

**Medievalism and Literary**  
**Afterlives: A Diachronic Study of**  
***the Siete infantes de Lara***

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Languages

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### Short Abstract

This thesis is the first study of how and to what end the story of the *Siete infantes de Lara*, first redacted in thirteenth-century Castilian chronicles, has been repeatedly rewritten in medieval Castile and, later, Spain. It begins by identifying the idiosyncratic nature of the earliest versions of the *Siete infantes de Lara* in contrast to other medieval narratives in epic poetry and chronicles: its status as a local, factional border narrative set in the indeterminate tenth-century borderland between the Kingdom of Castile and the Caliphate of Cordova. All subsequent rewritings focus on how this setting is conducive to interracial interaction, identity construction and identity change. The rewritings selected for study are formally and temporally diverse in order to trace the development of Spanish medievalism: three medieval chronicles from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, four hitherto undiscussed *romances* from early modern Spain and the Sephardic diaspora, two *comedias* by Juan de la Cueva and Lope de Vega, and two nineteenth-century Romantic works.

Through close readings of each work, this thesis analyses how these recreations of the tenth-century borderland engage with contemporary formations of individual and collective identity, whether historiographic, poetic or political. The thesis' methodology is diachronic, but this does not posit fixed links of influence. Instead it sets out to explore what links these texts beyond the setting and story they retell:

what marks medievalism as a literary mode? How do these texts embody mechanisms of rewriting in their internal poetics? It concludes by postulating a shared poetics of rewriting and discusses how these works shed new light on al-Andalus' memory in Spain from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.

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## Long Abstract

The Iberian Middle Ages have proven a recurrent source of inspiration for Spanish writers from the early modern period to the present. As early as the sixteenth century, memories of the period in cultural production highlighted its peculiar status, “enmeshed in midcoloniality” (Altschul 2009: 9). From the *cancioneros* of the 1550s to comics like *El Guerrero del Antifaz*, printed during Franco’s dictatorship, literature set in the Middle Ages is incessantly focused on the interaction of Christians, Muslims and Jews living in the shifting kingdoms of the Peninsula. Why did historical, medievalist literature continue to emphasise themes of religious and racial difference and intercultural interaction long after 1492? How do these rewritings evolve as their subject becomes ever more temporally distant? A handful of scholars have tried to unpack this process of looking back, by either focusing on a narrow period or tracing an exhaustive range of evidence from the medieval period to the present. Not one has closely examined the development of medievalism as a literary mode, what makes these texts unique, or how and why specific recreations of the ‘medieval’ shift in the cultural imaginary throughout Spanish literary history. This thesis grew out of a need to answer this unresolved problem.

This is the first diachronic study of how questions of individual and collective, racial and religious identities in Spain are mediated through the literary mode of

medievalism. Its methodology consists of a series of close readings of a formally and temporally diverse selection of rewritings of what has become known as the story of the *Siete infantes de Lara*. The story's earliest thirteenth-century chronicle redactions present a familial – rather than regional or proto-national – conflict that markedly depicts intercultural interaction between Christian Castilians and Muslim Andalusis not predicated upon conflict but on personal relationships across porous frontiers. It is therefore unique amongst extant vernacular medieval narratives, whether chronicle or poetic, that depict only cross-border conflict or frame cross-border alliances as treachery. Its early rewritings tell of a familial betrayal by a Castilian nobleman who leverages his cross-border alliance with the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordova to oust his brother-in-law and nephews. The betrayal is only avenged by the reverse border-crossing by the illegitimate child of the brother-in-law, fathered in Cordova, who returns to put an end to the internal Castilian conflict.

This thesis sets out to identify why this story of the tenth-century Castilian-Andalusi borderland is repeatedly rewritten in an increasingly racially and religiously homogeneous Spanish nation state. It argues that each rewriting studied retains the borderland setting, conducive to identity change, and its interracial interactions. The story therefore enables successive writers to interrogate and propose alternatives to dominant discourses of identity, whether individual or collective, in their contemporary Spain. Each chapter charts this story's evolution through a selection of its literary afterlives or rewritings, judiciously chosen for their temporal and formal diversity that allows for a broad yet also specific study of how medievalism has developed in Spain as a literary mode. These works are a representative sample of what is likely an innumerable textual and oral tradition,

much of which is lost. This thesis therefore also presents a case for these works to be considered the *materia* of the *Siete infantes de Lara*, to account for their fluid semantic content (henceforth the *SIL materia*).

I concurrently argue that these texts are united not only by virtue of the sociocultural situation they recast, but also because their status as rewritings and medievalisms inflects the stories they tell and how they would have been received by their earliest audiences. The *materia's* fluidity, fragmentariness, and uneasy memory is embodied in each of these literary forms in new, metaliterary ways: from the fragmentation of the story and overt references to sources in medieval chronicles, to the early modern and modern ballads' gestures to a larger story beyond their borders, the early modern *comedias'* metaliterary thematising of storytelling on stage and the uncomfortable anachronisms of nineteenth-century Romantic works. It is thus imperative to understand the type of rewriting that the *SIL materia* engages in: that of an unfixed, open tradition for audiences that already know it to be so.

This thesis begins in Chapter One with an analysis of the *materia* in the medieval chronicles the *Versión amplificada* of the *Estoria de España* (c. 1289), the *Crónica de 1344* and the *Refundición Toledana de la Crónica de 1344* (c. 1460). I newly propose that each explores how identities can be constructed, dissimulated or changed to wield power across the Castilian-Andalusi border, akin to the chronicle form itself. The three chronicle narratives make use of the elastic concept of *juego* to conceptualise different types of identity change: the Castilian faction is plagued with dissimulation or verbal *juego*, while the Andalusi faction negotiate their identity via

public games and ceremony. Castilian dissimulation extends to their superficial racialisation of Andalusí characters and is negatively set against the public, complete conversion of the figure of Mudarra in all three rewritings. I simultaneously unpack how the chronicles' thematic concern with identity change manifests in their form. Their status as rewritings is made obvious through forms of meta-historiographical *juego*. Historiography is thus revealed to be just as constructed as the racialised identities and deception wielded strategically by the Castilian noblemen.

Chapter Two analyses the *materia's* entry into post-medieval literature in the *romancero* or ballad tradition. A close reading of three unstudied ballads from three distinct print contexts in sixteenth-century Spain alongside one recorded amongst the twentieth-century Sephardic diaspora unveils their fixation on the *materia's* geographical and interpersonal border crossings. To rewrite and thus remember tenth-century Iberia's borderland between Castile and al-Andalus as permeable and undefined serves as a foil for the prevailing condition of sixteenth-century Spain's fluid geographic and religio-racial boundaries in the first three ballads. The Sephardic ballad meanwhile rewrites medieval Iberia in the New York of 1950s, marked by a triple diasporic consciousness that displaces the *materia* to the Ottoman Empire. These ballads are also fragments whose 'borderness' emerges in their status not only as rewritings that anticipate their audience's memory of the *materia* but as poems that leave open innumerable possibilities to have occurred before and after the story they tell.

