of Jewish faith."[133] A debate among historians of medieval Judaism about the degree to which *Conversos* followed the Christian faith sincerely is ongoing.[134] Hybrid religiosity, like Juana González of Guadalupe's, was prevalent and, in fact, "internal *Convivencia*" (to coin a phrase) was

129 Baer, *The History of the Jews*, vol. 2, 115–16.

130 Miguel-Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Judeoconversos andaluces en el siglo XV," in *Actas del III coloquio de historia medieval andaluza. La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez, et al. (Jaén: Disputación Provincial de Jaén, 1986), 28–30.

131 Quoted in Kevin Ingram, "Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Volume One, Departure and Change*, ed. Kevin Ingram (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 335.

132 *Limpieza de Sangre* statutes enacted by the Archbishop of Seville in 1515. José Sánchez Herrero, *Las cofradías de Sevilla en la modernidad* (Sevilla: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 1988), 57–58.

133 Francisco Cantera Burgos, "Fernando del Pulgar and the *Conversos*," in *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369–1516*, ed. J. R. L. Highfield (London: Macmillan, 1972), 347.

134 Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition*, and Netanyahu, *Origins of the Inquisition*, favour an interpretation that the majority of *Conversos* were sincere in their faith, while Baer, *The History of the Jews*, and Beinart, *Conversos on Trial*, stress survival of Jewish faith and practice during the Inquisition period.

a necessary stage of becoming Christian, or even staying Jewish. Faith is restless and mercurial—even for those who self-identify as orthodox—and *Converso* life was always-already hybrid, in constant motion within a multidirectional matrix of surveillance and practice. Testimony from the early Inquisition in Toledo documented a *Conversa* "nodding her head and davening like a Jew" while conducting Christian prayer.[135] The process of learning Christian penitential and devotional practices took time and practice. In fact, conversion presented not only the issue of changing faith on a personal level, but also the need to perform a public identity that obscured ingrained religious and secular habits, starting with the homes of *Converso* families. The centre of spiritual Jewish life was abandoned or stood in stark contrast with *Converso* identities formed in public, theatrical celebrations of Christianity.

Indeed, the unattainable standard of instant acculturation led to the criminalization of cultural habits of *Conversos*. Inquisitorial trials leveraged evidence from witnesses who testified to quasi-religious, customary behaviour of the accused (eating and cooking habits, styles of prayer, gesture, and attire). This was true also of Spaniards of Muslim descent, where "religious deviance…came to be denoted by cultural deviance." Christians viewed *Moriscos* as dissimulators and "double men." In a case in Valencia in 1498, a *mudéjar* woman was arrested for wearing a veil and customary dress, an act that fell outside the authority of the Inquisition but one that established a precedent regardless.[136] Suspicions of incomplete conversion of baptized Jews took on the character of the host desecration tales, and there was a "pervading sense [of] incomplete conversions, a process never quite put to rest, and thus of the danger which followed from the integration of converts into Christian secrets, spaces and rituals."[137] Acceptable performances of everyday life were a prerogative for a community under surveillance by their neighbours, municipal authorities, and Church officials.

Christian paranoia about religious difference stemmed from cultural similarities shared by Spanish people of all faiths. The social lives, habits, and activities of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Spanish Christians and non-Christians had become increasingly alike. For instance, although royal statutes of 1412 required the physical separation of Christian and minority religion communities, these were rarely obeyed and the boundaries between the *juderías* and *morerías* (Moorish quarters) in many cities were quite fluid and open.[138] The consequences of centuries-long *Convivencia* created a situation where ethnic differences, codes of dress, and styles of grooming between Old and New

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135 "*dando cabeçadas y sabadeando como judiu*" Haim Beinart, *The Records of the Inquisition: A Source of Jewish and Converso History*, no. 11 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1967), 217.

136 Deborah Root, "Speaking Christian: Orthodoxy and Difference in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Representations* 23 (Summer 1988): 118, 127; 121.

137 Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 85.

138 This was the case in Seville until 1480, when segregation statutes were re-enacted and enforced. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla y otros estudios de historia medieval andaluza* (Granada: Universidad de Granada,1989), 64.

Christians were difficult to perceive.[139] *Mudéjar* acquisition of Castilian language and Christian culture prior to the fall of Granada in 1492 was neither unidirectional, nor was it understood as a negative process.[140] Marrying into an Old Christian family was one of the most expedient and effective means for converted Jews to protect their families from economic and physical harm. As Jonathan Ray explains, from the fourteenth century forward, Jews showed "a greater concern for personal advancement than for religious or communal solidarity."[141] Ethnic and religious coding was not only the domain of the Christian community. Perhaps finding some pleasure in irony, the Jorge family of *Conversos*—one of the most powerful consortia of Atlantic traders in Seville in the sixteenth century—were in the habit of referring to their Old Christian rivals as "negros," which suggests that *Conversos* who had ample social status and economic power were at liberty to denigrate Old Christians based on blood impurity.[142]

In the decades after the fall of Granada in 1492, ecclesiastical, inquisitorial, and political pressures were exerted upon Muslims to convert, and in 1529 the Inquisition was established in Granada to enforce sumptuary codes and other cultural controls. These laws restricted customary Muslim activities in *Morisco* communities, including the requirement to leave doors open during wedding celebrations, restrictions on speaking and teaching Arabic, and the outlawing of Moorish clothing.[143] The *Morisco* and Muslim population in Seville grew slowly during the sixteenth century, settling in the San Marcos and Triana parishes.[144] Once the state policy of forced conversion of Muslims was firmly established in the middle of the sixteenth century, the *Morisco* population in Seville grew to significant numbers, and only then did the Seville Inquisition prosecute Islamists.[145] It is during this period that Christian attitudes toward Jews and Muslims, which had been markedly different in the medieval period, began to merge into a catch-all category of non-Christian otherness.

In the context of a centuries-long history of strained *Convivencia* in Iberia, the process of demarcating and weakening what Old Christians understood to be threats to the sanguine centre of Christian life—the Passion of Christ—could be called the "narcissism of minor differences."[146] Sigmund Freud's concept aptly encapsulates the sense of

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139 As early as the thirteenth century in communities across Europe, the requirement of distinctive dress for Jews "shows that they must not have been the distinctly other" and were "fairly well integrated into the Christian community." Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 99.

140 Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 230.

141 Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution," 12.

142 Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 118.

143 Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 96–97.

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

145 Ingram, "Historiography, Historicity and the Conversos," 18.

146 Freud identifies narcissism of minor differences flourishing in "communities with adjoining

obsessive scrutiny to which the lives and habits of *Conversos* and *Moriscos* were subjected, and brings attention to the fact that the social lives, if not the religious lives, of fifteenth-century Spanish communities were not at all unlike. In the fifteenth century, a new socioreligious category was formed to inscribe difference more clearly on bodies of ambiguous ethic and religious character.[147] Minor differences were often used as evidence in inquisitorial trials and were then performatively embodied and highlighted in violent public acts of penance.

Medieval scholars have analyzed the ways in which heightened devotion to the Passion and the suffering of Christ inevitably brought more attention to the perpetrators of Christ's torments—Jews—which were represented in anti-Semitic portrayals in Passion treatises, devotional manuals, and art.[148] The expanded role of the Jews in the Passion story was to a great extent the byproduct of visual culture and devotional realism promoted by Franciscans.[149] It is significant that the development of sensual engagement with the Passion in the late medieval period was contiguous to increased representations of Jews as "non-seers" of spiritual truth. In medieval Christian narrative and art, Jews are never very far away from the Passion—or its liturgical incarnation, the Eucharist—which may have triggered what social psychologists call the "similarity-dissimilarity hypotheses" that are responsible for conflicting attitudes of repulsion and attraction.[150] Miri Rubin writes that

> Jews were condemned to a life as ever-present reminders of the inception of Christianity, and of the error and evil of their ways. Their state of servitude and general abjection in the world was useful testimony to the truth of the Gospel tale. Contemporary Jews were always present, in flesh or in image, bearing witness. Converted Jews fulfilled the same role and presaged the fate of all Jews at the approach of Judgment Day.[151]

On the one hand, Jews were indispensable antagonists, catalyzers of the Passion of Jesus. Yet despite the necessary presence of Jews in Christian society, artistically rendered to support the Christian sense of identity, they were also materially elided through conversion and violence.

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territories, and related to each other in other ways as well, who are engaged in constant feuds and in ridiculing each other." *Civilization and its Discontents*, in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Freud*, vol. 21, trans. and ed. James Strachey and Anna Freud (London: Hogarth Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1961), 114.

147 Netanyahu, *Origins of the Inquisition*, 283.

148 See essays in Marcia Kupfer, ed., *The Passion Story: From Visual Representation to Social Drama* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); and Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

149 Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 71–72. Diane Hughes discusses marks of difference in art and Franciscan preaching in "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-rings, Jews, and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City," *Past and Present* 12 (1986): 3–59.

150 See, for instance, Ramadhar Singh and Soo Yan Ho, "Attitudes and Attraction: A New Test of the Attraction, Repulsion and Similarity-Dissimilarity Asymmetry Hypotheses." *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39 (2000): 197–211.

151 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 9.

Anti-Semitic discourses in Passion painting, statuary and relief carvings, dramas, polemics, and host desecration tales were numerous and pervasive. Examples of positive images of Jews and Jewish allegorical figures, like *Synagoga*, are difficult to locate in Spain.[152] The *Cantigas*, for instance, contains at least eight separate *cantigas de miragre* with Jewish characters, most of which relate tales of Jews who earn swift retribution after committing anti-Christian acts. Less malevolent Jewish characters in the songs are converted to Christianity by the power of the Virgin Mary. The Jews in the miniatures of these songs are assigned some of the typical physiognomic signifiers in Christian art: pointed hats, long beards, and exaggerated noses, as drawn in *cantiga* 4. In the narrative, a Jewish man tries to burn his son after hearing of his conversion, but Mary intervenes, and the Christian community burns the Jewish man in the boy's stead. Interestingly, the Jewish boy who takes the sacrament and converts to Christianity in this song does not have the physical features of his father—an early example of racialization of religious others in art and theatre.

Sanguinity was embedded in the stereotypical Jew of Christian preaching, art, and texts. Accusations of ritual murder focused on aspects of blood; male Jews menstruation was a popular Christian fable. Bonaventure wrote: "[c]onsider therefore how great was the impiety of the Jews, who thirsted for the innocent blood of the one who loved them so much that he wished to pour out of his body for them, and how great was the devotion of Christ, who so pitied the impious that he poured out his blood for those who wished to shed his blood."[153] Jews were often called "blood-thirsty," although preachers were careful to delineate concepts of killing and sacrifice in relation to the story of the Passion. In host desecration tales, bleeding was an act of protest and accusation: "the mistreated object bleeds in protest" when abused, ritually misused or attacked by unbelievers, heretics, or Jews.[154] Gavin Langmuir has argued that the myth of host desecration at the hands of Jews developed out of Christian insecurities surrounding the doctrine of transubstantiation, pointing to numerous examples where Jews are associated with the blood of Christ.[155] Another common anti-Jewish blood libel in the Middle Ages was Jews crucifying Christians—children especially. The descriptions of these stories are often coordinated with aspects of the Passion story.[156]

Creative stories of host desecration were not limited to the literary and visual arts. In 1468, a rumour spread that a boy in Sepulveda was kidnapped on the Thursday of Holy Week (the most important day for penitential enactments in the Christian calendar), crowned with thorns, whipped, and crucified. An inquiry into the matter resulted

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152 See essays by Elizabeth Monroe and Jacqueline E. Jung in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. Mitchell Merback (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

153 Bonaventure, "Sermo 2 de nostra redemptione," in *Opera omnia*, ed. Collegium S. Bonaventurae, vol. 9, 11 vols. (Quaracchi, 1882), 726. Translation by Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 242.

154 Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, 242; 183.

155 Gavin Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

156 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 135.

in the public condemnation to death of a group of Jewish men.[157] Rumours were spread in Saragossa that a group of *Conversos* had "scourged a crucifix, to the accompaniment of Hebrew prayers and sermons, in imitation of the torments of Jesus on the Cross. The *Conversos* in question were alleged to have played the roles of Pilate, the high priest of Annas (Hanan), Judas, and Longinus, who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear."[158] From the High Middle Ages through to the period of the Iberian Inquisition, Jews and Judaizers were subjected to *poenitentiam justitiae divinae* (payment of divine justice), acts of deprivation and violence as retribution for the death of Jesus, the very death that offered eternal salvation for the Christian soul.[159]

It may not come as a surprise that the Jewish response to accusations of Eucharistic desecration was to exploit Christian anxieties about body and blood in transubstantiation doctrine.[160] Jewish theologians focused on the impossibility of the coexistence of accidents and spiritual essence in the Eucharist. The discussions "ranged from exegetical opposition to visceral rejection of libelous accusations" and included descriptions of "ingestion of the accidents of the Eucharist and the involvement of God in human excrement." Miri Rubin acknowledges the relationship between the distrust of the *Converso* body and the anti-Eucharist arguments taken up by rabbinical writers in fifteenth-century Spain, at a time when the tone of Christian–Jewish disputation grew in acrimony and "anxiety about the penetration of Jewish converts into the Christian body grew fiercer."[161] That the reaction by rabbinical philosophers to increased intolerance of Jews on the Peninsula (expressed particularly through cleanliness of blood statutes) was to critique the Eucharistic rite on the basis of impurity and filth, speaks to the shared doctrinal theme of purity in Judaism and Christianity.

Bloodshed, central to Holy Week performance, was also central to public chastisements of confessed Judaizers in Seville. Both were palliative rituals involving tropes of release and display. Lapsed *Conversos* who confessed and were reconciled with the Church were often sentenced to penitential flogging in public, often processionally, their blood symbolically reuniting them with a sacred community. Voluntary bloodshed, on the other hand, was the privilege of Christian men. Ritual phlebotomy rid the body of humoral excess, revealed the inner cleanliness of Old Christians, and excised the essential filth of religious minorities. Bestul argues that the cult of bodily pain was salvific for individual souls and the community: "[t]he suffering of Jews, heretics, and lepers

157 Two similar events took place in Valladolid in 1452 and 1454. Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 107–8.

158 Baer points out that even though these actions are mentioned nowhere in Hebrew literature, the libel was used as evidence by the Inquisition and many *Conversos* lost their lives. Baer, *The History of the Jews*, vol. 2, 379–80.

159 Edward Kessler and Neil Wenborn, eds., *A Dictionary of Jewish–Christian Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 339. The Inquisition targeted crypto-Judaizes and crypto-Islamicists, heretics, sodomizers, bigamists, blasphemers, and people who spoke out against the Holy Office. Sánchez Herrero, *Las cofradías de Sevilla en la modernidad*, 57–68.

160 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 93–96.

161 Rubin, *Gentile Tales*, 98.

provides a reference point in the contemporary material world that helps the Christian to reconstruct imaginatively, as much as is humanly possible to do so, the immeasurably greater and finally inexpressible pain that Christ endured in the cause of human salvation."[162] Jews—whose bodily excretions (saliva in particular) were thought of as pollution that could lead to defilement and death—were barred from participating in voluntary spectacles of bloodshed.[163] Symbolically speaking, the burning of unrepentant Judaizers removed bloodletting from the dramaturgy of disciplinary punishment. In fact, immolation by fire was the *single* form of medieval corporal punishment where the body and blood of the condemned was extinguished from sight entirely. Dramaturgically, the complete eradication of the body erased the communal memory of a person and withdrew the potential for a *bene moriendi* (good death). In a good death, the "confessed criminal who took refuge in God's grace, admitted guilt (*culpa*), accepted penance, prayed for forgiveness and made a good end." In cases of corporal punishment of criminals (not condemned heretics or Judaizers), the broken body of the criminal was displayed and left unburied to remind the community of the sin.[164] "Each mode of punishment, then, whatever its original sacrificial or cosmic symbolism, presented spectators with a powerful, precise image of the offender's place within a vast legal *ordo* which, in both learned and popular perception, encompassed every living thing in nature."[165] Common forms of punishment of criminals in the late medieval, early modern period such as breaking on the wheel, hanging, garrotting, and stoning, produced an indelible spectacle of pain. The unburied, post-mortem presence of criminals assaulted the senses of the community, feeding their imaginations of conditions in hell. Unconfessed and unrepentant Jews and *Conversos* fell outside this legal ordo; their bodies incinerated outside the walls of the city, their demise was sudden and untraceable and foreswore any symbolic answer to a crime. The Jewish body was extirpated from the sightlines of spectators.

Not unlike theatrical *imitatio Christi*, Inquisitional penance often involved disciplining the naked body with scourges of hemp. Coexistent performances of penitential self-flagellation and Inquisitional corporal punishments were more than coincidental. Passion theatre and public floggings of repentant Judaizers both reflected a "general cultural attitude toward the body and a common understanding of what can fittingly be done by a human person to the body of another and what can be fittingly represented."[166] These parallel practices of mortification of the flesh were linked together in a complex web of penitential practice that were mutually reinforcing. In Seville and other cities in early modern Spain, Christlike suffering symbolically filled the spaces vacated by diminishing communities of Jews.

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162 Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 159.

163 Many of these anti-Semitic passages are rhetorically bound to Passion narratives. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 107–10.

164 Merback, *Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 19–20.

165 Merback, *Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 142.

166 Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, 149–50.

In the period of Inquisition in Spain, ritual murder of the abased other of society was the void against which the Christian God was spatially and thematically re-presented. The architectural character of Seville was multicultural and layered with history: Roman and Almohad city walls, walls of the *judería*, minarets and facades of converted mosques, Gothic architecture, and decorative programs of Mudejar ceramic tiles. Old identities died hard; symbolic traces of pre-conversion artifacts framed the bodies of the converted, and the ongoing effort to homogenize corporal signs of religious affiliation rebounded against historical survivals in the urban environment.[167] With each expulsion and vacancy of non-Christian bodies and destruction of synagogues, the outline of absence was framed by ancient stones. From the establishment of Christian rule in the thirteenth century, the civic identity of Seville was connected to the memories of absented matter. The *capilla real* of the converted mosque of Seville was built over the crypts of Muslim potentates from the Almohad period. Legendarily, the rock in the crypt of the church of San Agustín represented the site where the sisters Saints Justa and Rufina were scourged.[168]

Historians have observed the ways in which Baroque theatricality of the Spanish Golden Age was related to the "*Converso* problem" and the "necessity for people to live a lie."[169] Disciplinary confessionals forced the accused to produce outer transcripts of faith that belied their inner affect. The *auto da fé* was theatre that (unintentionally) mimicked Aristotelian poetics of tragedy: rising action, recognition, downfall, denouement, and stasis. If inquisitors failed to coercively elicit a confession from the accused, the case proceeded to trial. Once all documentary evidence was collected, a *consulta da fé* (consisting of inquisitors, theological advisors, representative of local bishop) was assembled to determine the case. Four outcomes were possible: acquittal (rare), penance, reconciliation, or death (either in person or in effigy).[170] Penance usually applied to those who confessed their guilt, and the most frequently penitential act was the wearing of distinctive clothing in public, the *sanbenito*, a tunic with a large diagonal red cross. A person who confessed after a trial donned the *revolto del fuego*, and those condemned to burn wore a tunic decorated with flames and dragons. From the beginning of the Inquisition special yellow tunics were provided for those found guilty of heresy.[171] After a period of wearing, the *sanbenito* was often hung in the parish church throughout the lifetime of penitent, and even after their death. Those reconciled with the Church (relapsed heretics who confessed) were subject to flogging, galley service, seizure of goods, prison

167 R. Vioque Cubero, I. M. Vera Rodríguez, and N. López López, *Apuntes sobre el origen y evolución morfológica de las plazas del casco antiguo de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla Junta de Andalucía, 1987), 72.

168 Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 36.

169 Andrew Herskovits, *The Positive Image of the Jew in the 'Comedia'* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2005), 31. See, also, José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

170 Eighty percent of victims in early modern Spain were either given penance or reconciled. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, xv.

171 Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 120.

sentence, and wearing the *sanbenito* costume indefinitely.[172] Families of those who lost their lives were also subject to public humiliations for long periods. When hung outside the parish church, the *sanbenito* of the deceased was a mark of infamy and shame upon generations of *Converso* families. In the early period of the Inquisition, offenders and their relatives were offered opportunities to purchase rehabilitation that would release them from ongoing displays of shame. Between 1488 and 1497, the Inquisition in Andalusia collected 33,312,768 *maravedíes* for commuted sentences and reconciliations with the Church. Penitential acts for more minor offences could include forced pilgrimages, flogging, and donning the *sanbenito*.[173]

The *auto da fé* was a complex performance event requiring meticulously planning and management. Cost of preparations meant that they were held infrequently. Dates were chosen to coincide with special religious feasts, especially celebrations of the Triumph of the Cross, which thematically resonated with Good Friday. Announcements, accompanied by trumpeting, were made in advance in order to bring as many members of the community together as possible. Two raised stages were built in the plaza of the cathedral—one for the penitents on trial and one for inquisitorial, ecclesiastical, and municipal and royal officials.[174] Francisco Bethencourt argues that pageant cars (*carros*) used in the *autos sacramentales* of Corpus Christi were prototypes for the design of Inquisitional stages.[175] Unlike pageant wagons, fixed stages erected in large, open spaces facilitated continuous and focused attention to theatrical presentation of penance.

Like all religious festivals, the day of the *auto* commenced with a celebration of Mass at the cathedral. Starting early in the morning, the accused were led in procession from the southern suburb of Triana, across the Guadalquivir river, past the Monastery of San Pablo (residence of the Dominican Inquisitors), and finally arrived at the Plaza de San Francisco and La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede, where the sentences were pronounced.[176] Members of religious confraternities who performed in Holy Week, Corpus Christi and other religious festivals often walked in the processions of the *auto da fé*.[177] The accused (including those who confessed and were given more lenient sentences) were costumed in yellow garments or the *sanbenito* and carried unlit candles. Lighted candles, of course, were regularly carried in Passion processions, the light of salvation contrasting to the extinguished candles of the *auto da fé.* After sentencing, the train headed east through many of the same streets of the Corpus Christi procession, and pla-

172 Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 49. The word *sanbenito* comes from the Spanish name for Saint Benedict and is an ironical reference to the Benedictine scapular.

173 Ladero Quesada, "Judeoconversos andaluces en el siglo XV," 38–39.

174 Rawlings, *Spanish Inquisition*, 37.

175 Bethencourt, "Auto da Fé: Ritual and Imagery," 157–58.

176 Andrés Bernáldez, "Recollections of the Reign of the Catholic Kings," in *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478–1614: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. and trans. Lu Ann Homza (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), 6–7.

177 Herminio González Barrionuevo, *Los Seises de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Editorial Castillejo, 1992), 102.

zas that were used during Holy Week to stage scenes from the Passion. After exiting the city centre through the Puerta de Carne, the procession moved to the eastern suburbs of the city and the site of execution.[178] The base vocabulary of processional ritual was shared by social performances of penance and provided a structure of feeling for all types of ritual performers to experience the suffering of others.

The order of ritual performers of the *auto da fé* followed a standard choreography. Military personnel led the way, followed by Dominican priests and then the prisoners, accompanied by a guard and two friars. Those who were accused of lesser crimes appeared first, those facing execution last. Men were segregated from women, and even in cold weather the victims were bareheaded and barefoot. Crying and wailing were common and, although these were as likely instigated by fear and shame as they were by contrition, they still conformed to the orthodox penitential discourse of *attritio* for observers. Following the prisoners were municipal authorities—magistrates, judges, and officers of the town—and then the secular clergy. The rear of the train was occupied by the members of the Holy Office, bearing the standard of the Inquisition.[179] In the cathedral plaza, Dominicans preached and sentences were pronounced. From this point, the prisoners were transferred to the custody and jurisdiction of the municipal authorities and the train was led toward the Puerta de Carne.[180]

Six of the eight parishes that received intense scrutiny from the Inquisition in Seville (Santiago, San Esteban, San Bartolomé, Santa Maria la Blanca, San Isidoro, and El Salvador) were situated directly northeast of the cathedral and Santa Cruz district, the medieval *judería*.[181] The fact that Santa Cruz was not one of the districts targeted by the Inquisition suggests that by 1481 Jewish *Conversos* had abandoned Santa Cruz and moved into neighbourhoods to the east and north, undoubtedly to disassociate themselves from their past coreligionists. For practical and symbolic reasons, the progress of the *auto da fé* passed through at least two of the parishes with strong *Converso* populations. To reach the Puerta de Carne the procession travelled through the Santa María la Blanca district, a large parish directly adjacent to Santa Cruz where a great many *Conversos* and Jews lived in the fifteenth century. Adding to the symbolic power of the processional scenery, the church of Santa María la Blanca in that district was one of only a handful of converted synagogues left standing at the end of the medieval period. The rest (approximately 23) had been destroyed a century earlier by Ferrand Martínez. The church of San

178 Lléo Cañal, *Fiesta grande: El Corpus Christi en la historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Biblioteca de Temas Sevillanos, 1980), 27–28; Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 114.

179 T. M'Crie, ed., "The Reformation in Spain," in *The Works of Thomas M'Crie*, vol. 3 (London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1855), 132–33.

180 Plaidy, *Spanish Inquisition*, 116.

181 After the conquest of 1248, the Jewish residents of the city were moved during *repartimiento* to land around the existing plaza del Cristo de Burgos, which formed the ancient Jewish Quarter. In 1360 the Jews were relocated again to the Santa Cruz district, forming the new Jewish Quarter. This was set up as an isolated enclosure within the city, behind a wall along Calle de Garcia Perez. Cubero, et al., *Apuntes sobre el origen*, 84.

Bartolomé was also a converted synagogue, and because of its size and its proximity to Puerta de Carne, its plaza was likely included in the *auto*.[182]

The procession passed the Jewish cemetery of Seville outside the walls of the city next to the Puerta de la Carne and continued to the Quemado de la Tablada (built in 1481). It was decorated with four large statues of prophets. The architect of the Quemado was a zealous Seville dignitary who also helped finance its construction. It was later discovered that he was a follower of Judaism.[183] The audiences to the event might be moved to tears if the condemned repented their sins, or jeers and derision if the prisoner "played the villain" by cursing the community.[184] In some instances, condemned heretics were burned *in absentia.* The immolation of effigies produced a double absence, a chain of referents leading nowhere. In the first years of the Inquisition, the entire schedule—from morning Mass to the burning of recalcitrant heretics—could be completed by midafternoon. As the decades passed, the *auto da fé* the increasingly elaborate spectacle and progressed into the night.

Early modern processions in Seville mobilized affective *Convivencia*, a path for the tortured body to experience religious others. The prevalent sense of absence in post-expulsion Seville is evinced by the incredible preoccupation with processional enactments to fill that void. Spatial, gestural, and metonymical correlations existed between the two major processional activities in early modern Seville: the Vía Crucis and *auto da fé*. Both groups of penitential actors were subjected to extreme duress and the humiliating gaze of the public. Both prisoner and penitent were stripped of their clothing to expose the flesh and excesses of the human form by divulging its mutability beneath the force of the scourge. Both groups performed in shared urban places, a fact that would not have been lost on spectators and performers.[185] The way through the streets of Seville mapped parallel trajectories of kinaesthetic empathy, associative memory, and surrogation.

Theatres of mortification were thematically linked by demonstrative humiliation, connecting the pathetic figure of Christ with maligned non-Christians in society. In this way the Christian body appropriated signifiers of the other: voluptuousness, blood, tears, and potential chaos. To relieve the psychological and doctrinal contradictions of revolution/attraction to religious others, Christian penitents embraced and contained difference somatically, punishing intimate differences a second time. If sacrificial vio-

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182 The third synagogue building to survive late medieval pogroms was the church of Corpus Christi in the Santa Cruz district. Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez, *La educación en la Hispania antigua y medieval* (Madrid: Ediciones Morata, 1992), 272.

183 Ironically, he was one of the first victims of the Inquisition in Seville. Isidore Singer and Cyrus Adler, eds., *The Jewish Encyclopedia: A Descriptive Record of the History, Religion, Literature, and Customs of the Jewish People from the Earliest of Times to the Present Day*, vol. 6 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1916), 588.

184 Andreas Höfele, "Stages of Martyrdom: John Foxe's Acts and Monuments," in *Performances of the Sacred in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susanne Rupp and Tobias Döring (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 81–93.

185 Stern, *Medieval Theatre in Castile*, 266–67.

lence is a useful expenditure for gathering up a community's sense of cohesion "in the face of a threat of divisive substitution,"[186] then we may understand masochistic violence in late medieval Seville as an inversion of this psychosomatic social event: divisions are absorbed into the very site of the body. Embodied memory is a somatic stage where events repeat. Within the structure of penitential feeling, phenomenology of coexistence was a ritualization of the living body and a mnemonic revival of the dead.

186 Roach, *Cities of the Dead*, 40.

Chapter 3

STRANGE INFIDELS IN THE IMPERIAL METROPOLE

> Gold, with its mystical and eschatological connotations, is at the very heart of the religion of the Discoverer.[1]

WHEN I WAS seven years old my family lived in Bergamo, Italy. One memory from that time is of my sister Sophie and me being processed around a schoolyard on the shoulders of the local children while they shouted "Cristoforo Colombo, Sophia Loren! Cristoforo Colombo, Sophia Loren!" The children were rejoicing to have Americans in their midst. I sensed, even at that early age, that this was their way of recognizing the Italian Americanness of Columbus and Loren, and by extension, the Americanness of the Italian children themselves. Having crossed the Atlantic, bearing the New World identities, Sophie and I completed the roundtrip journey of Columbus and Loren; we brought them home. The chants of the Bergamo children functioned within an historical imaginary that many schoolchildren learn from an early age: Columbus's "Discovery of America." Their rehearsal of this notion in a ceremonial setting—a procession with song and invocation—was a way of raising Columbus from the dead, reanimating him in the body of a boy from the United States. This is nothing new. Theatricalization of transatlantic history of Discovery (parades, holidays, memorials, school plays) contribute to the invention and maintenance of European and American nationhood. Columbus discovering the Greater Antilles is no less plausible than the rediscovery of Columbus in annual festivals in the Americas. Both encounters involved performative imprimatur and restoration through the memory machine of theatre.

This chapter examines theatrical enactments and processions that promoted Spanish imperialism during the period of conquest and colonization of New Spain. First, I look at public spectacles imbued with themes of conquest and empire. The Feasts of Corpus Christi and Saints Days, royal entries, and processional translations of saints' relics integrated an array of methods and symbols to projecting Spanish Christian pre-eminence and aggrandize the monarchy. Some of the tools used to theatrically project imperial themes included ancient Roman signs and figures, sacred objects with thaumaturgic powers, and exotic curios from the colonies. Imperial processionals like these were abundant in cities across Spain; however in Seville, the gateway to the Spanish Atlantic colonies, there was a special performative focus on protecting, strengthening, and celebrating the *conquistadores*, sailors, and noble families involved in transatlantic trade and enrichment. From what earlier traditions did the artisans and producers of imperial rituals draw from? What might have been the affective responses of the linguistically,

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1 "el oro, con sus connotaciones místicas y escatológicas está en el mismo corazón de la religion del Descubridor." Alain Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español* (Valladolid: Seminario Americanista de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1983), 119.

religiously, and culturally diverse audiences of Seville? The second part of the chapter is concerned with re-enactments of Amerindian rituals, sport, and entertainments in the decontextualized space of the metropole. Some of the very first Amerindians to step foot on European shores were dressed and paraded in fashionable Castilian accoutrements and jewels. In another extraordinary performance, two indigenous Mexica simulated scenes of Aztec religious sacrifice and warfare in rich detail, presumably miming the deaths of sacrificial victims. For what purposes did Spanish Europeans render the bodies of Amerindians (sometimes guests, sometimes prisoners) theatrically and what affective meanings might have arisen in response?

My performance analyses are thematically arranged around concepts of space, materiality, and body. I argue that an imperial Christian structure of feeling—ideologies established through papal decrees, evangelical preaching, conversion theatre, and spectacles of riches—gave audiences a means of demystifying Amerindian spectacle. I also expound upon the sense of Christian universalism in Seville, in Corpus Christi processions, royal entries, and religious rites. Medieval and early modern devotion to saints, especially in the form of relic veneration and *translatio*, frames my discussion of Amerindian performance. The high-ranking impresarios of New World spectacles employed the aesthetics and narratives of relic devotion as a means of sanctifying Amerindian bodies, making them legible for audiences who were deeply invested in the promises of the New World. By staging subjugated bodies next to, and within, established regal and sacred ceremonies, New World culture was inscribed into the Sevillian horizon of expectation and intelligibility. The audiences to these spectacles (mis)identified the treasures as the dear objects and minerals that enshrined the relics of kings and saints.

The Past and Present of the Spanish Empire

The Past

The history of European colonialism began long before Columbus's transatlantic crossing; the Iberian imaginary of a peripheral world of nonbelievers was not new. Centuries of crusade and pilgrimages to Jerusalem contributed to a distinct awareness of powerful Islamic societies in and around the Holy Land, an awareness that turned to anxiety in the Latin West after the fall of Byzantine Constantinople in 1453. In response to this event, a greater need arose to retool the strength of Christian faith from within, as well as to unify a western Christian community that could withstand forces of the infidel from without. Successive popes exhorted European monarchs to unite against the threat from the east. The formation of the idea of a Christian world surrounded by antagonistic tribes of unbelievers to the east and to the south was enforced by centuries of conflicts with the Turkish, Almohad, Nasrid, Hafsid, and Ottoman empires, and culminated in 1480 when Mehmed II (Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, 1444–1446 and 1451–1481) pushed through Eastern Europe and threatened the Papal state.[2]

2 For medieval geographical schema and racialization, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation" in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), 19–34.