Chapters Three and Four chart the appropriation of the *SIL materia* in the early modern *comedia*. Chapter Three examines pioneering medievalist Juan de la Cueva's

*Tragedia de los siete Infantes de Lara* (1579), written and performed in Seville. *Infantes* demonstrates that any new national-literary model cannot be homogeneous and constitutes a new form of medievalism that fuses both classical and popular literary forms with much of its action set in Cordova amongst an erudite Andalusí milieu. In both structure and theme *Infantes* newly rewrites the medieval to anticipate the future and thus exposes medievalism's productive capacity to subvert dominant discourses of literary history and propose alternatives to the discursive and political exclusion of Iberian Muslims and *moriscos*. The former were excluded in contemporary historiographical rewritings of the *SIL materia* while the latter suffered under increasing juridical marginalisation in the Spain of Philip II.

Chapter Four considers Lope de Vega's *El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia* (1612), written during the expulsion of the *moriscos*. While in the medieval chronicle rewritings identity change can occur between distinct categories, *El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia* exposes the flimsiness of identity categories from race, religion to the nobility. The play conveys a sceptical attitude towards the capacity of both religion and race to define a collective; a prescient — if jaded — statement in light of the racialised politics of the expulsion. *El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia* also thematises storytelling with the largest number of embedded narratives of the works studied here. The events play out on stage but are then repeatedly retold by characters with differing viewpoints. The play thus exposes the instability of any shared literary-cultural *materia* like that of the *SIL*.

Finally, Chapter Five analyses *El moro expósito* (1834) by Ángel de Saavedra and *El bautismo de Mudarra* (1842) by José Somoza in the context of nineteenth-century

Romanticism. These works rewrite tenth-century Iberia pessimistically to expose the failings of modern-day constructions of the Spanish nation, liberal or otherwise. By Castilianising Mudarra long before he crosses the border, they demonstrate how contemporary Romantic visions that posit al-Andalus as a multicultural utopia acculturate and thus forget cultural plurality, a tendency common in nineteenth-century Arabist scholarship. *El moro expósito* emphasises this problematic by ironically lavishing praise on an exceptional, unislamic al-Andalus while denigrating the racialised religious zealotry of North Africa, Castile's inescapable ties to which inhibit a satisfying resolution to the work. *El moro expósito* thus demonstrates how Spain's ongoing colonial relationship to North Africa inevitably undermines conservative medievalisms that anachronistically evoke a definitively Christian Middle Ages, and those that romanticise al-Andalus. In *El bautismo de Mudarra*, meanwhile, Mudarra's conversion is reluctant and ultimately fruitless, as he is left newly orphaned yet Christian in Castile, mourning an Andalusí identity that is ironically already effaced by a narrative that conceptualises him as a modern pacifist steeped in secular philosophy.

The thesis closes with a series of conclusions drawn from its diachronic analysis. The *SIL materia* evolves through time yet retains ideological continuities; namely how it is consistently rewritten as a border narrative to challenge simplistic or essentialist formulations of medieval Iberia and individual and collective identities. Its rewritings are not simply nostalgic invocations of a collective memory; they in fact question dominant ideologies of identity and difference, drawing on the complex, lived reality of medieval Iberia. I moreover conclude on the extent to which these works can illuminate a history of mentalities in light of their authorship and

reception contexts. The *materia* also gives an innovative perspective on periodisation and intellectual evolution. Throughout the chapters and particularly in those dealing with postmedieval rewritings, it becomes clear that a discourse of medievalism that evokes Iberia's midcoloniality is particularly apt for channelling the concerns of modernity. Medievalism as a literary mode thus destabilises well-worn intellectual watersheds, from the Renaissance to Romanticism and even postmodernism; movements to which rewriting was a paradoxically innovative means of literary creation.

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storytelling is, that the long pay-off is always worth it, and how from that fine line between reality and fantasy, history and fiction, that magical 'kayfabe,' spawns the most cathartic kind of entertainment.

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## Abbreviations

<b><i>Bastardo</i></b>	Lope de Vega's <i>El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia</i> (1612).
<b><i>Bautismo</i></b>	José Somoza's <i>El bautismo de Mudarra</i> (1842).
<b><i>C1344</i></b>	The <i>Crónica de 1344</i> .
<b><i>CG</i></b>	Florián de Ocampo's <i>Crónica general de España</i> (1541).
<b><i>EE</i></b>	The chronicle project of the <i>Estoria de España</i> in all its manuscripts from the reigns of Alfonso X and Sancho IV.
<b><i>EE amplificada</i></b>	What has been denoted in scholarship as the <i>Versión amplificada</i> of the second half of the <i>Estoria de España</i> . Dated to 1289 during the reign of Sancho IV and utilised by Ramón Menéndez Pidal for his edition, <i>Primera crónica general</i> (1906, reissued 1955 and 1977).
<b><i>EE primitiva</i></b>	The earliest manuscript of the <i>Estoria de España</i> dated to 1270. Composed during the reign of Alfonso X.
<b><i>Expósito</i></b>	Ángel de Saavedra's <i>El moro expósito</i> (1834).
<b><i>Infantes</i></b>	Juan de la Cueva's <i>Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara</i> (1579).
<b><i>NCFG</i></b>	The anonymous <i>Estoria del noble cauallero el Conde Fernán González con la muerte de los siete infantes de Lara</i> (1511).
<b><i>SIL materia</i></b>	The story known as the <i>Siete infantes de Lara</i> , first attested to in medieval chronicles, and its rewritings.
<b><i>Toledana</i></b>	The <i>Refundición Toledana de la Crónica de 1344</i> , a chronicle dated to 1460.

## Introduction

Ruled by the Umayyad dynasty, the Caliphate of Cordova dominated the Iberian Peninsula from its foundation in 929 until its collapse in 1031. The Caliphate was the apogee of al-Andalus, not only in terms of population but also with respect to its economic and cultural achievements.<sup>1</sup> Its first and longest ruling Caliph ‘Abd al-Rahmān III (r. 929-961) oversaw the extensive architectural developments of Cordova’s mosque and the magnificent palace complex Madīnat al-Zahrā’, the minting of gold, and an intellectual project spanning historiography, religious and legal scholarship. Modern historians have waxed lyrical on the Caliphate’s fabled *convivencia*, a notion first coined by Américo Castro to describe “el modelo prestigioso de la tolerancia islámica” towards the Christian and Jewish communities of al-Andalus (1954: 97).<sup>2</sup> Castro’s ideas were famously taken up by María Rosa Menocal, for whom the Umayyads “defined their version of Islam as one that loved its dialogues with other traditions” (2002: 21). Many have since problematised the concept, however, particularly given “los datos que tenemos sobre las comunidades judía y cristiana en época del Califato de Córdoba son muy escasos” (Manzano Moreno 2013: 239) and the Caliphate’s recourse to violence to deal with social unrest (Fierro 2005: 107-108). The Caliphate’s social, cultural and economic advances are undeniable, as is its successful territorial hold over the Peninsula, even

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<sup>1</sup> The Caliphate had “a population of approximately a quarter of a million, a figure unmatched by any other western city and equaled [sic] only by Baghdad and Constantinople” (O’Callaghan 1983: 116). al-Andalus will be used throughout this thesis to connote any portion of Iberia under Muslim rule in the Middle Ages, as it was the term used by Muslims to refer to the Peninsula (Fierro 2005: 5). Its inhabitants will be referred to as Andalusis, instead of the pejorative *moro* (‘moor’).