Medieval Iberia—with its history of *Reconquista* and religious and ethnic diversity—offered Spanish imperial monarchies models for defining interreligious congress and establishing boundaries between Christians and infidels. A 1254 papal mandate instructing "archbishops and bishops of Spain to protect the crusaders who go to fight the Moslems in North Africa under the command of Alfonso X," also granted crusaders remission of interest on debts owed to Jews.[3] The Peninsular mode of colonization was employed during the exploration and conquest of the Canary Islands, begun by the Genovese in 1312, Mallorcans and Cataláns in 1320, and Portuguese in 1341. The administrations of satellite properties of Iberian kingdoms were based on *repartimiento*—colonization by repopulation and resettlement—which had been employed by Castilian monarchs throughout the *Reconquista*.[4] The explorer and Infante of the Kingdom of Portugal Prince Henry "the Navigator" (1394–1460) led excursions into the northern and western coasts of Africa in the fifteenth century, and by the middle of that century an active slave and gold trade had been established by the Portuguese as far south as the Cape Verde Islands.

The Spanish empire consciously fostered institutional continuities between late medieval evangelization of Muslims and New World conversion theatre, particularly as they relate to stringent Christian discourses that emerged from the Counter-Reformation.[5] In various ways, scholars have understood the *Reconquista*, the unification of the Spanish kingdoms, and spiritual conquest of the Americas as periods belonging to a single, broad historical phenomenon. In order to cope with the religious and administrative complexities of New World engagement, early modern ecclesiastical statutes and state decrees drew from medieval letters, decretals, and spiritual tracts, borrowing theological motifs to justify spiritual and military conquest. As the borders of the empire expanded, Christian self-confidence increased, and bolstered a vision of universal Christianity. For instance, when the Catholic Monarchs inherited the Canary Island colonies, they employed an "abusively pragmatic approach to produce wealth and other, more sublime, concerns about evangelization and cultural protection," a colonial experiment with a people whose culture stood outside biblical history.[6] Anthony Stephens-Arroyo has shown that these early colonial encounters "provided a major stimulus to modify and change policies which had characterized the medieval *Reconquista* encounter with Muslims and Jews, thus boosting the development of a new imperial model for later subjugating Mexico, Peru, and much of the American continent."[7] Medieval approaches to the spiritual colonization of the Atlantic were updated to include more persuasive

3 Shlomo Simonsohn, ed. *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), ASV, Reg. Vat 23, fol. 164r, 209–10.

4 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," 516–18.

5 See Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz, eds., *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); and Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians: Festivals of Reconquest in Mexico and Spain* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

6 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," 521.

7 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," 516.

tactics for converting a people that had no prior contact with the world on the eastern side of the Atlantic Ocean. One significant tactic was the application of evangelistic, catechistic, and sacramental drama in the New World.

Castile and Aragón had completed their long conquest of the southern Peninsula from the Moors in 1492, whereupon a precarious agreement was made between the Catholic Monarchs and Muhammad XII (ruler of Granada, 1482–1492) that allowed the practice of Islam to continue. After the fall of Granada, public religious festivals and plays were not employed as a means of mass conversion with any degree of success by the evangelizing brotherhoods, although the Hieronymite Fernando de Talavera—who was made Archbishop of Granada in 1492—had success in converting many Muslims through preaching and catechism.[8] The status of *mudéjares* after the fall of Granada was determined by surrender treaties and decrees drawn by the Spanish monarchs. Upon the completion of the centuries-long reconquest of the southern Peninsula, Fernando and Isabel promised the Muslims religious freedom by the Treaty of Granada, and, at first, the new consolidated crown rejected the suggestions of the "zealous prelates and *frailes*" at court to offer the new Moorish subjects the choice of baptism or exile.[9]

Starting around 1498, earlier promises were reneged on, and methods of coercion began to replace propaganda. In 1500, Fernando crushed a movement of Moorish resistance in the Alpujarras and the capitulating Moors were forced to convert. Clergy who were sent into Moorish lands were carefully monitored for their seamless faith, and the custom of performing mass baptisms was common in Granada up through the end of the fifteenth century.[10] Prior to travelling to New Spain in 1524 in order to establish parish churches, preach, and convert the indigenous peoples, the apostolic "First Twelve" Franciscan friars undertook a short-lived preaching mission among the *Moriscos* in the mountains of southern Spain. From this experience they were emboldened in their mission to eradicate the work of Satan among the Mexica peoples. Orders given to the First Twelve Franciscans by Francisco de los Ángeles (Commissary General of Ultramontane Franciscans and later Bishop of Coria) significantly informed conversion tactics in the initial decades after conquest. The First Twelve were the strictest of the sect of Observants (Franciscans who observed an austere life as a model for potential converts) and were committed to reviving thirteenth-century eschatological beliefs in divinely inspired missionary work for the benefit and salvation of souls in the last days of the world. The language of Francisco de los Ángeles's letter is imbued with militaristic fervour. His commands include defending "the King's army already falling and presently fleeing from the foe, and, taking up the victorious contest of the heavenly Victor, you preach by word

8 Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation," in *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Change*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson and Edward D. English (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 275–76.

9 Henry Charles Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (New York: Haskell House, 1968), 38.

10 Luis Weckmann, *The Medieval Heritage of Mexico* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1992), 183.

and work unto the enemy."[11] Throughout the sixteenth century, mendicant discourses on evangelization flowed across the Atlantic in both directions as Jesuits and Franciscans sought to buttress conversion movements in Granada and the New World that had evolved in very different ways.

The Roman Church's entrance into the Atlantic colonization project provides a framework within which to better understand evangelical theatre organized by clerical brotherhoods and ecclesiastics in the colonies and metropole. In the mid-thirteenth century, Pope Innocent IV developed a legal basis for a theory of papal relations with non-Christian societies that would have profound implications for canon law devised in response to fifteenth-century Atlantic discoveries. The essential question he raised was: "is it licit to invade the lands that infidels possess, and if it is licit, why is it licit."[12] In his defence of the efficacy of the Church in Muslim territories, he also argued that because the pope was responsible for the souls of *all* men, papal intervention in infidel societies was justified. Innocent IV added an important qualification to this rationale. He supported the view that the sins of the infidels could call forth Christian armies blessed by the pope; however, such forces could not be employed to impose baptism on the infidels because conversion to Christianity was strictly a voluntary act. The needs of Christian nations and the Christian Church crucially intersected in his next point. Innocent IV stated that the pope was authorized to send missionaries into the lands of infidels to instruct the people in Christianity, and "[s]hould an infidel ruler block the entry of peaceful Christian missionaries, the pope could order him to admit them or face an invasion by Christian armies."[13] Innocent's discussions about the relationship between Christians and the infidel helped to assert the superiority of spiritual power over temporal power.

Because contact between the Christian and the infidel world was not significant again until the fifteenth century, the canonists in the fourteenth century occupied themselves with the status of infidels within the boundaries of Europe. Then, as Portugal and Spain reached beyond their borders to the Canary Islands and African coast, the Church was drafted into Portuguese and Spanish territorial conflicts. To legitimize conquest, the requirements of the Christian Church were called into play and the centuries-old debate about the limits of coercive Christian evangelization in non-Christian worlds was reignited. The registers of Urban V in the early fifteenth century reflect the growing papal interest in missionary efforts in the Canary and Azores archipelagos (where the Franciscans were especially active), lands possessed by neither Muslim nor Christians polities.

Then, in 1455, Pope Nicholas V's far-reaching bull *Romanus Pontifex* effectively ended the struggle between Portugal and Castile for control of the Canary Islands and Africa by giving them to the Portuguese, along with the responsibility of converting the

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11 Francisco de los Ángeles, "Orders Given to 'The Twelve' (1523)," in *Colonial Latin America: A Documentary History*, ed. and trans. Kenneth Mills, William B. Taylor, and Sandra Lauderdale (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 62.

12 James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250–1550* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979), 5.

13 Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 11.

inhabitants to Christianity. The bull echoed earlier precedents regarding the treatment of European infidels, but for the first time it took into consideration the presence of Christian subjects in new lands unknown to both Islam and Christianity. Although the international dispute over trade routes and the rights of infidels were the targets of the bull's discourse, the edict created a frame within which the Church extended its imperial authority. The bull outlined the pope's responsibility for the souls of men, extending it to every corner of the world: "the sheep divinely committed to Us might be brought to the Lord's one fold."[14] Reflecting Innocent IV's thirteenth-century tract, *Romanus Pontifex* implied that missionaries would be unwelcome in these lands, which justified military force to protect the preachers of the gospel there. "The visitor in such a just war was within his rights in seizing the goods and power of the conquered."[15]

The discoveries of 1492 opened new space for dispute. The resolution to the problems that Columbus's discoveries presented was contained in three bulls: *Inter caetera*, *Eximiae devotionis*, and *Inter Caetera*, dated May 1493. They created a zone where the Castilians would be responsible for establishing churches and missionary activities. Strictly speaking, the bulls did not divide the world between Castile and Portugal; rather they simply recognized that both kingdoms had asserted responsibility for converting the infidels in the newly discovered lands and allocated to each kingdom areas of ecclesiastical domain. In the prologue to both versions of *Inter caetera*, the history of Castilian crusading activity up to the conquest of Granada was traced, effectively bridging medieval conquest doctrine with the new realities of sea exploration. They argued that, having completed the *Reconquista*, the rulers of Aragón and Castile could now begin to extend the boundaries of the Church by "bringing the word of the gospels to those nations that had not yet heard it."[16] In return for converting and civilizing the new lands and peoples, the pope granted commercial dominion and trade monopoly to the kingdoms of Aragón and Castile, just as *Romanus* had done for the Portuguese in Guinea and the coast of Africa. These profits were to recompense the Castilians for the costs of the missionary work and to justify the exclusion of all other Christians from the region unless a licence from the Castilian government was obtained.

An important document that used spiritual doctrine to legitimize the use of force in New World territories was the *requerimiento*. Issued in 1513 by Fernando II, this unprecedented political instrument was performed ritually for New World inhabitants upon initial contact, giving them an ultimatum: acknowledge the superiority of Christianity or be warred upon. Patricia Seed argues that the protocol of the *requerimiento* "was the principal means by which Spaniards enacted political authority over the New World."[17] If the natives were to resist the authority of Christian domination, any blame

14 Frances G. Davenport, ed., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1917), 21.

15 Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 135.

16 Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, 137.

17 Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 70.

for subsequent death and destruction caused by the Spanish attack must be assigned to the conquered population since they rejected the original demands for peaceful recognition of their spiritual superiors. Precedent from the secular world of military conflict gave the protocol its substance, specifically early medieval Islamic battlefield procedures and customs of tribute and demand for surrender in Muslim Spain that were later adopted by Christian forces during *Reconquista*. In the context of medieval canon law, it was the Amerindians, not the *conquistadores*, who needed to discover a world that had always been under the domain of the pope and Christian Church.

Pope Clement VII reasserted his universal dominion over heathens in 1529 in *Intra Acana*, in which he stated to Emperor Carlos V of Spain, "[w]e trust that, as long as you are on earth, you will compel and with all zeal cause the barbarian nations to come to the knowledge of God, the maker and founder of all things, not only by edicts and admonitions, but also by force and arms, if needful, in order that their souls may partake of the heavenly kingdom."[18] This assertion represented the apogee in regards to the administration of religious and social programming in the New World, and opened the gates for Spanish *conquistadores* and gold hunters to subjugate Amerindians to slavery and other inhumane treatments.[19] Canon legislation attests to a sense of invincibility would fade a century later; the 1609 expulsion of all non-converting Muslims on the Peninsula signifies a profound resignation to the failures of the mass conversion project, and in Mexico it became clear to the secular clergy that their utopian goals were falling apart.[20]

Imperial evangelistic and economic goals were often at odds as the Spanish wrangled with the contradiction of being "at home" with colonialism, and the medieval ideology of *Reconquista* was enlisted to resolve these conflicting dynamics to varying degrees of success.[21] The late medieval period was "a laboratory for testing and developing some of the government, social and economic institutions and forces which were to be prevalent in early modern Spain and parts of its Empire."[22] Early modern Sevillians conceived of themselves as part of a long history of religious struggle, and theatres of Atlantic conquest fed from the same historiographic trough. Like the Renaissance-style bell tower that was affixed to the top of the twelfth-century Islamic minaret of La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede in 1568 (La Giralda), the Spanish Hapsburg Empire built upon its own historical and juridical understanding of medieval Spanish Reconquista, relating a narrative of continuity while updating many para-liturgical and militaristic performances to fit the new circumstances.

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18 Quoted from Lewis Hanke, "Pope Paul III and the American Indians," *Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (1937): 77.

19 William Marder, *Indians in the Americas: The Untold Story* (San Diego: Book Tree, 2005), 61.

20 J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Spiritual Conflict and Accommodation in New Spain: Toward a Typology of Aztec Responses to Christianity," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George Collier (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 355–63.

21 Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," 541.

22 Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages: From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 5.

The Present

Due to language barriers and the distinctive ritual traditions of New World peoples, a model of evangelical theatre that could be transferred wholesale to the New World did not exist. Unlike in Granada where the bible and the liturgy were translated into Arabic, it would take decades before the indigenous populations of Hispaniola and New Spain learned to read and speak Latin or Castilian for catechistic instruction, or for Spanish *autos sacramentales* to be translated into Nahuatl and other indigenous languages.[23] However, the clerics may at least have understood from the Granada experience the need to inject instructional and devotional text into the pre-established performance traditions of a target population. In Granada, Christian liturgies, translated into Arabic, were incorporated into the Muslim *zambra* dance, although the success of this enterprise paled in comparison to the massive, enthusiastic Flowery Festivals and other hybrid processional events conducted by mendicants and indigenous peoples in New Spain.[24]

As Seville's commercial prominence rose throughout the fifteenth century, its influence beyond the city walls also increased: the administrative and ecclesiastic jurisdictions of the city covered all territories to the west of the city including the Atlantic ports. Political conduits joined the mercantile interests of Seville with the cities at the mouth of the Guadalquivir: Jérez, Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María, and Palos de la Frontera. Administratively, late medieval Christian Andalusia was organized by region and the city-states of Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville. Royal jurisdiction was exercised through town councils endowed with extensive lands and *fueros* (municipal law codes). These laws were, at times, at odds with the interests of nobility, who fought for, and maintained, a degree of influence.[25] The Genoese community in Seville was especially active in commercial capitalism, and the business techniques they perfected in the city set the standard for maritime trade across the continent.[26] From the late fourteenth century, as the size of the hulls of ships grew, navigational necessity made it incumbent upon the shipping industry based in Seville to extend its manufacture of vessels and landing platforms further down river. Goods controlled by monopolies in Seville that were unloaded in Cádiz were moved along an artery called the "Cádiz-Sevilla axis;" the ancient Almohad walls of the city no longer contained the industries and investments of Seville, which expanded outward.[27] During the early period of Atlantic exploration when Seville's economy

23 Perry, "Moriscas and the Limits of Assimilation," 275–6.

24 For vivid descriptions of early colonial Christian festivals in Mexico, see Toribio de Benavente Motolinía, *Historia de los indios de la Nueva España*, ed. Claudio Esteva Fabregat (Madrid: Dastin, 2001).

25 Angus MacKay and David Ditchburn, eds., *Atlas of Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 1997), 143. The Duke of Medina Sidonia owned estates that covered most of the territory of what is now the province of Huelva, as well as a large part of the lands around the city of Seville. Robert DuPlessis, *Transitions to Capitalism in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 53.

26 William Phillips and Carla Rahn Phillips, *A Concise History of Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 85.

27 Patrick O'Flanagan, *Port Cities of Atlantic Iberia, c. 1500–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 41–42, 63–64.

became the strongest engine of wealth in Europe, much was at stake for the local and international cast of nobles, merchants, financiers, craftsmen, sailors, and soldiers of the city. The boisterous mercantile and colonial energy in Seville found its outlet, and was regulated by, ongoing spectacles that were elaborate and costly.

The Roman ideology of *imperium* can be traced through the Middle Ages and into the early modern period in Spain when jurists adapted the concept to accommodate imperial rights during the colonization of the Atlantic rim. A foundational metaphor in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* was that of the central, sustaining, and even transformational city capable of providing life's necessities, a concept not very different from Cicero's vision of Rome: the provincials are "barbarians" who were "less than human" and must be ruled by the Republic "precisely because servitude in such men is established for their welfare."[28] The obligation to humanize the barbarians in the provinces is palpable in Hernán Cortés's prediction that King Carlos V would be named emperor of the New World. Cortés attempted to guarantee this rhetorical claim by drafting a fictionalized account of a ritual donation by Moctezuma II (Aztec Emperor, 1466–1520) of his empire to Carlos.[29] Again, the Atlantic empire was reinscribed—in histories rewritten and rehearsed—with the languages and rituals of the older empire.

Carlos V borrowed from the same reservoir of ancient discourse to help craft his imperial image. In 1517, the humanist Luigi Marliano invented an emblem for the emperor to symbolize his reign: the Pillars of Hercules.[30] In Greek and Roman mythology, the pillars marked the limits of the ancient world, *Nec Plus Ultra* (Nothing Further Beyond), at the Straits of Gibraltar. Carlos's emblem, however, read *Plus Ultra* (Further Beyond) and included images of an imperial bonnet and double-headed eagle soaring over distant seas, implying a dominion extending beyond the limits of the ancient world. Heraldry became stagecraft on the cityscape of Seville. At the north end of the *Alameda de Hércules* of Seville, built in 1574, sit two giant Roman pillars, one of which supports a statue of Hércules (the legendary founder of Seville), and the other of Julius Caesar (who supposedly revived the city during the Roman period). Prior to the construction of the mall and pillars, the area was called *La Laguna* (The Swamp) and was the primary staging place for tournaments, running of the bulls, games of canes, and jousts in the city. The area remained a place of performance after 1574, when it was used to stage processional events.[31] Imperial architecture shaped the processional course, providing a frame through which Sevillians could imaginatively cross from ancient history into the New World. Imperium found its way into sacramental stagecraft, employed on the Peninsula and in the New World to establish and maintain spiritual orthodoxy. Notions of

28 Cicero, *De Republica*, quoted in Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 24–25.

29 Pagden, *Lords of all the World*, 32.

30 Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title Page in England, 1550– 1660* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 186.

31 Antonio Blanco Freijeiro and Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1992), 232.

empire had long been associated with territorialization and wrapped up in the dramatization of frontier conflict along the medieval boundary between Castile and al-Andalus. Mock battles between *moros y cristianos* in medieval Jaén, for instance, were discourses on the possession of space and the construction of reciprocal identities through performances of difference.[32] Royal entries and festive masques of court society demonstrated the power and wealth of the monarchy as well as the influence of the Church in Counter-Reformation Spain.[33]

As argued in previous chapters, Seville's performance culture from 1248 through the sixteenth century was characterized by an intensity of spiritual expression derived from the city's incomparable religious, ethnic, and national diversity, and keenly projected the powerful interests of religious and lay brotherhoods, nobility, and monarchs. In fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the bishopric of Seville and the local *hidalgo* harnessed the economic and municipal energies of the city and "militant and demonstrative faith" of Seville's citizens to create brilliant *fiestas* renowned for their spectacular size and elaboration.[34] Festivals of faith and nationhood included Corpus Christi tableaux and *autos sacramentales*, royal entries, wedding masques, and parades for sailors and *conquistadores* arriving from, and departing to, the New World. Seville was a locus of imperial claims in the circum-Atlantic performance circuit of mobile saints, conquerors, and conquered subjects. The development of early modern Spanish nationhood through the aesthetic and ceremonial arts was bound up with imperial fantasies.

The most vital site for performative citations of empire was the Feast of Corpus Christi. The joyous occasion celebrated the miraculous transubstantiation of the Eucharist on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday after the sombre Easter season. Unlike most liturgical festivities that functioned within the hierarchy of the church, Corpus Christi was energized by the lay community and the clergy that served them. Corpus Christi had an inestimable impact on the development of drama in late medieval Europe, particularly in England and Spain. In Spain from at least the mid-fifteenth century, the Feast provided a venue for the development of dramatic writing in the form of *autos sacramentales.* Because of its relative independence from the bishopric, the Spanish festival absorbed local folk traditions. Grotesque, otherworldly figures like *tarascas* (dragons) and *gigantones* (giants), games of canes and other *juegos*, popular dance and music, and jibing figures of death (perhaps from Dance of Death tradition) played alongside biblical plays and *carros* conveying sacred statuary.[35] Only a handful Castilian Corpus Christi

32 Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 31–66.

33 R. J. Knecht, "Court Festivals as Political Spectacle: The Example of Sixteenth-Century France," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 22.

34 Lynn Matluck Brooks, *The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age* (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1988), 44.

35 Early records attest to the incorporation of *tableau vivant* and music and dance of *juglares*. Folkloric elements like *tarascas* and *gigantones* were likely incorporated earlier. See Vicente Lleo Cañal, *Fiesta Grande: El Corpus Christi en la historia de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Artes Gráficas Salesianas, 1980); Francis George Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: A Literary and Folkloric Study*

and Passion plays written before 1500 have survived. In the sixteenth century, Corpus Christi celebration became more elaborate and spectacular, encouraged by the practices and tenets of mendicant brotherhoods. Like all nonpenitential Christian processions of the period—in Spain and in the New World—Corpus Christi communicated the visual language of imperial Rome.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *autos sacramentales* were used as tools for evangelizing the indigenous people of Mexico, Peru, and other Spanish colonies. Attending the political conquest of the New World (and deeply implicated in the processes of colonization) was the spiritual conquest of the Americas. As Carolyn Dean has shown, colonial Corpus Christi processions "explicitly linked the state's political and military victories with divine triumphs; divine will and royal will were inextricably intertwined."[36] Indeed, the sense of superiority fostered by Spanish conquests in the Canary Islands, the North of Africa, Hispaniola, and the Mexican peninsula—given full ideological justification through papal grants and theological tracts—"aroused powerful messianic and providential impulses."[37] These impulses were shared by the Catholic Monarchs, Christopher Columbus, and many *conquistadores*, whose militaristic front in the New World was quickly reinforced by the arrival of evangelical missions, administrators, and merchants. Columbus was especially involved in the late medieval messianic, eschatological culture of Franciscanism that was centred on Marian devotion.[38]

The wealthiest nobles of Seville (among them the founder of the Vía Crucis, Duke Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Tarifa) supported their extravagant masques, concerts, receptions, weddings, and devotional processions with income earned from leasing the vast acreage that stretched from Seville to the western port cities of Andalusia.[39] Medina Sidonia operated at the centre of New World trade and performance culture. Members of the Medina Sidonia family were great patrons of the arts and took up an urban (rather than typically rural) existence in sumptuous palaces at the heart of Seville. Medina Sidonia sponsored, and participated in, ceremonial civic entries, equestrian games, and processions performed by the minstrels, masquers, and musicians of the aristocratic court. From the late fifteenth century, the Duke's palace had its own musical chapel with a permanent group of skilled singers and *juglares*, and their talents were often loaned to Spanish monarchs for performances at the royal chapel of the Alcazar. Exchange and competition among Seville's aristocratic families accelerated the diffusion of *cancioneros* and sacred polyphony during the period. During his itinerancy to other cities, the Duke was accompanied by a group of musicians, which included eight Amerindian min-

(Valencia: Tipografia Moderna, 1962); and Amanda Wunder, *Baroque Seville: Sacred Art in a Century of Crisis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

36 Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 13.

37 M. J. Rodríguez-Salgado, "Christians, Civilised and Spanish: Multiple Identities in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (1998): 239–40.

38 Columbus was a follower of the cult of the Immaculate Conception (The Virgin of Trinidad). Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, 118.

39 Perry, *Crime and Society*, 14.

strels who played traditional European instruments with great facility.[40] Spiritual, political, and mercantile goals were realized in the composite processional forms of the era.

Before setting out on their expeditions, explorers, navigators, sailors, and captains participated in public and private rituals in preparation for their voyages; most were religious in content, or at least in tone. Attending Mass before a transatlantic journey was obligatory. At the church of San Jorge Mártir, a converted mosque, Columbus and his men heard their last Mass on the morning of August 3, 1492, in a "church portal whose language of forms was rooted in an Islamic civilization now vanquished but still at Spain's very heart."[41] In Santa María la Blanca, a district just north of La Catedral that had once been home to a thriving Jewish community, a customary procession was organized in the square before the parish church. The cadre of young captains on their way to the New World was led by two pages, "one with spear and shield, the other with a shield of steel and braided harness on his helmet," followed by captains on horseback and foot wearing "vestments made of blue velvet or pressed silver embellishments," swords at their sides and muskets and ammunition in their hands.[42] The parade moved into the cathedral, where the coterie prayed before the painting of La Virgen de la Antigua. The procession ended at the great Plaza de Arenal that overlooked the ships of the Spanish fleets waiting in the river Guadalquivir. The cult of the Virgen de la Antigua was the first Marian cult established in New Spain and she was petitioned during battles with the Amerindians. Detailed reproductions of the painting from the Seville cathedral were made throughout the colonial period and can be found today in churches across the Caribbean and Latin America.

Perhaps no image encapsulates the sense of spiritual conquest in a ritual setting better than the *retablo* to the La Virgen de los Mareantes (Virgin of the Navigators, also known as the La Virgen del Buen Aire, or the Virgin of Fair Breezes). Sailors bound for the Americas prayed at the altarpiece for good weather to assist them in their crossing. Commissioned and completed in 1538, the painting hung behind the altar of the chapel of Seville's Casa de Contratación, reminding pilots, sailors, inspectors, cosmographers, legal advisors, fiscal lawyers, justices, and treasurers who worked in, and passed through, the Alcazar that mapping the New World and counting her profits was part of a larger evangelical scheme. The central part of the painting shows the Virgin Mary protecting a group of natives and Spanish courtiers with her cape. The painting is one of the first in European art to capture indigenous Americans (Christoph Weiditz's drawings are earlier).[43] The four side panels, from top to bottom and from left to right, show

40 The Amerindian slaves were purchased at a price that was three times higher than Andalusi Muslim and African slaves. Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "Power and Musical Exchange: The Dukes of Medina Sidonia in Renaissance Seville," *Early Music* 37 (2009): 403–8.

41 Dodds, Menocal, and Balbale, *The Arts of Intimacy*, 2.

42 "el uno con lanza y adarga, el otro con rodela de acero y arnés tranzado con su celada…vestido de terciopelo azul o prensado guarnecido de plata." Celestino López Martínez and José Muñoz San Román, *El templo de Madre de Dios de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Giménez, 1930), 40.

43 Drawings of Amerindians were made during Weiditz's 1529 trip to Spain, where he met Cortés, and in 1530 and 1531. Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz*, ed. Theodor

Saint Sebastian, the apostle Saint James, Saint Telmo (patron saint of navigators), and Saint John the Evangelist (who gave his name to the island San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico). The group of ships in the lower part of the painting includes identifiable vessels from the Spanish fleet at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Below the image of the Virgin protector, on the left, stand Fernando the Catholic, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca (the Bishop of Palencia who oversaw Amerindian affairs), and Sancho de Matienzo (a canon of La Catedral and Treasurer of the Casa de Contratación), and on the right Christopher Columbus and two other prominent Seville pilots.[44] The altar was constructed to be portable, so it is probable that it and the altarpiece were carried in processions or used at other sites to pray for safe passage, such as parish churches or near the docks of the Guadalquivir.[45]

In the initial decades after first contact, it became clear to the evangelizing Brothers that indigenous Amerindians were non-Christian in a different way than Jews and Muslims. In fact, during this period it was far from clear whether Amerindians—whose statuses as human subjects were uncertain to Spanish theologians—were capable of spiritual conversion at all. Amerindian belief was entirely strange to Christianity, and the Church "did not simply have to contend with the heretical deviations or the apostasies with which it was familiar in the Old World, but now saw itself forced to employ its imagination regarding the novelties that the Evil Spirit manifested in America."[46] The existence of a people outside of biblical history produced anxiety among Europeans and debate among Catholic jurists. Since the Amerindians did not belong to salvation history, questions persisted as to whether they had souls that could be converted. The missionizing brotherhoods pushed to have judgment made in favour of allocating human status to Amerindians since it benefited their own project of global Christianization.

The outspoken Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas—whose accounts of Spanish brutality toward the Amerindians were employed by the enemies of imperial Spain to propagate the "Black Legend"—was influential in moving Pope Paul III to reinforce an earlier papal bull confirming the human status, and humane treatment, of Amerindians in 1537. Starting in 1515, Las Casas voiced his opposition to the system of *encomienda* (slavery) in the New World, and in 1516 he offered a list of propositions called *Memorial de Remedios para las Indias* for the protection of Amerindian rights. Despite efforts of Christian mendicants and the hierarchy of the church, the understanding of the spiritual status of Amerindians remained in flux throughout the sixteenth century, and the ongoing debate heightened anxieties about their presence in Christian communities. Were

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Hampe (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1927).

44 Rafael Sánchez Mantero, *La Universidad de Sevilla, 1505–2005. V centenario* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005), 109–10. Carla Rahn Phillips, "Visualizing Imperium: 'The Virgin of the Seafarers' and Spain's Self-Image in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (2005): 815–16.

45 Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 548.

46 Roberto Moreno de los Arcos, "New Spain's Inquisition for Indians from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Cultural Encounters: The Impact of the Inquisition in Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary Elizabeth Perry and Anne J. Cruz (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 28.

they soulless, inferior humans or a lost tribe of Adam that had strayed into terrible, unknown regions at the edges of the world? The lack of consensus about the status of Amerindians, combined with the newness of the encounter, inspired a range of reactions on the European continent, including expressions of disgust, fascination, and fear. As I argue below, it was the ambiguous and fluid identity of Amerindians that set the scene for novel theatrical representations of New World peoples on Sevillian stages.

Ideological Space: Maps and Walking

The sovereign strength of the unified Spanish crown increased measurably after the conquest of Granada in 1492. The Hapsburg's reach of economic and military power was maintained, in part, by mapping new territories in universalizing ways. Whereas medieval maps and conceptions of space were (very generally) qualitative and local, and functioned to orient the world around the spiritual centre of Jerusalem, Ptolemaic graphic iteration of space was expansive and theoretically based on quantitative measurements. The printing and distribution of Ptolemy's *Geographia* at the end of the fifteenth century revolutionized European cartography. Although there is no way to map spherical topography on a flat surface with complete accuracy, Ptolemy's method of extending a grid over known and unknown space helped mapmakers and cosmographers plot discoverable lands around the Atlantic Ocean (often in radically distorted ways). As the reach of the Spanish Empire expanded in multiple directions, so did processional theatre, occupying larger spaces and travelling longer distances. The soul of imperialism is the procurement and possession of space. In processional acts, sacred objects and the living protagonists of Mexican conquest perambulated across the expanding Sevillian urban space and offered a metaphor of reach and occupation of the worlds of *los indios*.

As Barbara Mundy and Ricardo Padrón have shown, the sixteenth-century sciences of cartography and cosmography—based on an experimental blend of eyewitness accounts, geometry, Ptolemaic theory, and Arabic theoretical astronomy—were one way early modern Spanish made the Atlantic world knowable.[47] The scholastic view of space was gradually superseded by central perspective during the Renaissance, with its infinitely extended space centred on an arbitrarily assumed vanishing point, which, according to Edwin Panofsky, "entailed abandoning the idea of a cosmos with the middle of the earth as its absolute centre and with the outermost celestial sphere as its absolute limit."[48] While scholars have challenged Panofsky's theory of historical perspective as overly broad, the ideology (if not always the practice) of vanishing point perspective and arbitrary space informed the ways in which European conquerors envisioned the New

47 Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Ricardo Padrón, *The Spacious Word: Cartography, Literature, and Empire in Early Modern Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

48 Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher S. Wood (New York: Zone, 1991), 65.

World's position vis-à-vis Europe.[49] The divination of space according to a seemingly arbitrary grid was, in fact, ideologically bound, as "cosmographers aimed to make the New World visible to the eyes of its king—to put it, and themselves, on the map."[50] Two prominent cosmographers of the court of Felipe II (King of Spain, Portugal, Naples, and Sicily, 1556–1581), Alonso de Santa Cruz and Juan López de Velasco, created maps of the Americas from the eastern side of the Atlantic, at La Casa de Contratación of Seville, a royally mandated corporation that monopolized importation and exportation between Spain and Atlantic territories. The institutionalization of chart and map making was a central mission of La Casa de Contratación, bringing together the talents of pilots and cosmographers, and regulating the flow of treasures that entered Spain. The quantification and subdivision of land and sea was then legitimized by claims of empirical cartographic knowledge that was, in fact, knowingly flawed. In the negotiations with the Portuguese, Carlos V's delegates were "highly aware of the fundamental role of the misrepresentation of space" as part of political negotiations and ritual.[51] The same kind of misrepresentation was at work in the theatricalization of the New World on Spanish stages. The radically decontextualized, re-spaced Mexica and Totonac rituals and entertainments presented to Carlos V and his historiographers—precisely contemporaneous with the period when maps of the New World were intentionally drawn to misrepresent the colonial world—demonstrated the power of invention at the Hapsburg court.

In sixteenth-century maps, like the map of the Atlantic world drawn by Columbus's navigator Juan de la Cosa in 1500, important port cities were used as nodes to anchor projection lines plotted across the oceans. One of the most important nodes was Seville, where, by order of the king in 1508, the *padrón real* (the master map of the monarchy) was stored and updated every time a flotilla returned from the New World with new geographical information.[52] Papal bulls and theological tracts on Atlantic discovery attempted to narratively reorient medieval space to reflect the new universalism; a political space with a cosmological inclination. Ptolemaic space is an example of Lefebvre's idea of "supercoding" the physical world: "[t]he social and political operation of a monumental work traverses the various 'systems' and 'subsystems,' or codes and subcodes, which constitute and found the society concerned…[Supercoding] tends towards the all-embracing presence of the totality."[53] In order for these supercodes to catalyze and make their presence felt, they were transferred into the inscription of space with processional bodies staged on ritual superhighways.