<sup>2</sup> Castro first elaborated his thesis in *La realidad histórica de España* (1954); on the Caliphate see especially Chapter Four. *Convivencia* can be traced back further to early-nineteenth century scholarship that propagated a notion of Andalusian exceptionalism in contrast to the rest of the Islamic world (Brann 2021: 173-174).

if its internal social formation was more complicated than the utopian *convivencia* model would have us believe.

The contested history of the Caliphate is not solely of interest to modern scholars. Some three centuries later, in the chronicle project known as the *Estoria de España* (c. 1260-1289, henceforth *EE*), Castilian historians in the courts of Kings Alfonso X and his son Sancho IV sought to narrate their kingdom's interactions with the Caliphate in this period, a time when Castile was a mere county characterised by complex internal loyalties and external conflicts.<sup>3</sup> Central to their historiographical reconstruction of the late-tenth century was a local, faction-based story set on the County of Castile's border with Cordova. In its earliest extant forms this story narrates a familial conflict between the nobles of Salas, led by Gonzalo Gustioz, and Gonzalo's brother-in-law, Ruy Velázquez de Lara, an *alfoz* or district in Castile. Ruy is marrying Doña Lambra of La Bureba, on Castile's north-eastern border with Navarre. The story opens at their wedding in Burgos where the youngest of Gonzalo's seven sons, another Gonzalo, murders Lambra's cousin. By way of recompense, the sons accompany Lambra to her residence at Barbadillo after the wedding where Lambra concocts a plan to have a servant pelt Gonzalo with a blood-filled cucumber. Gonzalo kills the servant in retaliation after which Lambra demands her husband Ruy exact vengeance. Ruy enlists the help of an Andalusí ally – the chancellor of Umayyad Cordova, Almanzor – to oust his brother-in-law and nephews. Almanzor sanctions a battle in which the *infantes* are killed and meanwhile imprisons their father Gonzalo. Before Gonzalo is eventually freed, he

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<sup>3</sup> On the management of internal disputes between comital authority, the Church and the nobility see Igor Santos Salazar (2017); on relations with Leon see Julio Escalona Monge (2016); on conflict with the Caliphate from the late tenth-early eleventh century see Gonzalo Martínez Díez (2005: 459-604).

forges a relationship with a Cordovan noblewoman in captivity. They have a child, Mudarra, who is half-Castilian and half-Andalusi. Once of age, Mudarra returns to Castile to avenge his half-brothers by killing Ruy Velázquez and Lambra.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal deduced coincidences between this story and a journey made by Castilian ambassadors to Cordova in 974 that leads to a battle at the castle of Deza (1971: 453-455). He also found two characters named in the chronicles — Almanzor's captain Galve and Gonzalo Gustioz — mentioned in other historical documents, as well as verifiable topographic details (1992: 452-457).<sup>4</sup> These parallels are more incidental than proof of the story's historical basis, however. While there was a historical al-Manşūr (c. 938–1002) who pursued various incursions into Castilian territory and even allied with Castilian counts on occasion, the story's geographical locations, protagonists and sequence of events fundamentally differ from the embassy and subsequent battle at Deza (Lacarra Lanz 2005: 218).<sup>5</sup> We are left instead with a creative yet still *historical* work of fiction, for one of Menéndez Pidal's justifications remains convincing: that these events “responde[n] exactamente al estado de la frontera castellana en el siglo X” (1992: 457). While this frontier society was certainly no utopia of peaceful coexistence, it was characterised by the same kinds of hybrid identities and interracial loyalties that are reflected in the story of the *infantes*.<sup>6</sup> It unfolds not in two distinct polities

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<sup>4</sup> Escalona Monge also supports these findings (2000: 118).

<sup>5</sup> The lives of the tenth-century historical Laras also remain obscure. Only by the early 1080s do we know that “lordship over the area had fallen into the hands of one Gonzalo Núñez, the first known lord of the noble family that would one day come to be known as the Laras” (Doubleday 2001: 3).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Glick speaks of frontier zones as opposed to a clearly demarcated line in the early Middle Ages, which were “organized on a distinctive basis, inevitably entailing defensive structures embedded in a looser system of state control” (1999: 59). The beginnings of the Christian colonisation of al-Andalus from Asturias southwards from 718, often generalised as the *Reconquista* in scholarship, was not an organised, religiously motivated effort: “far from being the expanding line of a colonising and enterprising movement, the *re población* is now considered a typical example of

marked by a clear dividing line, but in an indeterminate borderland in which the Caliphate is the dominant colonial force pursuing incursions into the northern Christian realms. Both Ruy Velázquez and Gonzalo Gustioz rely on its power to solve inter-Castilian conflict in their recourse to the aid of Almanzor and Mudarra respectively.

Thirteenth-century chronicles are the first in a long line of texts that rewrite what has become known as the story of the *Siete infantes de Lara*.<sup>7</sup> It has fascinated successive generations of historiographers, poets, playwrights and authors who rework it for a new age. This thesis is the first study of why and how this story remained in the Castilian and, later, Spanish literary-cultural imaginary over almost six centuries. It will answer for the first time why and how a tenth-century borderland narrative replete with interracial interaction is reconfigured in multifarious literary forms and what symbolic value these texts then hold in their distinct sociocultural contexts. Taking a largely diachronic approach, it will begin with an analysis of three medieval chronicles that rewrite the story: the *Versión amplificada* of *EE* (c. 1289, henceforth the *EE amplificada*), the *Crónica de 1344* (henceforth the *C1344*), and the *Refundición Toledana* (c. 1460, henceforth the *Toledana*). These chronicles have been chosen for their temporal span and their

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feudal expansion" (Manzano Moreno 1999: 45). For a recent overview of the historiographical limitations of the notion of *Reconquista*, see Kenneth Baxter Wolf (2019) and Hussein Fancy and Alejandro García Sanjuán (2019). Even by the tenth century there was no defined border between Christendom and Islam on the Peninsula: "internal divisions between the Christian kingdoms were thought of in a similar way to the border with al-Andalus. By the twelfth century a sense of an explicitly Christian-Muslim frontier did become more acute" (Christys 2002: 44). The same progression was true on the Andalusí side with geographers considering borders between kingdoms rather than religions (Ibid: 48).