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49 See Patrick Maynard, *Drawing Distinctions: The Varieties of Graphic Expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 28–53.

50 Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain*, 12.

51 Seth R. Kimmel, "Interpreting Inaccuracy: The Fiction of Longitude in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40 (2010): 305–6, 315.

52 A mariner's report of Columbus's 1498 Atlantic crossing situates points of reference on the charts according to their relative distance from Seville. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), decade 1, book 6; Mundy, *Mapping of New Spain*, 13.

53 Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 222.

Late medieval, early modern processions and pilgrimages partook in the Christianization of space, moving to outline, occupy, and orient the surrounding world by gathering up the world at its centre (Jerusalem, a cathedral, a shrine) with centrifugal force. For religious pilgrimages on the Peninsula, Seville served as both a hub through which pilgrims made their way to sites like Compostela, and a destination for devotees of saints Fernando, Justa, and Rufina, whose relics were displayed at the cathedral and the church of the sister saints. Not coincidentally, these two sites were also highly significant for major religious and municipal processional events, including the Vía Crucis and the Feast of Corpus Christi.

Processional flow regularly crossed the Guadalquivir to and from the Triana district, and as discussed in the previous chapter, the destination points of the Vía Crucis and *auto da fé* extended beyond the city walls. By intersecting sacred and civic spaces, processionals produced coextensive relationships between Seville and locations across the burgeoning Empire. The corridors of old Roman roads that connected Seville, Santiago de Compostela, the court in Valladolid, ocean ports, and Marian shrines were shared by Christian pilgrims, traders, *conquistadores*, and soldiers. The tentacles of imperial procession and mercantile and colonial exchange in the sixteenth century produced an affective imaginary of universal domain and a capacious sense of ownership for Seville's inhabitants.

The shrine of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia was, in the High and late Middle Ages, the most important and visited pilgrimage destination in all Christendom. The shrine was built in the tenth century in response to the northern Christian kingdom's need for a holy figurehead to confront Muslim invaders. The foundational narrative of the shrine included a miraculous *translatio* of the Apostle James's headless body to Spain (James's head was discovered later and rejoined with the body). The best-known miracles of Saint James were those he performed on battlefields; his legendary involvement in the Iberian *Reconquista* included appearances alongside Christian rulers in conflagrations with enemies of the faith.[54] Hagiographies of Saint James also supported his martial identity. For instance, the *Golden Legend* explained how Christ named his favourite apostle "Son of Thunder" because of his "eagerness to avenge the Lord" and "thunderous sound of his preaching, which terrified the wicked."[55] Apparitions of James were witnessed at Santiago, where he was seen brandishing a sword (often flaming) while his horse tramples the Moorish enemy. James partnered with "martial Mary" while assisting Christian forces in battles against Muslims on the Peninsula and northern Africa, and in the sixteenth-century wars against the Aztec and Inca empires of the New World.[56]

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54 Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 87; 104. Saint James's feast day is July 25.

55 Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, vol. 2, trans. William Granger Ryan, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3.

56 Amy Remensnyder, "Christian Captives, Muslim Maidens, and Mary," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 642–77; and Linda Biesele Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 75.

Santiago de Compostela was a node in a network of pilgrimage routes that spanned the Peninsula: shrines at Coruña, El Ferrol, Oviedo, Alba, Ávila, Toledo, Montserrat, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, and Seville. The second-most travelled road in Spain was an old Roman road that ran from Seville to Galicia called the Vía de la Plata (Silver Road).[57] Like the famous *Camino Francés* that crossed the northern Peninsula from France to Galicia, the Vía de la Plata was supported by an extensive infrastructure of pilgrim hospitals and churches. The road was in use throughout the Middle Ages, but especially from the tenth century, when Galicia was annexed to the northern Christian territory of Spain and the shrine of Compostela was established. Christians living in Muslim territories used the road for pilgrimages to Santiago; in the centuries prior to the conquest of Seville the road was referred to as the *Camino Mozárabe* (Mozarab Road). The Vía de la Plata was used not only by Sevillians and Christians from the southern part of the Peninsula, but also by Christian pilgrims from around the Mediterranean and northern Africa who entered the river port of Seville by boat on their way to Compostela.[58]

By the early modern period, the Vía de la Plata had accrued powerful symbolic associations with Christian conquest, not the least due to the militant nature of Saint James's *vita.* The processional highway was used to translate the holy remains of Saint Isidore of Seville (560–636) in the eleventh century. Saint Isidore's remains were distributed across the Peninsula, some of the important bones from his relic were translated to Murcia after Alfonso X captured the city in the thirteenth century. After Fernando III captured Córdoba in 1236, he compelled Muslim prisoners to transport the bells of the Cathedral of Santiago—first captured by the Muslim vizier Muhammad ibn Abu 'Amir (de facto ruler of al-Andalus, 981–1002) at the sacking of Compostela in 997—back to Santiago de Compostela by way of the Vía de la Plata.[59] Spanish circuits of roads and pilgrimage cities carrying the oral and written legends of Saint James reached beyond the Peninsula. During the period of Atlantic colonialism, the pope invoked the warrior saint's name in Hispaniola, making him the patron saint of the island.[60] Symbolically, the Vía de la Plata took part in the spiritual, political, and commercial coupling of the northern and southern kingdoms of Spain, reconstituting in topographical terms the Iberian history of Roman occupation, Visigoth rule, and *Reconquista*. If the road functioned effectively as a stage for social performances—one that constructed an ideological community—it was because pilgrims and other processional actors experienced historical and sacred space phenomenologically, with their feet on the Roman stones, in their hands grasping bronze badges, and through their voices intoning secular and sacred song.

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57 From a corruption of *bal'llata*, Arabic for "wide road".

58 Alison Raju, *Vía de la Plata* (London: Cicerone, 2006), 8–19.

59 O'Callaghan, *A History of Medieval Spain*, 32, 129–30, 196, 339.

60 Into the eighteenth century, images of James were used for didactic purposes by Catholic priests in slave communities, and belief in his cult eventually helped to inspire the slave revolt of 1791. Allen Roberts, "Tempering 'the Tyranny of Already': Re-signification and the Migration of Images," in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (New York: Routledge, 2010), 120–21.

Pilgrimage and procession belong to the same genre of social performance, bound together corporally, spatially, and narratively. Victor and Edith Turner write that group walking produces a sense of "communitas" among participants, i.e., a "quality of full unmediated communication, even communion, between definite and determinate identities…It is a liminal phenomenon which combines the qualities of lowliness, sacredness, homogeneity, and comradeship…[C]ommunitas is an essential and generic human bond."[61] Devotional walking across urban and rural landscapes was a somatic practice of *ars memoria*: memories were carried in the dust of the road in the pilgrim's hair and in the callouses of his feet. Like the pilgrimage, "[t]he route of the procession is bequeathed by tradition and understood as a 'sacred way,'" where feet make imprints on the earth in a language of devotion and contrition. As ritual actors moved from chapel, to aisle, to street, and out onto the Vía de la Plata, the arrangement in space becomes a temporal arrangement. The sequence of spaces—many of which are shared by a range of performance genres—pronounces the bones of a story, pieces of sacred history that are rearticulated at each station, shrine, or holy place.

Translations: Relics and Gold

From the eleventh century, body parts of saints—arms, legs, heads, torsos, fingers, and toes—were encased in dazzling, ornate containers of many shapes and sizes. The experience of holiness in the presence of a relic was enhanced by sensory engagement with glimmering, valuable materials carrying holy remains. Religious paraphernalia of medieval churches (sepulchres, chalices, monstrances, statuary, clerical vestments, and tabernacles) were often gilded or encrusted with gems, but ornamentation of shrines and reliquaries was particularly lavish.[62] For a medieval devotee of a saint's cult, to be in the sanctuary of a relic meant to perceive it first through the sense of sight. The visual sparkle and ornamental spectacle of shrines and reliquaries attracted the gaze of pilgrims, drawing them toward an otherworldly space.[63] The most prevalent biblical metaphor for God is light, and in medieval scholasticism and mysticism light was a key to knowing divinity. As discussed in the introduction, medieval people understood sensorial apprehension as an embodied act. Inside the holy precinct, the animation of light and colour on the surfaces of gold, silver, and gems, the swirling aroma of burning incense, and the taste of Eucharistic bread and wine engendered a fully somatic, affective experience of the sacred.

Shines of saints were imbued with value "not only through the accumulation of gold and silver, but also through the miraculous holy radiance that was believed to emanate

61 Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 251.

62 "[B]ishops wore jeweled gloves during liturgical ceremonies to designate this otherworldliness of their hands." Cynthia Hahn, "The Voices of the Saints: Speaking Reliquaries," *Gesta* 36 (1997): 26.

63 Cynthia Hahn, "Seeing and Believing: The Construction of Sanctity in Early-Medieval Saints' Shrines," *Speculum* 72 (1997): 1083.

from the saint's body."[64] The celebrant need not touch the preserved body for a miracle to occur. Aquinas makes this clear when he wrote that, "God fittingly does honour to such relics by performing miracles in their presence."[65] The perceived extent of a saint's sphere of influence could be enhanced theatrically: lighting, proximity to the viewer, ornamentation, and scenographic elements of the shrine. Devotees sought feelings of transcendence in the presence of relics and these states could be rehearsed in advance to enhance the experience. Coming to terms with the miraculous powers of inert matter to transform the soul required faith and preparation. Intense devotional practices of praying, reading, chanting, and self-mortification enjoined horizons of expectation, memory, and imagination to produce "counterintuitive assertions," i.e., supernatural explanations for worldly phenomena.

> The highly adaptive capacity of the mind to attribute, in emotionally charged ways, intentional agency to unseen forces provides fertile ground for the reception of religious beliefs that satisfy other adaptive features. If these beliefs include counterintuitive assertions that minimally contradict the basic domain-level categories of living things (person or animal), manufactured thing, or natural thing, they will be highly memorable.[66]

Art historian Cynthia Hahn uses the term "speaking reliquary" for the ornamented containers of arm relics since they were "specifically conceived as a stage prop for the liturgy" and were activated in gestures of healing and blessing. "In effect, the transfigured golden and gemmed hand of the saint reaches out directly from an alternate and glorious residence in heaven. It does not so much speak as make an authoritative gesture at God's behest, sending a message of succor and joyous consolation, manipulating a powerful language of signs."[67] Encased in decorative programs of gold, silver, and precious stones, the body of the saint was, quite simply, vital. As protagonists in a series of medieval performance events, medieval relics—stand-ins for the historical body of saints—maintained a presence and thaumaturgical power that transformed the spaces they inhabited: churches and urban landscapes during *translatio* of body parts between shrines.

As with the Eucharist, the medieval relic was apprehended as doubly representational; the bodily remains of saints were both symbolic (memorial) and agentive (present). The status of sainthood prevented the decomposition or destruction of relics, and in this way the relic was an everlasting, living body. Carlo Ginzburg writes that the "crystallization of that extraordinary object" produced "the effigy of the kind called *representation*," that is, an object that is a sign for something absent *and* an operation that

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64 Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1998), 1.

65 Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, 2nd ed., trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1920); Online Edition, ed. Kevin Knight (2008), III.25.6, www.newadvent/summa.com.

66 Anne L. Clark, "What's all the fuss about the mind? A Medievalist's Perspective on Cognitive Theory," in *History in the Comic Mode: Medieval Communities and the Matter of Person*, ed. Rachel Fulton and Bruce Holsinger (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 172.

67 Hahn, "Voices of the Saints," 22; 29.

can institute affective life.[68] In a similar manner, theatre scholar Andrew Sofer discusses the Eucharist as a performance object. He argues that for lay audiences the meaning of the unconsecrated wafer oscillated between sacred object and theatrical property. The Church performed the *becoming* of Christ's body by allegorizing the Mass and displaying the Host during Corpus Christ processions. And yet in these rites the lay community was reminded of the *original* "bread-ness" and prop-like quality of the Host.[69] Eucharistic monstrances are like reliquaries: they signify an absence of life while theatrically bringing forth the presence of the sacred body.

There was perhaps no greater moment of theatrical vitality than in the translation relics between churches and cities, which was subsequently revivified in annual memorials of the event. In addition to vivid associations with other forms of liturgical and secular processions, "*translationes* were more intimately connected with the physical remains of the saints than with their lives or virtues…*translationes* were connected with the *testimonia* of relics' powers."[70] The common dramaturgical progress of *translatio* began with the discovery of a misplaced body or body part of a saint, which was then recovered and brought in procession to its rightful home. The movement of a saint's remains was often due to purchase, theft, or movement to a larger shrine to accommodate a growing cult.[71] Each stage of the translation (exhumation, transfer, and reburial) was "accompanied by extreme degrees of ceremony and pageantry," and clergy wore their best vestments, musicians and hired minstrels supplied entertainment, and incense perfumed the air.[72] The annual celebration of the *translatio* gave the local community an event in which to develop the historical and legendary *vita* of the saint. The old community of the saint, from which the remains were taken, was no longer recognized or remembered since the new community of hagiographers, ecclesiastics, confraternities, and municipal planners provided a "cultural and social context that gave the relic its symbolic function."[73] In other words, the imbrications of relic cult into a community was a site-specific theatrical production, the relic playing the central role in an unfolding drama of miracles.

The presence of the saint in the community was not always easily contained. For instance, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn argue that the movement of Sainte Foy from her monastic home to external locations across the countryside established a "liminal zone where many alternative possibilities for action were opened up by the statue's passage," which included the production of miracles and fundraising activities

68 Carlo Ginzburg, quoted in Paul Ricour, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey, et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 321.

69 Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 36–42.

70 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 11.

71 Fernando III's body was translated within the walls of Seville on several occasions between 1279 and 1671. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 19.

72 The period between the exhumation ceremony and the processional translation was occupied with a vigil. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 15; 26.

73 Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 8.

for a parish church.[74] What the processional history of Saint Foy makes clear is that the palpable presence of a relic in the community was established when it was moved about and put on display, engaging with admirers and antagonizers alike. From the eleventh century, reliquaries were constructed to be easily portable in processional events; even the *feretra* (chests that carried the bodies of saints) were sometimes portable and could be moved temporarily from their bases.[75]

From the medieval period until today, the three most important relics of Seville are Fernando III and the martyred sisters Justa and Rufina, titular saints and protectors of Seville. The canonized martyrs represented a force for engaging the infidel at the periphery of the Christian empire. According to their legend, in the third century the sisters were tortured and killed by Diogenian, the Roman governor of the province and their bodies were recovered and buried by the bishop of Seville in a meadow, subsequently named Prado de Justa y Rufina. The best-remembered miracle at the site occurred when earth from the Prado was said to have shed blood. An active cult grew up around Justa and Rufina, and in the sixteenth century the devout placed wooden crosses on the site of "great celestial marvels."[76] Their relics inspired Christian warriors during the *Reconquista*. During the thirteenth century, "legends of Justa and Rufina transformed the campaign under Ferdinand III from a secular power struggle into a holy crusade against the infidel."[77] The sixteenth-century Sevillian poet Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán described the achievement of Fernando III as liberating the city from Muslim rule as he sought the holy bodies of Justa and Rufina.[78] The church of the sibling martyrs served as the fourth station of the Vía Crucis penitential procession, and a confraternity dedicated to the cult of Justa and Rufina carried their images in the festival of Corpus Christi.[79] In his sixteenth-century history of the city, Alonso Morgado relates the story of Justa and Rufina's martyrdom in order that "we can bring attention to the little friendship, to Christians of this city, as those of all Spain, they would make them part of the Empire."[80]

Although Fernando III was not formally canonized until 1671, veneration of the king in Seville was well underway centuries earlier. Postmortem *recibimientos* (triumphal entrances) for the king were conducted annually, and the Feast of the king was celebrated with processions, military displays, and dances as early as the mid-thirteenth

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74 Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose, or, the Possibilities of Procession," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 53.

75 Freeman, *Holy Bones*, 87, and Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 16.

76 Manuel Chaves Nogales, *La ciudad* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1991), 18–19.

77 Perry, *Gender and Disorder,* 36.

78 Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán, "Censura de las antiguas comedias españolas," in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1855), 545.

79 Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 36.

80 "ya podemos echar de ver la poca amistad, cuáles Cristianos así de esta ciudad, como a los de toda Espana, se les haria por parte del Imperio." Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla. En la qual se contienen sus antiguedades, grandezas y cosas memorables en ella acontecidas, desde su fundación hasta nuestros tiempos* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Andrea Pescioni y Juan de León, 1587), 9.

century on the Day of Saint Clement.[81] Fernando's relics have occupied the royal chapel of La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede since 1279, when his son, Alfonso X, deposited them there. Fernando's magnificent sepulchre was inscribed with an epitaph in Latin, Castilian, Arabic, and Hebrew, praising the one "who conquered all of Spain" as

> the most loyal, true, generous, energetic, elegant, illustrious, patient, and humble; who most of all feared God and rendered to Him the greatest service; who broke and destroyed all his enemies, and exalted all his friends. He conquered the city of Seville, the head of all Spain, where he died on the last day of May, in the era of 1290 [1252].[82]

Each of the next three translations of Fernando III were conducted in response to structural modifications made to his resting place, and the unveiling of the newly ornamented chapel to celebrants, added to the dramaturgy of the saint's *vita*. After the mosque-cathedral was demolished in 1401, and during reconstruction of the new Gothic structure, Fernando's body was conserved in the section of the cathedral known today as the Biblioteca Columbina (the cathedral archive) at the east side of the Patio de los Naranjos. Fernando's body was ceremonially returned to the new royal chapel in 1432. We have more information about the conditions of the sixteenth-century translation than earlier rituals; however, it is certain that the processions of the translation travelled through the main thoroughfares of Seville and processional routes, which remained mostly unchanged until the eighteenth century.