<sup>7</sup> Although Gonzalo Gustioz and his sons are technically *de Salas*, not Lara, which have been conflated in the legend's transmission. For an explanation of the Lara/Salas confusion see Escalona Monge (2000: 161).

importance in extant scholarship, as will be elaborated in the subsequent pages. I will then chart its largely unstudied rewriting in the printed *romancero* or ballad tradition of both the sixteenth century and the Sephardic diaspora. The story's rewriting for the early modern stage will be examined in two plays: Juan de la Cueva's *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara* (1579, henceforth *Infantes*) and Lope de Vega's *El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia* (1612, henceforth *Bastardo*). Finally, I will consider its appropriation by nineteenth-century Romantics Ángel de Saavedra and José Somoza in their respective works *El moro expósito* (1834, henceforth *Expósito*) and *El bautismo de Mudarra* (1842, henceforth *Bautismo*). These texts are selected for study because they are important representatives of the diverse temporal contexts of reception and literary forms in which the story is reworked. My chosen methodology, to be elaborated below, is close textual analysis of each work in its context, rather than an encyclopaedic archaeology and summary of every possible rewriting, a task already completed by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1971).<sup>8</sup>

There is a real possibility that the extant rewritings of this story are the tip of the proverbial iceberg of a much larger written and, possibly, oral tradition that is now lost. I have thus far used the terms 'story' and 'narrative' to refer to what is commonly (and often uncritically) referred to as either a *leyenda*, *leyenda épica* or an "[asunto] de la poesía heroico-popular castellana" based upon a medieval *cantar de gesta* or epic poem (Menéndez Pidal 1971: xi). Its unqualified categorisation merits some scrutiny. To what extent can the story of the Laras in the works in which it survives be called a legend or an epic? The etymological root of legend is found in

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<sup>8</sup> See the bibliographical appendix for a list of all the texts I have uncovered that rewrite the story from the thirteenth to the twenty-first century.

the Latin *legenda*, which is simply a text to be read. The term has acquired additional connotations in folkloristics, scholars of which define legends as variously written or oral. For William Bascom, they are “prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today. Legends are more often secular than sacred” (1965: 4). For Timothy Tangherlini, a legend is “a short (mono-)episodic, traditional, highly ecotypified historicized narrative performed in a conversational mode, reflecting on a psychological level a symbolic representation of folk belief and collective experiences” (1990: 385). Bascom’s definition largely fits the earliest redactions in the *EE* — a secular narrative in prose set only three centuries into the past — yet the extent to which it was regarded as true is impossible to ascertain. Tangherlini’s oral definition is harder still to qualify in light of the evidence that remains, as is Menéndez Pidal’s view that this story was once an oral, epic poem akin to the surviving *Poema de mio Cid* (c. 1207). He argued that traces of assonantal rhyme can be identified in the rewriting found in the *C1344*, which therefore must have prosified the verses of an epic poem (1971: 415-431). This theory, while convincing, requires some analytical and evidential jumps, forcing us to trust in lost sources. Furthermore, none of the earliest chronicle rewritings refer explicitly to a pre-existing *cantar (de gesta)*, although they do for other narratives.<sup>9</sup>

This thesis henceforth adheres to Colin Smith’s view by dealing only with the surviving texts rather than making conclusions based upon hypothetical lost

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<sup>9</sup> See Samuel G. Armistead on references to *cantares* in chronicles (1987: 340-341). He overlooks the absence of this term in relation to the story of the *infantes*.

materials.<sup>10</sup> This does not mean, however, that what survives is a fixed and full tradition, or that the earliest chronicle texts are the originals. I therefore treat each text as an individual rewriting and make comparisons where relevant to demonstrate ideological changes in the treatment of the story over time. I will not, however, attempt to identify their concrete sources due to the possibility of lost rewritings, whether textual or oral. Given the lack of a medieval epic poem and definitive evidence for an oral tradition alongside such a vast textual one, the term legend does not quite fit. To capture the similarities but also the inevitable variance of the semantic content of these texts, the Spanish term *materia* will be used to describe the story of the *Siete infantes de Lara* as it is refashioned through the ages (henceforth united as the *SIL materia*). *Materia* was coined in French by the twelfth-century poet Jean Bodel in his *Chanson de Saisnes* to refer to the three subject matters in medieval literature: “de France et de Bretagne, et de Rome la grant” (Bratu 2015: 893). Here I extend its usage not only to the Iberian context but to the rewritings of medieval literary-cultural tradition post-1492. *Materia* is a broad enough term to account for the textual and formal variation of this corpus and it underscores its most obvious shared feature: these texts’ *material*, print quality as literary objects bound to a specific sociocultural situation.

Why then is it worth studying the rewriting of this *materia* over such a vast time period? This thesis will argue that it enjoyed a lasting resonance in the Castilian and Spanish literary tradition from the late-thirteenth to the mid-nineteenth century because each rewriting maintains the thematic foci of the first thirteenth-century

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<sup>10</sup> Smith problematises the notion of searching for lost *cantares de gesta* in chronicles, given “successive chroniclers were perfectly capable of making their own adjustments, perhaps of completely rewriting their themes, without recourse to new poetic materials” (1983: 425).

chronicle redactions: a portrayal of the Castilian-Cordovan borderland where Christian Castilians are disempowered in relation to Muslim Andalus and enter into cooperative relationships with them. Andalusí characters also play central, independent roles in the action in all rewritings and the story has familial rather than larger-scale political consequences. These features are unique to the *SIL materia* when compared to other extant medieval cross-border narratives whether chronicle or poetic.<sup>11</sup> What is notable is that by the time this factional story first entered the Castilian literary-historiographic imagination in the thirteenth century, the sociopolitical ascendancy of Andalus it depicts is overturned in reality. Castile had become the dominant Iberian colonial power after Alfonso VIII's victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and Ferdinand III's subsequent taking of Cordova (1236), Jaén (1246), and Seville (1248), followed by Arcos, Jerez and Cádiz (1252). Castile's colonial dominance led to its hegemony within the early modern Spanish nation after the union with Aragon (1469) and the annexation of Navarre (1515). Throughout this period Muslim Iberians living in Castile, the *mudéjares*, suffered increasing societal oppression: they were first afforded a "limited role and a secondary status in society" (Harvey 1992: 54) and then in 1502 the Catholic Monarchs promulgated an order for their immediate conversion or expulsion.<sup>12</sup> A

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<sup>11</sup> The surviving epic poems the *Poema de mio Cid*, *Mocedades de Rodrigo* (1360) and the fragment *Roncesvalles* (c. 1200) depict only conflict or strategic allyship between Castilians and Andalus. No other chronicle narratives that draw on a pre-existing *estoria* or *cantar* portray interracial interpersonal relationships or a mixed-race character. The *Condesa traidora* story, first redacted in the late-twelfth century *Crónica najerense*, features a Castilian Countess' affair with the Andalusí leader Almanzor, although frames it negatively as treachery, in contrast to Gonzalo Gustioz's relationship with Mudarra's mother (Castro Lingl 1996: 376). The *SIL materia* is also distinct from the chronicle narratives of King Rodrigo, Bernardo del Carpio, Sancho II and Fernán González. These are foundational myths necessarily born out of conflict: "foundation myth seeks to foster unity where a need exists to rebuild solidarities, but as a strategy of legitimation and justification, and a means of charting and proscribing deviance, it must necessarily engage directly with crisis" (Hazbun 2009: 32).

<sup>12</sup> On *mudéjares*, see Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho and Manuel González Jiménez (2001) and Mercedes García Arenal (1995) who concludes that Castile failed to incorporate the community into its society.

policy of increasing religious and racial homogeneity then led to the subjugation and eventual expulsion of *moriscos*— Muslims converted to Christianity — from Spain in 1609. By charting successive rewritings of the *SIL materia* this thesis thus illuminates evolving reflections on al-Andalus as well as views on the ongoing, diminishing presence of Muslims in Iberia and Spain's relationships to external Muslim polities.

To rewrite the *SIL materia* is thus to preserve the memory of not only a religiously and racially diverse Iberia but one characterised by permeable interpersonal borders between Castilians and Andalusis and the inverse colonial dynamic of Andalusian domination.<sup>13</sup> By considering each iteration of the *materia* as a memory of colonisation, I build upon Nadia Altschul's call to consider Iberia in terms of Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's concept of the midcolonial, whereby "communities in the past and present are built of layers of colonial encounters and are in constant overlapping processes of colonization and decolonization" (2009: 7). David A. Wacks had earlier noted how colonialism in the Christian kingdoms "contributed fundamentally to the formation of a Spanish national identity and served as a domestic proving ground for the conquest of Spanish territories in the Americas" (2006: 88). To remember Iberia's earlier medieval past in later periods is thus to reflect on ongoing colonisation and how that has contributed to present circumstance.

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<sup>13</sup> The kingdoms of Medieval Iberia were also home to a substantial Jewish minority. Although Jewish Iberians do not feature in the *materia*, they rewrote it in fifteenth-century Toledo in the form of the *Toledana* chronicle and in diaspora in the Sephardic *romancero*. Recent studies on the medieval Iberian Jewish community and their interaction with Muslims and Christians include Ivy Corfis (2010), Jonathan Ray (2011) Pamela A. Patton (2012) and S. J. Pearce (2017).

The *materia's* tenth-century setting is also, crucially, a borderland: a particularly fruitful location for meditating upon identity formation. For Gloria Anzaldúa, there one can witness “the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country - a border culture” (1999: 3). Those with mixed identities living in borderlands develop a hybrid – and fruitful - mode of thinking, a “consciousness of the Borderlands” (Ibid: 77).<sup>14</sup> Permeable geographical borders were a historical reality in medieval Iberia and until the mid-eleventh century led to acculturation or the “non-formal absorption of Islamic traits” which “was achieved [...] through the agency of arabized *mozárabes* [Christian Andalusis] moving northwards” (Glick and Pi-Sunyer 1969: 143). Acculturation is thematised by the *SIL materia* in Mudarra’s conversion and his father Gonzalo’s relationship with his Muslim Andalusí mother, while Ruy Velázquez and Almanzor engage in cross-border allyship. The *materia* thus exemplifies Jean Dangler’s framing of medieval Iberia as “a network of interrelated attachments between varying individuals and groups” (2006: 24); a complement to Anthony Pym’s idea of medieval Iberian interculturalities whereby frontiers exhibited “a social configuration more actively implicated in transfers between cultures” (2014: 6). Anthropologists have also long identified the idiosyncratic effects of borderlands on local identity formation: “it is in cross-boundary transaction and discourse that identity and its predicates may become explicitly contingent, ‘other-referential’ and relativistic” (Cohen 2000: 1-2). The contingent nature of individual identities as well as broader identity categories used to define collectives from race to religion and even the class formation of the nobility emerges in each rewriting by

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<sup>14</sup> Anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson support this assertion: a border “does not indicate a fixed topographical site between two other fixed locales (nations, societies, cultures), but an interstitial zone of displacement and deterritorialization that shapes the identity of the hybridized subject” (1992: 18).

virtue of their borderland setting. They therefore constitute challenges to political, juridical, historiographical and literary discourses that seek to exclude, other or denigrate al-Andalus and contemporary Muslims and/or exclude both from a constructed Spanish identity. Attempts to solidify a Castilian or Spanish collective identity in contemporary discourse are consistently contested by the *materia*, no iteration of which evinces a historical connection to or support for the descendants of the Lara family.<sup>15</sup>

This thesis thus uses the *SIL materia* to challenge extant scholarship on the perception of al-Andalus and Muslims by postmedieval Spaniards and their subsequent fashioning of a collective self-image. Narrower studies of maurophilia and maurophobia in early modern culture, including those by Barbara Fuchs (2009) and Christina H. Lee (2015), focus only on those works set in the late-medieval Kingdom of Granada that either romanticise Iberian Muslims as noble aristocrats or depict them as fundamental cultural others. These studies crucially overlook those early modern texts that rewrite the earlier medieval period in which Castile was dominated by al-Andalus and interfaith sexual mixing was more common; subjects treated by the printed ballads and *comedias* that rewrite the *SIL materia* for a new public. When a diachronic perspective is taken, such as in Antonio Feros' *Speaking of Spain* (2017), a broad sweep prevents closer scrutiny of sources, leading to generalisations such as "Spaniards never ceased to see *Moriscos* as an internal enemy, the natural allies of foreign Muslim powers, inclined toward conspiracy and

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<sup>15</sup> The Laras — later Manriques de Lara — were prominent nobles into the early modern period. Although their involvement with the production of the *materia* is unsubstantiated, contemporary resonances will be highlighted where relevant. On possible ways the Laras would have benefitted from the *materia*'s proliferation, see Vicenç Beltran (2017-2018: 78-79).

treason" (2017: 100). By contrast, the subsequent close textual analyses unpack how individual and collective identity are discursively reconstructed at specific moments in Spanish history by invoking a memory of the tenth century; their (re)writers thus necessarily reminding their audiences of Spain's midcolonial status and problematising an exclusive, homogeneous conception of Spanish identity. The *SIL materia* thus supports the conclusions drawn in García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano's assessment of sixteenth-century historiography in which "the tension between rejection and acceptance of the Muslim past rises to the surface" (2013: 353); a tension that here emerges as early as the thirteenth century and as late as the nineteenth.