In 1543, Fernando was moved a third time to the chapel of San Clemente (designed in the Mudejar style) while a *retablo* for the new royal chapel was built.[83] The tabernacle of the royal chapel was created to complement the *retablo mayor*, when the Church of Spain used the archdiocese's considerable resources to forge new altars, crosses, reliquaries, and *retablos* from precious metal and stone. The massive *retablo* of the *capilla mayor*, unprecedented in size and expense for its time (and still the largest in the world), was made in large part from silver cut from the earth by Amerindian slaves in Mexico.[84] The *retablo* was constructed at a time when a new amalgamation process for extracting silver was employed in Mexico and Potosí, Peru, and the flow of silver from the New World to Europe increased greatly after 1550.[85] Upon completion of the renovation of the *capilla real* in 1579, Fernando's body was returned to the gilded chapel, along with the bones of his son and queen, showcasing the mineral riches of Spanish colonies. Extraordinary processions were arranged to celebrate the inauguration of the new royal

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81 Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 52–53, 77.

82 Loaysa y González de León, *Memorias sepulcrales de la Catedral de Sevilla: Los manuscritos de Loaysa y González de León*, ed. Juan José Antequera Luengo (Sevilla: Facediciones, 2008), 51. Translation by Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, 55.

83 López Martínez, et al., *El templo de Madre*, 15.

84 The *retablo* is 20 metres high and 13.20 metres wide. Reliefs show the life of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Sevillian martyrs Isidore and Justa and Rufina. The gates surrounding the *capilla major*, built between 1518 and 1533, are profusely ornamented and built of gold. José Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla* (Carretera: Editorial Everest, 1981), 112.

85 Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empire and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 31–32.

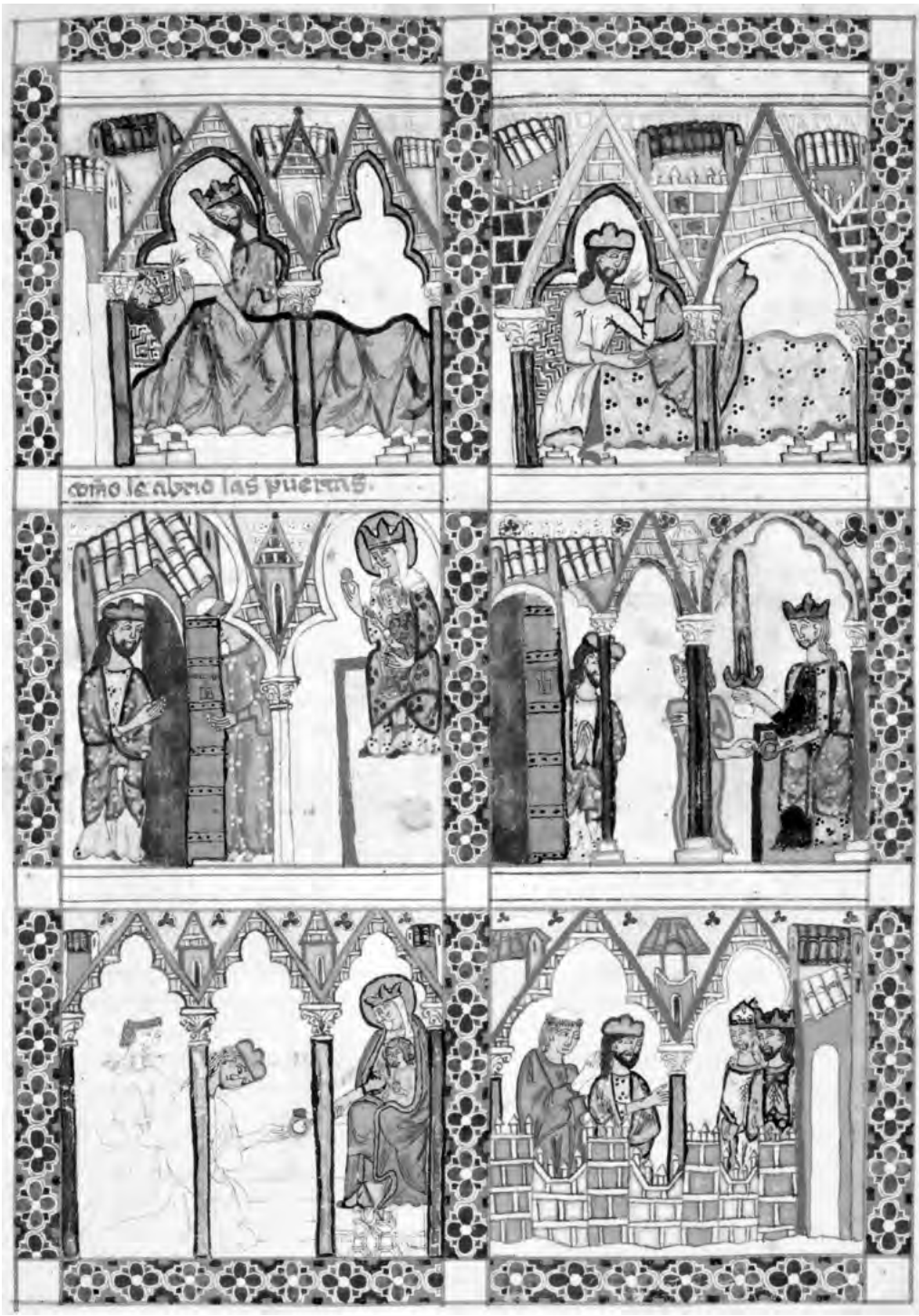

Figure 3.1. Illumination of cantiga 292 of *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, Florence, BNCF, Banco Rari 20, sec. XIII, fol. 12r. Courtesy of BNCF, CC BY-SA. 4.0.

chapel, and the cathedral's relics, royal *feretra*, and La Virgen de los Reyes and other statues of saints were carried through the city. The translation celebrations lasted days and followed the form of the feast of Corpus Christi; clergy, military personnel, and officers of the Inquisition all participated.[86]

As a "sacred frontier object" King Fernando's sword, named *Lobera*, played a significant role in the rituals of translation, and in other public events.[87] In the medieval chapel prior to 1401, the stone effigy of the conqueror king grasped the sword in its hand. Fernando is almost always depicted in statues, paintings, and illuminations carrying his sword, and sometimes also carrying a globe of the world in his other hand, which symbolically links the *Reconquista* to the conquest of the New World. The illumination to *cantiga* 292, painted in a markedly different style than the other illuminations of MS T.I.1, was likely added to the collection after Alfonso X's death, perhaps in the fourteenth century (Figure 3.1). Scholars have suggested that the image of Fernando in *cantiga* 292 represents the stone cenotaph of the king (now lost) in the program of clothed effigies in the *capilla royal*. The sword in the miniature of the *cantiga* is drawn with particular attention to detail and its oversized appearance dominates the illumination, conveying a sense of power. In 1407 Fernando I of Aragón (Regent of Castile, 1406–1416, King of Aragón, 1412–1416) arrived in Seville to prepare for his own campaigns against the Muslim kingdom of Granada. Because the sword was thought to have thaumaturgic powers in battles against the infidel, Fernando of Aragón lifted the sword from the prone body of the relic, processed it around the church and through the city, and carried it throughout the military campaign.[88]

Liturgical processions were decorated by the relics of the La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede: *Las Tablas Alfonsíes*, an ancient piece of metalwork made in Toledo in 1280 for Alfonso X in honour of the Virgin Mary; the pendant worn by Fernando during *Reconquista* (thirteenth century); reliquary urns of Saints Servando and Germán (sixteenth century), patrons of Cádiz (the port from which Christopher Columbus launched his second and fourth voyages); a fragment of the True Cross in a reliquary cross made of gold and precious stones (sixteenth century); a processional cross made of crystal, agate, gold and silver (1530); a group of Gothic Virgin and Child statues made of precious stones, enamel, and gold (fifteenth century); and a gold plate carrying a pax for kissing with an image of Saint Anne, the Mother of Mary (fifteenth century). The Almohad key to the city—traditionally thought to have been given to Fernando III at the capitulation of Seville—was also displayed. The Arabic inscription on the key reads "With the city: Allah is the whole empire and power." And near the cathedral shrine of San Blas and San

86 Francisco de Siguenza, *Relación de la traslación de la imagen* (Sevilla, 1579), 85-4-13, in Casos raros y particulares sucedidos en Sevilla, BCC 85-4-11, no. 30.

87 Ian Richard Macpherson and Angus MacKay, eds., *Love, Religion, and Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 169. Medieval chronicles make it clear that his sword was carried in procession on his feast day. Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 53.

88 Fernando I returned the sword at the end of the campaign. Juan de Mata Carriazo, ed., *Cronica de Juan II de Castillo*, vol. 1, 1406–1411 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982), 129–31, 189–91.

Leandro was displayed an ivory crucifix and paten that Cortés used to officiate at the first Mass held in Mexico in 1519.[89]

Fernando's final translation occurred in 1671, in the year of his canonization. In 1710, his preserved body was placed in the silver-gilt glass sepulchre through which visitors of the cathedral can view the body to this day, on special occasions. Behind the casket of Fernando in a small niche are the relics of other royal persons protected in mahogany boxes.[90] Each translation presented an opportunity for the most cherished relic of Seville to survey the city he conquered. The symbolic figurehead of *Reconquista* was performatively and repeatedly resurrected in the sacred spaces and streets of Seville, fortifying the city's identity as an imperial centre.

More and more, as mineral riches poured in from the New World, the bodies of saints and monarchs were decorated and framed with objects made of precious metals and shared in the performance of treasured bodies. Like the bejewelled La Virgen de los Reyes, whose hair was made of hundreds of strands of gold thread, kings and saints belonged to a genus of sacra-political performance whose efficacy and power was sourced in metallurgy. Walter Benjamin's concept of "aura" offers a productive way of thinking about the transformative and performative presence of treasured saints and kings, both living and dead, presented in their finely crafted litters and *feretra*:

> We know that the earliest art works originated in the service of a ritual—first the magical, then the religious kind. It is significant that the existence of the work of art with reference to its aura is never entirely separated from its ritual function. In other words, the unique value of the "authentic" work of art has its basis in ritual, the location of its original use value.[91]

Benjamin's concept of aura is connected to social theories of mass production. In Renaissance Europe the "abundance of new [media] types similarly concerned with replication, many of which appeared almost simultaneously, is remarkable: Plaquettes, portrait medals, engravings, printed books, and type design, cartapesta and terracotta Madonna and Child sculptures."[92] Late medieval plaquettes were mass produced in the manner of casting and were used as paxes—finely-decorated tablets presented at Mass for the kiss of peace. As devotional objects that were touched by the hands and faces of the faithful, paxes accommodated a total sensory engagement with sacred matter. Because of their propagandistic value, portrait medals of kings and princes were often cast and distributed in great numbers, and like the plaquette of the Virgin and Child, partook in the economy of sacred aura. Because the materials that comprised plaquettes, printed books, and terracotta sculptures were relatively inexpensive, these devotional

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89 Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 82, 92, 107.

90 Guerrero Lovillo, *La Catedral de Sevilla*, 109.

91 Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, trans. Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken, 1986), 225–26.

92 Arne Flaten, "Renaissance in Europe Reproducible Media(s) in the Early Fifteenth Century, Mostly Italia," *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* 3 (2012), http://postmedievalcrowdreview.wordpress.com/papers/flaten/.

objects were available to the growing merchant class of the era. Copies of ancient Roman medallions were also manufactured and distributed; "[a]nyone with sufficient funds might annex the exclusive privilege of the glorious Roman emperors."[93] Finally, whether reproduced mechanically or manually, paintings, statues, and other objects Virgin Mary and saints' cults were carried by explorers to the New World, where they were copied and sometimes hybridized with indigenous motifs. Duplicates of devotional objects from the *Templo de Madre de Dios* of Seville can be found today dispersed across Latin America, in Patagonia, Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil.[94]

A proliferation of sacred, imperial symbols was assiduously transported and emplaced in the urban environment. But these objects were not simply read as *signs* of empire, they were experienced in a fully theatrical provocation of the senses. Luminescent vessels proclaimed their living presences while memorializing the dead bodies contained within them. Devotees gathered the stories of saints in songs and legends. Sacred aura was transmitted through paxes and *feretra* through the sense of touch. In early modern Spanish political and religious festivals, the cult of profane beauty (mineral enrichment) and ritual magic (relic devotion) joined forces in the creation of universal Christian space.

Exotica

A 1497 letter from Columbus to the Catholic Monarchs is devoted to issues of collecting, smelting, distribution, accounting, and transportation of the gold of Hispaniola. Columbus commits twelve separate items to the topic, followed by a statement on religious matters: "there shall be a church, and parish priest or friars to administer the sacraments, to perform divine worship, and for the conversion of the Indians."[95] Columbus's fixation with gold was not merely an acknowledgment of the wealth and power of the Catholic church, "but rather a tribute to *gold* both as *a means* for religious purposes and as *a sign bearing a religious value in itself*."[96] The elaboration of devotional spirituality in medieval Franciscanism was compatible with Columbus's beliefs, and was shared by a great number of Spanish who travelled across the Atlantic Ocean. The display of the riches of the New World benefited from thematic associations with Christian ritual objects and relic devotion. Metallurgy became thaumaturgy at a time when vast stores of gold and silver were funnelled through La Casa de Contratación to European markets.

Contemporary narratives of 1528 Amerindian entertainments at Valladolid follow a consistent pattern: each presentation of Amerindian game was preceded, and often bookended, by the exhibition or gifting of gold and other riches from New Spain. In the account of Díaz del Castillo, this ritual progression occurred four times: once in

93 Flaten, "Renaissance in Europe."

94 López Martínez, et al., *El templo de Madre*, 41.

95 William Eleroy Curtis, *The Relics of Columbus: An Illustrated Description of the Historical Collection in the Monastery of La Rábida* (Washington, DC: William H. Lowdermilk, 1893), 201–2.

96 "sino un elogio del *oro* a la vez como *medio* para fines religiosos y como *signo teniendo un valor religioso en si*" (emphasis in Milhou). Milhou, *Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica*, 125, 129.

Seville, once in the village of Guadalupe, and twice at the court at Valladolid.[97] Interest in exotica was nothing new for the Castilian court. The thirteenth-century illumination to Alfonso X's *cantiga* 29 from the *Códice Rico* manuscript contains a rich assortment of African animals (camel, lion, zebra, elephant, and giraffe) bowing down to the figure of the Virgin Mary. John Keller concludes that the artist based his rendition on the exotic animals in the king's zoo.[98] There is also a passage from Alfonso's *Crónica General* that describes a visit of ambassadors from the King of Egypt to the Castilian court, who put a bazaar of fantastic objects and animals on display, among them expensive jewels, precious clothing and natural objects, ivory carvings, and a zebra.[99] Displays of national difference also appeared in the *danzas del sarao*, a sixteenth-century courtly dance loosely based on themes of nationality and pastoral ideals (pagan, ancient, and foreign). The most prominent feature of the *danzas del sarao* was brilliant costuming that sharpened definitions of national custom and culture. Gypsies, Moors, Africans, Amerindians, and Spaniards from other provinces would present songs, music, and dance dressed in ways that sufficiently contrasted them with dominant Christian culture in Seville.[100]

Interpreting a picture of the New World through European eyes, Hernán Cortés wrote to Emperor Carlos V about Tenochtitlán:

> [t]he city is as big as Seville or Córdoba. The main streets are very wide and straight; some of these are on land, but the rest and all the smaller ones are half on land, half canals where they paddle their canoes…The city has many squares where trading is done and markets are held continuously. There is also one square twice as big as that of Salamanca, with arcades all around.[101]

Like Cortés's description of the Aztec city, performances of exotic wealth in the arteries and aristocratic homes of sixteenth-century Sevillians were means of translating an unintelligible culture by inserting the artifacts, bodies, and gestures of that culture into familiar structures of early modern procession and spectacle. Without any prior connotative context to understand these performances, Cortés, the performers, and audiences were trapped in paradoxical "ekphrasis of cross-cultural translation." Thomas Cummings writes that

> if ekphrasis, as a European poetic concept, is the "illusionary representation of the unrepresentable," then this inherent paradox, when it becomes apparent in the relation of text and image in the New World, reveals the absurd nature of this unproblematic acceptance of the truth content of the image and thereby the translation which is attached to it,

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97 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia de los sucesos de la conquista de la Nueva-España*, Tomo III (Madrid: Imprenta de Tejado, 1863), 240–66.