### **Extant Scholarship on the *materia* and Spanish Medievalism**

The depiction of race, identity and border-crossing in the *materia* has been treated by scholarship only in a piecemeal fashion. Extant work has failed to strike a balance between a diachronic view of its ongoing rewriting and reception and a close reading of each rewriting in its context. The former tendency is exemplified by Menéndez Pidal's *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara* (1896, revised and reprinted for his *Obras completas* in 1934 and 1971) and Manuel Cuenca Cabeza's *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara en el teatro español* (1990). These studies have been invaluable sources for this thesis but fail to go beyond descriptive analyses that compare the texts at the level of plot alone, while failing to consider their reception in their corresponding sociocultural milieux. Other scholarship gives a piecemeal evaluation of individual rewritings or compares rewritings of the same literary form and/or period. Readings of the *materia* in medieval chronicles include considerations of

Lambra's portrayal as antifeminist (Martha Krow-Lucal (1995), Marjorie Ratcliffe (2011)), the use of sexual imagery (John R. Burt (1982), Jill Ross (2008)), possible sources in Christian religious tradition and Indo-European myth (Carolyn Bluestine (1982, 1985), Thomas Montgomery (1988, 1989, 1998)), and their possible status as royal propaganda in the reign of Alfonso X (Peter Mahoney (2013, 2017)). Others have begun to unpack the portrayal of Andalusis, beginning with David Hanlon's article on the chronicles' *mudéjar* context (2000), followed by Irene Zaderenko's framing of the chronicle rewritings as maurophile (2013). I have already contributed to this discussion with articles on how the denigration of the Castilian nobility contrasts to the positively portrayed Andalusis and the importance of non-monotheistic religious practice in the chronicle accounts (2020, 2021). No work has thus far studied how the tenth-century borderland and Castilian and Andalusi identity are reconfigured for distinct medieval chronicle audiences over three centuries, a gap this thesis will fill.

Comparatively fewer studies treat the *SIL materia* in the postmedieval period, as will become clearer in the subsequent chapters. Apart from Menéndez Pidal's collation and comparison of ballad rewritings printed in the early modern period and beyond (1963), no studies have evaluated the poems chosen for analysis here in any depth. The *comedia* rewritings have generated more interest, with scholars reading plays by Juan de la Cueva and Lope de Vega as responses to their sociocultural milieux. Francisco de Icaza (1953) and Antonio López Fonseca (2014) focus on Cueva's innovative fusion of classical humanist and popular literary modes. Anthony Watson (1971) and Aaron M. Kahn (2011) see Cueva's play as an oblique reaction to the policies of Philip II. Sofie Kluge (2020) meanwhile reads Cueva's historical theatre

as a melancholic appraisal of the medieval past it depicts. Lope's *Bastardo* has been read as a portrayal of history for more general present concerns (Susan Niehoff McCrary (1987), Susan de Carvalho (1988)), of a perceived *morisco* threat on the part of its contemporary audience (Antonio Sánchez Jiménez (2003)), and of the contradictory nature of bastardy (Geraldine Hazbun (2020)). The persistent gap in *comedia* scholarship I identify is any analysis of what it means for these playwrights to be rewriting al-Andalus for the stage. What the *SIL materia* stands for in an increasingly racially and religiously exclusive nation state after the conquest of Granada in 1492 will be answered in the subsequent chapters.

The same tendency emerges in the more limited scholarship on the nineteenth-century texts. Edgar Allison Peers (1923) and Nicholson B. Adams (1968) characterised Saavedra's *Expósito* as an apolitically nostalgic revival piece. More recently, Jo Labanyi (2004) and Jesús Torrecilla (2019) linked it to narratives of nineteenth-century nation building: the former characterises it as a melancholy reflection on the loss of al-Andalus, while the latter reads it biographically as a reflection of Saavedra's exile. Extant appraisals of Somoza's short story *Bautismo* are scarce, consisting only of dismissals of his anachronism (José R. Lomba y Pedraja (1904), Menéndez Pidal (1971)), and suggestions that it embodies the author's commitment to pacifism (Pilar Saénz Arenzana (1997)). None of these readings consider how Saavedra and Somoza's rewritings challenge extant nineteenth-century medievalisms in both literature and historiography. They also fail to identify why Saavedra's work juxtaposes the erasure of Andalusí Islamic identity to an anti-Islamic, anti-North African narrative and why Somoza frames Mudarra's baptism and assimilation into Castile negatively.

Studies to date thus overlook the relevance the *SIL materia's* idiosyncratic borderland setting and interracial interaction had in the reception context of each rewriting. A second major scholarly lacuna persists over all time periods: the failure of both the broad diachronic studies and those on individual texts to consider how any iteration of the *materia* is by definition a rewriting or an example of medievalism. Studies of Iberian medievalisms or neomedievalisms are still in their infancy, with the field founded by Anglophone scholars who define the former as “a discourse of contingent representations derived from the historical Middle Ages, composed of marked alterities to and continuities with the present” (Haydock 2009: 19), and as “the study of responses to the Middle Ages at all periods since a sense of the mediaeval began to develop” (Shippey quoted in Matthews 2015: 1). Neomedievalism has come to refer to “texts, objects, performances, and practices that are not only post-medieval in their provenance but imaginative in their impulse and founded on ideas of ‘the medieval’ as a conceptual rather than a historical category” (D’Arcens 2016: 2), although the distinction is not watertight and continues to be contested.<sup>16</sup> Because of the *SIL materia's* medieval and postmedieval existence, I consider these texts examples of medievalism that appropriate and rewrite the Middle Ages in light of contemporary concerns.

In reframing the *SIL materia* as medievalisms, I follow the path laid by adjacent studies of the rewriting of medieval Iberian literary production. Yet these analyses either have too broad a temporal remit to conduct close readings of how the works

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<sup>16</sup> Altschul contends that neomedievalism is necessary to avoid the confusion between medievalism and medieval studies, with the former often defined as the latter, particularly in Hispanophone contexts (2022).

studied engage with contemporary concerns, or they limit themselves to one time period. The first tendency is evinced by Menéndez Pidal's aforementioned study and Carola Reig's *El Cantar de Sancho II y cerco de Zamora* (1947), an enumeration of rewritings of the story of Sancho II in which comprehensiveness comes at the expense of detail, with only a few pages dedicated to each one. The numerous rewritings of the story of the Cid are overdue a close diachronic analysis, although edited collections have begun to fill this gap.<sup>17</sup> A similarly exhaustive approach is taken by Elizabeth Drayson (2007) and Patricia E. Grieve (2009) to the story of the Visigothic King Rodrigo and its rewritings. Both examine more texts over a longer time period than this thesis, focusing on the rewritings as responses to "the Muslim invasion of Spain" (Drayson 2007: 5). Grieve extrapolates that these texts can explain a "country whose national history reflected so much religious intolerance" (2009: 244). Reviewers noted how such generalisations emerge from Grieve's ambitious remit at the expense of close analyses of each work in its context.<sup>18</sup> This thesis provides a corrective by conducting fewer, detailed readings of select rewritings as unique medievalisms in distinct literary forms and reception contexts. It also gives a new lens on the memory of medieval Iberia through studying a *materia* that not only remembers Andalusí-Castilian conflict but, crucially, cooperation.

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<sup>17</sup> Carlos Alvar et. al. (2002) unites studies on the Cid to the sixteenth century only, while the essays in Alberto Montaner Frutos (2013) explore the *Poema* and medieval chronicle rewritings and compare both to global medieval texts. The final three chapters of Irene Zaderenko and Alberto Montaner Frutos (2018) chart the poem's rewriting and reception from the thirteenth-fifteenth and then from the eighteenth-twentieth centuries.

<sup>18</sup> See Brian A. Catlos (2010) and Wolf (2010).

Other studies investigate rewriting in more delimited periods, allowing for more detailed analyses. Aengus Ward examines rewritings of the Visigothic king Wamba in late-medieval chronicles (2011). Andrew Beresford traces the rewriting of hagiographic narratives from the Greek and Latin tradition to medieval Iberia (2007a, 2007b) and in both literature and art from the medieval period to the seventeenth century (2020). Few works refer to this process of rewriting as medievalism, a field still in its infancy in Spain. Scholarship has emerged on the modern period, however, including Rebeca Sanmartín Bastida's work on late-nineteenth century medievalism (2002) and Antonio Huertas Morales' collection on contemporary medievalisms (2017). Similar studies of modern recreations of al-Andalus are those by Christina Civantos (2017) and Eric Calderwood (2018).

In contrast to the aforementioned works, this thesis balances temporal breadth with close analysis in order to chart the evolution of medievalism as a literary mode. It also differs methodologically by recognising these works as rewritings and how this status affects what story is told and how it is subsequently received. The subsequent chapters are therefore diachronic not only in their chronological organisation of the texts — with the exception of one Sephardic ballad — but also in their analysis of the *SIL materia as rewritings*. The act of rewriting necessarily raises questions of intertextuality, influence and repetition, particularly in light of a fluid textual tradition without an authoritative Ur-Text. I will now synthesise theoretical approaches on rewriting and medievalism, concluding on the particular forms active in the *SIL materia*.

## Rewriting and Medievalism

For Paul Zumthor, to write in the Middle Ages was often to rewrite: he explains how in such a manuscript culture a work “floats, offering not a fixed shape of firm boundaries but a constantly shifting nimbus” (1992: 46). Multiple, diverse texts bear witness to the medieval work, with each one being “the text still in the process of creation; not an essence, but something coming into being; rather a constantly renewed attempt to get at meaning than a meaning finally fixed” (1992: 48). From here he develops the notion of *mouvance* to describe a peculiarly medieval textual instability. *Mouvance* also echoes the medieval concept of *translatio studii* or the transfer of learning: “both envisage the medieval text as existing in flux, and the processes of reading and transmission as necessarily involving mutation and transformation” (Griffin 2015: 20). In the Spanish context, Diego Catalán posits the similar concept of *apertura* which, in the case of chronicles, “sólo es explicable por la existencia de un modo de producción artesanal en el que copistas y refundidores se consideran intérpretes de un modelo virtual del cual el prototipo es sólo una manifestación entre otras varias posibles” (1997: 181). *Mouvance* and *apertura* were facilitated by authorial anonymity and the kinds of flexible, partial textual transformations possible in the copying of manuscripts.

The theoretical consensus then dictates that early modern print culture and named authorship saw the dissipation of these modes of rewriting. Michel Foucault, for example, has argued for the construction of an author function in the modern era, whereby the authored text’s “status and its manner of reception are regulated by the culture in which it circulates” (2009: 326). Walter J. Ong, meanwhile, in tracing

the transition from orality to print culture, suggested that print brought a sense of physical but also ideological closure to texts (2012: 115-135). Daniel Gutiérrez Trápaga recently challenged this binary in an analysis of rewritings of sixteenth-century Spanish *libros de caballerías*, which identifies *mouvance* “as a central concept for the poetics of the genre” (2017: 11). Building on Gutiérrez Trápaga, this thesis goes further by arguing that *mouvance* and *apertura* are in fact intrinsic to medievalism as a literary mode well beyond the sixteenth century to the nineteenth and, likely, to the present.<sup>19</sup> Modern medievalisms like the *SIL materia* post-1492 treat their multifarious sources as an open, anonymous tradition that lacks the conceptual baggage and authority of the modern author figure. The texts studied here therefore sit somewhere in between the authored text and the anonymous, unstable medieval one.

The validity of extending these concepts beyond the immediate post-medieval period is borne out by the similarity of later theorisations of rewriting to Zumthor and Catalán’s formulations of open medieval texts. Henry James theorised that “to revise is to see, or to look over, again — which means in the case of a written thing neither more nor less than to reread it” (1934: 338). Here James prefigures the reception-centric approach of theorists such as Hans Robert Jauss, for whom a medieval text’s meaning is constructed by its audience, a hypothesis equally applicable post-1492. The reader is fundamental to the production of meaning: “for each work a preconstituted horizon of expectations must be ready at hand (this can also be understood as a relationship of “rules of the game”) [...] to orient the reader’s

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<sup>19</sup> A similar conclusion was made by Francisco Rico for the fluid textual tradition of *Don Quijote* (2006: 6).

(public's) understanding and to enable a qualifying reception" (1982: 79). Roland Barthes postulates more broadly that "the goal of literary work (of literature as work) is to make the reader no longer a consumer, but a producer of the text" (1990: 4); a formulation remarkably similar to Zumthor's open, in-progress, anonymously authored medieval work. Poststructuralism took Barthes' formulation to the extreme, whereby intertextuality — the reuse of extant texts by a new work — encompassed innumerable textual relationships. Jonathan D. Culler argues that intertextuality

is a difficult concept to use because of the vast and undefined discursive space it designates, but when one narrows it so as to make it more usable one either falls into source study of a traditional and positivistic kind [...] or else ends by naming particular texts as the pre-texts on grounds of interpretive convenience. (2001: 121)

Neither of these approaches work for the *SIL materia*; a series of rewritings that were preceded by multiple and often unidentifiable sources, both oral and written. Their processes of rewriting thus cannot be traced positivistically, nor can they be delineated in a structuralist sense as hypotexts and hypertexts, as Gérard Genette theorised.<sup>20</sup>

If precise sources or intertextual relations cannot be identified for these texts, how are they linked? They could be said to form a discrete *materia* because they share features from character names to setting, location and action. Yet this definition is somewhat arbitrary and will be challenged by the Sephardic ballad, whose only connection to the *materia* is its action, given its setting and characters are

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<sup>20</sup> From his idea of a palimpsest or "a text in the second degree [...] a text derived from another pre-existent text" (1997: 5) Genette delineates various categories of textual transformation that relate hypotexts (earlier texts) to hypertexts (rewritings).

anonymised. What is most important is the perennial possibility that these works reached audiences familiar with what they are rewriting. That the familiar reader enables artistic repetition is affirmed by Umberto Eco, for whom rewritings must be considered according to their audiences' expectations to appreciate their innovation: "when we fail to find innovation in the serial, this is perhaps less a result of the structures of the text, than of our 'horizon of expectations' and our cultural habits" (1985: 175). Eco returns to Jauss whose horizon of expectations encapsulates the type of rewriting that the *SIL materia* engages in: that of an unfixed, open tradition for audiences that already know it to be so.