98 John E. Keller and Annette Grant Cash, "Foreword," in *Daily Life Depicted in the Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Louisville: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), ix.

99 Alfonso X, Fernán Sánchez de Valladolid, and Sancho IV, *Primera crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio y se continuaba bajo Sancho IV en 1289*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), 293.

100 Brooks, *Dances of the Processions of Seville*, 155–56.

101 Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, ed. and trans. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 102–3.

> because it masks the act of translation itself as being both cultural and verbal...If then there is a common thread to what I have called the ekphrasis of cross-cultural translation, it is the act of invention/ discovery that carries in it the desire for completeness and closure: the existence of something prior that allows for the telling, often in spite of the lying nature of the teller.[102]

For all those present at the spectacle of New World wares and peoples, the desire for closure precipitated theatrical invention.

From where, exactly, did this need for knowledge and invention derive? For Cortés, there was a personal ambition: to convince Carlos V to grant him titles that would give him greater administrative and military control over New Spain. During his travels across Spain in 1528 and 1529, Cortés produced propagandistic theatre repudiating charges made by his political enemies that he had deferred payments of gold to the crown. His response came in the form of auric spectacles of New World riches for private audiences. In the end, Cortés was received by the imperial court with distinction: decorated with knighthood and granted the title of Marquis of the Oaxaca Valley (one of the richest regions of New Spain) but short of what Cortés was seeking (governorship of New Spain). Cortés marriage to the daughter of a nobleman—Doña Juana de Zuñiga—elevated his social status. Wedding gifts to his betrothed included five massive emeralds carved by Aztec craftsmen into the shapes of a rose, a bell, a fish, a trumpet, and a cup.[103] The nuptial arrangement gave Cortés direct access to wealthy landowners and merchants in Spain who financed both exploration and trade in the New World. Cortés took advantage of his new status by arranging processions, receptions, and other ceremonies advertising New World culture and riches to the rest of Europe.

The performative integration of Amerindians into the theatrical landscape of the community—a nucleus of colonial *hidalgo*, Christianity, and commerce—is what distinguishes Seville from the constellation of destinations of the royal itineracy across Spain. Amerindian performances were especially prominent during the second decade of the sixteenth century, the period of conquest and early administration of Mexico. In 1519, six Totonac Amerindians (four men and two women from the Yucatan) arrived in Seville with a letter from Hernán Cortés (now lost) and treasures obtained from Moctezuma. The Totonacs were the first American people to walk on European soil. One of the Totonacs died in Seville, and the rest were decorated with jewels and fashionably attired at Carlos V's expense, then processed to the court at Valladolid where they were presented before the emperor. The five surviving Yucatan Amerindians eventually returned to the Americas, settling in Cuba.[104] The treasures that were sent with the Amerindians and

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102 Thomas Cummins, "From Lies to Truth: Colonial Ekphrasis and the Act of Crosscultural Translation," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 172.

103 Hugh Thomas, *Conquest: Montezuma, Cortés, and the Fall of Old Mexico* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), 598.

104 F. M. Carey, "Translation of a Letter from the Archbishop of Cosenza to Petrus de Acosta." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 9 (1929): 361–63. Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 174–75.

given to Carlos were presented at a full exhibition at the imperial court in Brussels the following year. In the year of the marriage of Carlos V and Isabel of Portugal (1526), the sons of Aztec lords demonstrated a traditional Mexica ball game. The following year, five Tlaxcalans travelled to Spain with Cortés and in 1528 a large delegation of Mexica entertainers and lords were received at the Seville palace of the Duke Medina Sidonia. Based on the historical transcript, rarely does it appear that European audiences distinguished between Totonacs, Tlaxcalans, and Aztecs, and their inability (or refusal) to discern Mexican heterogeneity permitted a wide, yet simple, interpretive space for the projection of colonial fantasies.

Pietro Martire d'Anghiera—who wrote one of the first (and frequently imitated) European histories of the conquest of the New World—provided an amazingly detailed description of Amerindian performances he witnessed in Seville. His is the only account of mock Aztec sacrifice in sixteenth-century European literature. In 1522, a flotilla carrying a delegation of Totonacs and loaded with gold, silver, emeralds, and precious Amerindian art objects arrived in Spain. Cortés's representative from New Spain, Juan Ribera, arranged a theatrical presentation of the treasures and Amerindians for Martire d'Anghiera and a private audience in Seville, which included a papal legate, an envoy of the Duke of Milan and the Venetian ambassador to Spain. D'Anghiera expressed enthusiasm for Amerindian codices and art objects: "[i]t is not so much the gold or the precious stones I admire, as the cleverness of the artist and the workmanship, which much exceed the value of the material and excite my amazement."[105] Describing the golden jewellery worn by the Amerindians, including a pendant piercing the extremity of the underlip of the men in the group, d'Anghiera wrote that "as we wear precious stones mounted in gold upon our fingers, so do they insert pieces of gold the size of a ring into the lips…I cannot remember ever to have seen anything more hideous." The guests in attendance admired the spoils of war collected from Moctezuma and his chiefs: 32,000 ducats of gold in the form of smelted bars and valuable objects of curiosity: masks, mirrors, pearls, shields, helmets, vases, rings, necklaces, and jewellery in the forms of shells and birds.

The prose of Martire d'Anghiera's chronicle is plain, but occasionally he reveals affective desire, excitement, and shock. The account of the unfamiliar and exotic animals, plants, costumes, and sacred objects—recorded like a botanist's survey—reminds us that for early modern Christians, gilded sacred and natural objects testified to God's power on earth.[106] "[T]he use of exotic treasures from nature as sacred containers in ecclesiastical contexts—chalices, reliquaries, and monstrances composed from ostrich eggs and coconut shells—and as objects of wonder which testify to the marvels of God's creation, [attracted] a public into the church and [induced] reverent awe."[107] On the one

105 d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, decade 5, bk. 10, 46.

106 "Colonial botany—the study, naming, cultivation, and marketing of plants in colonial contexts—was born of and supported European voyages, conquests, global trade, and scientific exploration." Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 2.

107 Martin Kemp, "'Wrought by No Artist's Hand': The Natural, the Artificial, the Exotic, and the

hand, naming the habits and appearances of Totonacs in the manner of an early naturalist protected d'Anghiera from the disgust and irreconcilable strangeness he felt. On the other hand, he expresses an interest to know them more intimately and decipher their theatrical presentations.

After the exotic articles and treasures were exhibited, Ribera summoned a "young native slave" to the open terrace where they sat. The Totonac had changed out of his jewel-studded clothing and now wore a "robe of woven feathers, half blue and half red," held a wooden sword "without the stones which ordinarily decorate this weapon," and a shield decorated with tiger skin, feathers, and gold. The imitation wooden sword was used as a prop in an "exhibition of a battle" that Ribera's slave performed by "hurling himself upon his enemies, then retreating."[108] The remainder of the account of the extraordinary scene is worth quoting in full:

> [H]e engaged another slave who served with him and was trained to these exercises. He seized him by the hair, as they do their enemies whom they capture with weapons in their hands, dragging them off to be sacrificed. After throwing the slave on the ground, he feigned to cut open his breast above the heart, with a knife. After tearing out the heart, he wrung from his hands the blood flowing from the wound, and then besprinkled the sword and shield. This is the treatment they show prisoners.

The audience to the mimed Aztec drama had a frame of reference for interpreting the performance since mock battles and tournaments were staple fare in the Andalusian city. However, a straightforward reading of a valorous game of war would have been put into question by what followed.

> Rubbing two sticks together he lighted a new fire, in which he burnt the heart; for the sacrificial fire must never have served any other purpose, as they believe the smoke of this sacrifice pleases the tutelary gods of their country. The rest of the body is cut into pieces, as the gestures of the slave showed, but the belly and entrails are untouched; no doubt for fear of corruption. The head of the enemy sacrificed in this wise is stripped of its flesh and set in gold, after which the victor keeps it as a trophy. They are even accustomed to make as many little golden heads with half-opened mouths as it is proven each has killed or sacrificed enemies, and these they wear round their neck. It is believed the members are eaten.[109]

It is not known if the Totonac used props or other representations to stage fire and the blood, heart, and head of the vanquished enemy, but d'Anghiera is clear that the actions of the ritual were feigned or gesturally suggested.

After a second costume change, the slave reappeared dancing and singing native songs while holding in his left hand "a golden toy with a thousand different ornaments, and in his right hand a circle of bells, which he shook, gaily raising and lowering his golden toy." A third costume change and the slave played the role of a drunk, to which

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Scientific in Some Artifacts from the Renaissance," in *Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450–1650*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 181–82.

108 d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, decade 5, bk. 10, 39, 195–6, 202.

109 d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, 202–3.

d'Anghiera commented, "never was the role more faithfully sustained." d'Anghiera reported that, in the New World, Amerindians "rush naked through the streets, and squares of the town, clutching at the walls, to sustain themselves and asking their way home of those whom they meet. Some spit, others puke, and oftener still they fall to the ground." It is presumed that the Amerindian slave was imitated these behaviours. The language used to describe the comic performance is striking: "never was the *role* more *faithfully sustained*."[110] One of the most beloved and common prototypical characters of the early Spanish stage were *pastorales* (pastorals) that were featured in the plays of Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, Juan del Encina, and Bartolomé Torres Naharro. The rustic architype (often a shepherd named *Mingo*) appeared in medieval jongleuresque entertainment, festivals, *momos*, *cancioneros*, *autos sacramentales*, and, notably, in vernacular Nativity dramas.[111] Performers of *pastorales* were multitalented acrobats who dazzled audiences with feats of physical prowess. Not unlike shepherd characters from other medieval performance traditions, they were obsessed with food and drink. Perhaps this was the association made by audiences to Amerindian foot jugglers, tumblers, ball players, comic drunks, and other prestidigitators.

A compelling aspect of d'Anghiera's account of sacrifice and war—one that could easily go unnoticed—is his repeated use of the pronoun "they." It is unclear in his narration if "they" refers to Totonacs or their imperial Aztec enemies. It is possible that d'Anghiera's did not know. Prior to Spanish discovery and conquest in Mesoamerica, the Totonacs had been enemies of the Aztecs from the time the Mexica empire came to power in the thirteenth century. Aztec warriors had decimated the Totonac population by capturing and sacrificing many of their children, also keeping Totonac children as slaves.[112] Of course, d'Anghiera did not know this crucial historical detail with which he might have understood the mock sacrifice from the perspective of the actor playing the role. Perhaps the actor projected a sense of alienation from the role he was playing or displayed anger and disgust at the behaviours of the Aztecs as he imitated them.

It is possible that the emotional transcript of the Totonac was hidden from the European audience. Again, cross-cultural ekphrasis, an "invention/discovery that carries in it the desire for completeness and closure…in spite of the lying nature of the teller" leads the spectator astray.[113] Martire d'Anghiera also erred in assigning the status of "slave" to the Totonac actor. Totonacs were important allies of the Spanish in their war against the Aztecs and helped them ultimately bring the empire down. In his desire for colonial closure, d'Anghiera's account is an invention of his own. Never does he consider that the cultural and political history of the Amerindian performer may have been different from other Mesoamerican cultures or non-European people from other continents.

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110 d'Anghiera, *De Orbe Novo*, 204 (emphasis mine).

111 Stern, *Medieval Theatre in Castile*, 186–89, 207, 218–19.

112 Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva-España*, vol. I (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1939), 173–74.

113 Cummins, "From Lies to Truth," 172.

As a musician, dancer, imitator of Aztecs and drunks, marketer of New World treasures, and "slave," the Totonac in Ribera's company negotiated conflicting social dynamics. Like Tlaxcalans in Mexico—who incorporated Mexica artifacts and narratives into Spanish *autos* to preserve preconquest culture and faith—the Totonac was simultaneously "performing conquest and playing by the rules."[114] The Totonac performer would have been surprised (and deeply disappointed) to discover that he was slave, for instance. But perhaps a sense of bondage was beginning to enter his consciousness, as he danced, stumbled, and spit for laughs. There are suggestions in the record that itinerant Amerindian performers on European soil experienced profound grief. The voyage across the ocean was arduous and living conditions in Europe were neither comfortable nor safe. Throughout the decade, Amerindians perished in Seville before they could return to the New World. An Arawak brought to Spain by Columbus in 1493 died two years later while on display at the Spanish court, "of sadness, apparently."[115]

In 1527, Hernán Cortés arrived in Spain with a delegation of Tlaxcalans and Aztecs. The following year, Cortés's natural bent for pomp came to the fore when he "arranged that his arrival at the Spanish Court should be of the nature of a veritable pageant."[116] The 1528 trip to Spain was of great professional importance to the *conquistador*, and he appears to have prepared accordingly. Arriving at Palos de la Frontera in early May 1528, Cortés's retinue disembarked from two ships and visited El Monasterio de La Rábida.[117] Included in the group of fifty to eighty people were a son of Moctezuma and a son of the Aztec lord Maxixca (baptized in Spain as Don Lorenzo), a number of other Amerindian gentlemen and lords, entertainers (tumblers and jugglers), and "certain very white Indian men and women, and others dwarfs, and others deformed." Of the treasures carried in his flotilla, thirty thousand pesos of fine gold, fifteen hundred marks of silver, and many valuable jewels were unloaded. In addition, Cortés brought albatrosses, an *aiotochtli* (armadillo), and a *tlacuaci* (opossum) for exhibit, and he gifted large quantities of jewellery, fans, shields, stone mirrors, feather head mantles, and Amerindian codices to his hosts.[118] Cortés hired teams of pack animals and wagons to portage this collection of people, animals, and treasures across western Andalusia and Castile. Emperor Carlos sent orders to cities and villages in advance of Cortés to ensure that the *conquistador* was received with honours.

In Seville, the Duke of Medina Sidonia staged a great ceremonial reception for Cortés's group. During the two days spent at the Duke's Seville palace, Cortés and his com-

114 Patricia Ybarra, *Performing Conquest: Five Centuries of Theater, History, and Identity in Tlaxcala, Mexico* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 23.

115 Diana Taylor, "A Savage Performance: Guillermo Goméz-Peña and Coco Fusco's 'Couple in the Cage,'" *TDR* 42, no. 2 (1998), 161.

116 Hernán Cortés, *Fernando Cortés: His Five Letters of Relation to the Emperor Charles V*, ed. Francis Augustus MacNutt (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1908), 52.

117 Federico Gómez de Orozco, "El exvoto de Hernán Cortés," *Ethnos* 1 (1920): 219–22.

118 "ciertos indios e indias muy blancos, y otros ananos, y otros contrahechos." Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de la conquista de México*, ed. Jorge Gurría Lacroix (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979), 302.

Figure 3.2. Indian log juggling (third phase). Christoph Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Hs. 22474. Bild 25 (1530). Image in the public domain.

panions prayed and attended Mass at the cathedral, gave alms to the poor, and distributed gifts from the New World to the women of the Guzmán family: jewellery made of gold, pearls, and emeralds, creatures from New Spain, a balsam-wood incense burner, and whole gold ingots. After these presents were distributed, Cortés called forth his Amerindian entertainers and the Duke and his family were presented with a performance of Amerindian log juggling "that contented them and they were even amazed to see it."[119] (Figure 3.2)

From Seville, the group made their way north through Extremadura. Although the precise route Cortés travelled from Seville to Valladolid is unknown, it is probable that the group followed the Vía de la Plata since it offered the most direct route and strongest roads.[120] Cortés guided the expedition through his hometown of Medellín, where he prayed at his father's tomb, visited with his mother and friends, and conducted some small business regarding his properties. He then proceeded to the Monastery of Guadalupe, where he gave thanks to the Virgin and placed a gold scorpion on her shrine.

119 "que se contentaron y aun se admiraron de lo ver." Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera historia*, vol. 3, 242.

120 Michael Moïssey Postan and Edward Miller, *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 193.

In Valladolid the large delegation of Mexican jugglers, ballplayers, prestidigitators, and dancers were presented to Carlos V and his courtiers. Following the performances at court, processional celebrations were carried out in the streets.[121]

Cortés's high-profile convoy from Seville to Valladolid, embellished with ceremony, spectacle, and prayer along the entire route, was a kind of auto-translation. The founder of New Spain exercised a theatre of divine will in Spain with displays of exotic wealth and indigenous theatre. As his secretary wrote, "[i]n short, he traveled as a great lord."[122] Draped with the mineral riches of the New World—"fashionably dressed and bejeweled…masked, head dressed, and shod very naturally as Indians"—the men and women entertainers and lords animated the imaginations of Spanish audiences.[123] The costumes and props of the mimetic displays positioned Amerindian culture within the sightlines of Christian imperial desire.

Amerindian displays elevated and redefined the status of the "savage" body in spiritual and transactional terms by associating them with gilded ritual objects, imperial pomp, and auric blessings. Other entertainments stimulated corporeal fascinations and disgust. Indigenous performers were barely clothed when striking a lightweight wooden ball "not with their hands or feet, but with their sides" (buttocks).[124] About the group of Totonacs that visited the court of Carlos V in 1519, the Archbishop of Cosenza commented that the women were "short of stature and of disagreeable…appearance," and he was repulsed by the labrets in their lower lips.[125] These reactions read like embryonic discourses about "savages" and "freaks" that dominated Western representations of aborigines in the ensuing centuries, stereotypes that fetishized otherness and stressed "authenticity as an aesthetic value."[126] Affective repulsion/attraction was held at bay through scientific discourse. Diana Taylor observes that confirmation of authentic identities of difference required the documentation of Amerindians by specialists: "[i]nsofar as native bodies are invariably presented as not speaking (or not making themselves understood to the defining subject), they give rise to an industry of 'experts' needed to approach and interpret them—language experts, scientists, ethicists, ethnographers, and cartographers."[127]

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121 Esteban J. Palomera, *Fray Diego Valadés, Evangelizador humanista de la Nueva España* (Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1962), 218.

122 Francisco López de Gómara, *Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by his Secretary*, trans. and ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 139.

123 Max Harris, *Aztecs, Moors, and Christians*, 174, 176.

124 Andrés Navagero, "Viaje por España del magnífico Micer Andrés Navagero, y Cartas de Micer Andrés Navagero a M. Juan Bautista Ramusio," in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XVI*, vol. 1, ed. José García Mercadal (Madrid: Aguilar, 1952), 851–52.

125 Carey, "Translation of a Letter from the Archbishop," 162.

126 Coco Fusco, "The Other History of Intercultural Performance," in *The Feminist and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (New York: Routledge, 2003), 209.

127 Taylor, "A Savage Performance," 161.

One of the many experts enlisted to interpret the Amerindian body was the German artist Christoph Weiditz. At some point during his visit to Spain in 1528, Weiditz attended a performance of Cortés's Amerindians and drew images based on what he saw. As Theodor Hampe observes in his introduction to the 1927 publication of Weiditz's drawings and woodcuts, Weiditz's work can be situated within the sixteenth-century interest in costuming and appreciation of the "outward appearance of mankind."[128] Weiditz travelled across the Peninsula and drew portraits of other subjects that he believed typified Peninsular cultures: a Sevillian noble lady, a penitent from Saragossa, a female prisoner of the Inquisition, street dress of a *Morisca* woman, a negro slave with a wineskin, and Amerindians playing *mora* (game of stones). The figures are drawn in full-frontal arrangement with neutral backgrounds. There is a noticeable contrast between Weiditz's portraits of Moors, Africans, and Amerindians, who are often portrayed engaged in culturally specific behaviours, and Christians, who are rarely engaged in any activity at all. The non-Christians are also noticeably corporeal and more robustly illustrated than the Christian subjects. Weiditz's written descriptions of cultural styles and customs along the borders of the drawings attempt a kind of factual unconcern; however, value judgments occasionally slip in: "This is also a policeman, one of the pious lads who deserve all honour"; "Thus the Moors who have been sold carry wine in goatskins in Castile—if they run away from their masters, they have to work thus and wear chains"; "This is the Morisco dance music they make noises also like calves" [sic]; and "Thus the women in Castile wail and also violently cry out wherefore he died, for they certainly were beautiful and rich and pious."[129] Weiditz's anthropological prose expresses Christian self-assurance, while anxieties that arise in the confrontation with difference occasionally seep through his visual compendium of the world.

In representational and theatrical renderings of fleshy, grotesque bodies, Europeans shored up their own identities as colonial superiors. At other times, jewels and precious metals cloaked strange corporeality beneath. Costuming was the dramatic art of authenticating New World goods—aulic and auric. Like reliquaries of saints' bodies, costumes from the Old and New Worlds that hid the flesh heighted the sense of mystery and enticement for spectators. On colonial stages, "a scenography of recycled and tentative materials, a half-designed intercultural stage in which the past was still too close and the future was not close enough" enveloped Amerindians into the imperial structure of feeling.[130] Performances of empire synchronized two social actions that were at ideological odds with one another: reiterating the grotesqueries and differences of heathens, on the one hand, and then acquiring those very bodies as resources for spiritual conversion and mineral enrichment.

Encounters with aboriginal cultures in the early modern period initiated a centuries-long practice of bringing non-Western peoples to Europe and the United States

128 Theodor Hampe, "First Park: The Artist and the Work," in Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, 11.

129 Weiditz, *Das Trachtenbuch*, 33–36, 43.

130 Leo Cabranes-Grant, "From Scenarios to Networks: Performing the Intercultural in Colonial Mexico," *Theatre Journal* 63 (2011): 502.

"for aesthetic contemplation, scientific analysis, and entertainment."[131] Theatre was part of this project of primitivism. Some of the most best-known examples include John Dryden's *The Indian Emperour; or, The Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards* (1665); the ethnographic, sexualized presentations of Sarah Baartman (living and dead) in parlours and museums; the Noble Savage of the nineteenth-century melodramatic stage; Buffalo Bill's *Wild West Shows*; and, as Coco Fusco argues, the spectacle of primitivism in early twentieth-century avant-garde art and theatre. According to Fusco, the first Amerindians to perform for European audiences were "forced first to take the place that Europeans had already created for the savages of their Medieval mythology."[132] I propose that savagery was not always the dominant metaphor of indigenous drama. At least in the first decades of the sixteenth century, there was an attempt by Spanish producers of "Indian spectacles" to evoke the thaumaturgical powers of medieval saints in the glint of mineral riches.

Colonial transformations and enrichments were based on a covenant: hubristic Spanish faith in divinely sanctioned Christian universalism. The bodies of the Mexica were exposed in theatres of science and decorated with gold and exotica to disguise their perceived uncanny corporeality. The process of cross-cultural translations was built on falsehood, the "illusionary representation of the unrepresentable." Quasi-ritualistic Aztec performances and masquerades of exotica took the "found" objects of the New World and placed them in a medieval *mise-en-scène*: processions, pilgrimages, court masques, and games. Amerindians were like mobile shrines upon which colonial treasures were offered to the devotee. However, unlike the examples in previous chapters of forms of affective communication that crossed confessional lines, Amerindian performance does not represent phenomenology of coexistence defined as collaborative culture-making and difference-making. The cultural preconditions of Amerindian and European social actors were so radically different that a novel genre of cross-cultural theatre was born: narcissistic mirroring of fantasies on colonial subjects.

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There is uncertainty about the whereabouts of the bodies of Christopher Columbus and Hernán Cortés. Ambiguities in historical records have shrouded their relics with mystery. Like Saint James' fractured body, Cortés's and Columbus's remains have traversed wide bodies of water in search of a final resting place. After his death in 1506, Columbus's body continued crossing the Atlantic Ocean and Iberian Peninsula, as if death itself could not stop his search for patrons and royal financiers. In stark contrast to his life—where he was greeted unceremoniously by the indigenous peoples of Hispaniola and mostly ignored in Spain—Columbus's post-mortem, circum-Atlantic tour was full of pomp and ritual. His remains were ceremonially moved on no fewer than seven occasions, and at one point funeral rites were administered on the ship that bore his body. Columbus was first given funereal rites in 1506 in the parish church of Santa María de

131 Fusco, "The Other History," 208.

132 Fusco, "The Other History," 210.

la Antigua, in Valladolid, and buried at the Franciscan cemetery. In 1509 his body was moved to the Carthusian Monastery in Seville. Then in 1523, at the behest of his son Diego, Columbus's body was moved to the Las Cuevas monastery. In 1541 Columbus's remains were disinterred again, this time crossing the ocean to Santo Domingo, where they were buried in the city's cathedral. After France took control of Hispaniola in 1795, Spanish authorities moved Columbus to Havana. This set of bones was then returned to Seville in 1899 and interred in La Catedral.[133] The sepulchre of Christopher Columbus is located on the south side of the cathedral near the Puerta de San Cristóbal. The massive bronze mausoleum is comprised of a coffin carried on the shoulders of four oversized heralds. Controversy enters the narrative in 1877. When the oldest cathedral in the New World, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, was being refurbished, workers found a wooden box engraved with the name "Admiral Christopher Columbus." The box contained an incomplete collection of bones. A dispute arose between the archdioceses of Seville and Santo Domingo, both claiming that their sets of remains were authentic. DNA testing in 2003 and 2004 did not settle the question.

The history of Cortés's post-mortem adventures is even more confusing, partly because Cortés stipulated in his will that his body should remain in Spain for ten years, and then be moved to a monastery he founded in Coyohuacan, Mexico. His body was first laid to rest in 1547 in the family chapel of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, at the church of San Isidro in Seville. In 1566, his body was sent to Mexico and buried near his mother at a church in Texcoco because the monastery at Coyohuacan had never been completed. His body continued its procession across a network of sacred sites in Mexico—in 1629, 1716, and 1794. After independence, Cortés's remains risked desecration, so his coat of arms and mausoleum were moved to Palermo, Sicily. For decades it was unclear if his body had been moved with his funereal objects, or were hidden in a hospital in Mexico City, or had been lost.[134] In the twentieth century, his body was "rediscovered" in Mexico City, authenticated, and laid in the Church of Jesus of Nazareth. The rather haphazard and distorted record of the translations of the bodies of these European colonizers speaks to the ultimate failure of the dream of transforming the Atlantic world in the image of Spain. Unlike the medieval relics of saints, the distribution of the relics of Cortés and Columbus across Atlantic territories could not successfully map Christian universality.

133 Kirkpatrick Sale, *Christopher Columbus and the Conquest of Paradise* (London: Tauris Parke, 2006), xv–xvi.

134 Luis González Obregón, *Los restos de Hernán Cortés. Disertación histórica y documentada* (Mexico: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1906), 6–9, 12–14, 16–23.

Conclusion

WALKING GHOSTS

THEATRE HISTORIOGRAPHY IS an ambient poetics, a pursuit of transitory present-ness by way of transhistorical objects, "something material and physical, though somewhat intangible, as if space itself had a material aspect."[1] Essentially ephemeral, live performance is always already fleeing the present of its own past, a restless specter haunting stages and books across time. The history of medieval theatre is revealed in the stubbornly persistent objects of then and now, objects that also reveal new truths about contemporary reenactors. Questions are as pertinent as answers. Writing about a late-fifteenth-century Carthusian miscellany, Jessica Brantley speaks to the value of this impulse: "Though [the manuscript] engages the performative in a range of senses so wide that it might threaten to escape the bounds of any category, medieval or modern, all of its offerings reflect that fundamental 'consciousness of consciousness.'"[2] Medieval theatre is methodology and phenomenon.

In the illuminations, poetry, and music of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, the Mother of Jesus performed the role of spiritual mediator between Christian conquerors and vanquished Muslims. Various elements from Islamic poetry and musical culture were accentuated when the lyrics and melodies of the *Cantigas* rose from the parchment and manifested in theatrical space. Bodies, spaces, and voices of the Islamic past haunted the exaltations of the *Cantigas*, the narratives of which vacillated between depictions of Muslims as infidels and as people capable of Christian conversion. The songs were ambivalently situated at the juncture of competing discourses, the efficacy of which required the living presence and performative interventions of the Virgin Mary. From page to stage, the embodiment of miracles and songs of praise in Alfonso's guidebooks for Marian devotion did not represent a move toward erasure of difference, but rather to fashion a unique cultural centre in the Castilian realm.

From the fifteenth century, Christian anxieties about apostatic Jews were expressed fervently in performative acts of penance and punishment. On the one hand, Jewish presence was an "Other who had guaranteed the integrity of Christendom by marking its exteriority."[3] On the other hand, the spectral Jew produced deep doubts about genuine Christian transformation. As the Jewish presence in the city diminished, New Christians and Old took up practices of public penance, like *imitatio Christi*—acts of self-mortification that reanimated Christ's tortuous path to Golgotha. Concomitant performances of two processional forms, the *auto da fé* and Passion Week self-mortification, highlights the ways in which the Sevillian community entered an economy of dissolution

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1 Timothy Morton, *Ecology without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 33-4.

2 Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, 21.

3 Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism*, 119.

and rebirth across confessional lines. In the wake of the disappearance of Judaism from the Sevillian terrain, spectral presences haunted Passion Week penitential processions, some of which flowed through the old *judería* and past converted synagogues. Charismatic, athletic, and violent public rituals in Seville arose from conflicting impulses to incorporate, elide, and contain difference—a preposterous ambition conceived in theatrical play among bodies living and dead, vital spaces, and animated things.

In the context of Christian imperialism, Amerindian exhibitions contributed to the invention of New World subjectivity that facilitated the implementation of traditional approaches to colonialism, conversion, and enslavement. The strangeness of Amerindian culture was mistranslated in theatrical recreation and invention. Viewed in the *longue durée* of Christian encounter with religious minorities in late medieval Seville, the imported rituals were emblematic of the particularly Christian manner of projecting imperial discourses onto minoritized bodies, and in spectacular fashion. The affective lives of Amerindians compelled to theatricalize their cultures was obliterated by the shimmering fantasies of metropolitan audiences.

Ancient and modern philosophers of phenomenology have demonstrated that the *living presence* of inanimate things vibrantly manifest to perceptual bodies. Things on stage animate doubly across fictional and real worlds. "As concrete synecdoches of performance, all properties are embodied symbols, felt absences. Stage properties not only impersonate other objects but perform *as* objects."[4] Medieval theatre is good for the discipline of performance studies precisely because synecdoches of performance in the premodern Mediterranean (sacred spaces, transformational matter, affective devotion) encourage us to think about the emotional life of objects and devotion to materiality in other places and times. The performers and audiences are mostly mute, but in the outline of their absence we may behold "a return and with it the dream of the lost object."[5]

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The architecture and urban design of contemporary Seville is Baroque. Ponderous facades and elaborate adornments drape medieval thoroughfares winding past converted Islamic mosques, Mudejar tilework, and crenelated walls—Roman, Moorish, and imperial Christian. La Catedral de Santa María de la Sede is an outsized Gothic personification of imperial confidence; it seems disconnected and unnecessarily exorbitant. Rapture and jubilance have vanished from the contemporary Corpus Christi festival. Post-Lenten carnival, courtly and popular dances, and *autos sacramentales* were excised long ago. Today, the greatest civic value of the processions of *Semana Santa* are profits from the tourist industry. Traditional penitential garb is still worn, but expressions of contrition are strangely absent. The musicians look detached. The formal structures of Seville's rituals have become entrenched after centuries of repetition.

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4 Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props*, 60. See also, Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001).

5 Jacques Derrida, "Fors: The Anglish Words of Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok," quoted in Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism*, 13.

One can walk through the *capilla real* of the Seville cathedral today in a stop-and-go procession under close observation of the Policía Nacional. First, one is led past the tomb of Queen Beatriz on the right, then on to the protagonist of the spectacle, the preserved remains of Fernando III in a glass sarcophagus in front of the altar. La Lobera rests across his chest. There is something thrilling about looking into the face of a 750-year-old human; one need not be a medievalist to recoil and then focus in, responding with fascination and horror to an object that has drawn an immeasurable parade of pilgrims for centuries, without pause. Above the relic of the thirteenth-century king sits La Virgen de los Reyes in her Plateresque *retablo*. Like King Fernando, the Virgin of the Kings was once alive and moving. Now, anchored to the altarpiece, staples holding her neck and jointed limbs immobile, She and baby Jesus grin fixedly at the opposite wall. Still, the relic and the automaton radiate potential energy. One expects at any moment Fernando will lift his sword, or that the Virgin will turn stage right to see the statue of her troubadour, Alfonso X. Passing the relic-saint and the Virgin of the Kings, the procession of spectators strolls in a disinterested manner toward the exit hardly noticing the simple tomb of Fernando's son, Alfonso X, a supporting player in the dramatic diorama.

On one of my research trips to Seville, I was unexpectedly moved by the appearance of the statue of Nuestra Señora Esperanza de Triana in the twilight of the streets. A festival of the Virgin was conducted by Her Sacred Brotherhood. At one point, the processional movement of Her canopied *paso* was deaccelerated and then turned, theatrically, to create a sense of anticipation. Once Esperanza de Triana made Her full turn, Her tearful face caught in the gaze of onlookers and the crowd shouted "¡*guapa*!" and "¡*bonita*!" Then stillness; a hush after a mournful song on brass instruments. Her *paso* was lowered by the *costaleros*, Bunraku-like puppeteers hidden under black drapes. She rested for a long pause, light glimmering across Her face from the illumination of dozens of candles. Some prayed silently. Others smoked cigarettes. Then suddenly the lead *costalero* shouted "hup!" from under the carriage and hundreds of spectators responded in unison: "¡*viva*!" She is alive again, ascending. The carriage jumped three feet in the air, jostled and shook, lurched forward, and continued its rhythmic gait down the street. Marching and swaying with the music, the *costaleros* animated the *paso* and its abundant tassels, flowers, and shimmering candles. Carriage and canopy moved side to side in a contrapuntal dance. The Virgin's long ornamental frock extended at a 45-degree angle in her wake, as if lifted by the wind. For an instant, Esperanza was simultaneously Herself and every other Virgin Mary, past and present.

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