These works are therefore linked by a shared discourse of rewriting, which is also something identified by Margaret Burland in retellings of the medieval Roland story. Although limited to the Middle Ages, Burland's study importantly identifies how rewritings thematise narrativity, or the act of rewriting itself:

The Roncevaux authors made *the functioning of literary narratives a consistent theme of their texts* precisely because they understood the powerful influence of literature, and particularly of the 'matière de France,' upon the 'imagined community' of Old French speakers that was being ever more forcefully converted into a nation throughout the period in which the Roncevaux texts of this study were composed. (2007: 6, emphasis mine)

I draw on Burland's work firstly in a study of the *SIL materia* in the medieval chronicles which, as historiographic projects of *bricolage*, leave traces of their rewriting for all to see. They enter an extant, multivocal tradition as yet another text without a stable source. This tendency will then be identified in all subsequent rewritings post-1492. The *materia's* fluidity, fragmentariness, and uneasy memory is embodied in each of these literary forms in new, metaliterary ways: from the

chroniclers' fragmentation of the story and overt references to sources, to the ballads' gestures to a larger story beyond their borders, the *comedias*' metaliterary thematising of storytelling on stage and the uncomfortable anachronisms of the Romantic works. This thesis therefore expands Eco's idea that through repetition the modern work "speaks of itself" or "speaks of its own structure, and of the way in which it was made" (1985: 173). The metaliterary nature of rewriting is in fact present much earlier, from medieval chronicles to the earliest manifestations of medievalism in the early modern period.

I thus conceive of rewriting as a mode of discourse rather than solely the reuse of specific sources, following Christian Moraru's definition that rewriting "is usually — and strikingly — *there* in various degrees of obviousness and thus relates to self-referential/self-reflexive literature in general and metafiction in particular" (2001: 19). Each chapter explores how these texts deal with the act of rewriting and how this act becomes apparent in overt or covert metaliterary references to the pre-existing *materia*. While I cannot prove that these authors are rewriting specific, prior texts, what I do newly identify is how these rewritings consistently thematise the idea of transforming a discursive tradition that its audience could know. They thus engage with cultural memory, given the ubiquity but also the fluidity of the *materia* through the centuries, and elicit new readings depending upon their audience's memory of what came before. While Jan Assmann defines cultural memory as "that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (1995: 132), this diachronic study reveals this store of texts to be constantly evolving and *unstable*, the only constant being its transformation for future uses.

This is in line with Renate Lachmann's formulation of how literature invokes or rewrites prior texts: "literature inscribes itself in a memory space into which earlier texts have inscribed themselves. It does not leave these earlier texts as it finds them but transforms them in absorbing them. The memory of a text is its intertextuality" (2004: 172-173).

Medievalism and rewriting are thus forward-looking, transformative literary modes rather than nostalgic or memorialising. The *materia* is able to look backwards as it looks forward, cultivating a suspended narrative time that allows for present innovation and an anticipation of its future transformation. Each text therefore rewrites tradition, which "is more concerned with the future than with the past, from which, historically speaking, it comes. It projects this past onto the future and works prospectively" (Zumthor 1992: 55). This forward look is central to how the *materia* subversively transforms medieval Iberia; leveraging its memory to engage with contemporaneous sociopolitical contexts. As early as the medieval chronicles do we find a tendency that Moraru located in postmodern rewriting: namely their engagement in "counterwriting" instead of "rewriting," thereby setting up a "'rupture' between themselves and what they redo — the literary past — as well as between themselves and the various hegemonic forces active at the moment and in the milieu of 'redoing'" (2001: 9). A study of the *SIL materia* proves that this tendency is, in fact, nothing new: each one participates in a discourse that has been used to construct a past through its repetition and inclusion in historiography, while the rewritings themselves prove how unstable and presentist this past really is.

This thesis henceforth begins in Chapter One with an analysis of the *materia* in the medieval chronicles the *EE amplificada*, the *C1344* and the *Toledana*. I newly propose that each explores how identities can be constructed, dissimulated or changed to wield power across the Castilian-Andalusi border akin to the chronicle form itself. The three chronicle narratives make use of the elastic concept of *juego* to conceptualise different types of identity change: the Castilian faction are plagued with dissimulation or verbal *juego*, while the Andalusi faction negotiate their identity only via public games and ceremony. Castilian dissimulation extends to their superficial racialisation of Andalusi characters, and is negatively set against the public, complete conversion of Mudarra in all three rewritings. I simultaneously unpack how the chronicles' thematic concern with identity change manifests in their form. Their status as rewritings is made obvious through forms of meta-historiographical *juego*. Historiography is thus revealed to be just as constructed as the racialised identities and deception wielded strategically by the Castilian noblemen.

Chapter Two analyses the *materia's* entry into post-medieval literature in the *romancero* or ballad tradition. A close reading of three unstudied ballads from three distinct print contexts in sixteenth-century Spain alongside one recorded amongst the twentieth-century Sephardic diaspora explores their fixation on the *materia's* geographical and interpersonal border crossings. To rewrite and thus remember tenth-century Iberia's borderland between Castile and al-Andalus as permeable and undefined serves as a foil for the prevailing condition of sixteenth-century Spain's fluid geographic and religio-racial boundaries in the first three ballads. The Sephardic ballad meanwhile rewrites medieval Iberia in the New York of 1950s,

marked by a triple diasporic consciousness that displaces the *materia* to the Ottoman Empire. These ballads are also fragments whose 'borderness' emerges in their status not only as rewritings that anticipate their audience's memory of the *materia* but as poems that leave open innumerable possibilities to have occurred before and after the story they tell.

Chapters Three and Four chart the appropriation of the *SIL materia* in the early modern *comedia*. Chapter Three examines pioneering medievalist Juan de la Cueva's *Infantes*, written and performed in late-sixteenth century Seville. *Infantes* demonstrates that any new national-literary model cannot be homogeneous: his new medievalism fuses both classical and popular literary forms and sets much of its action in Cordova amongst a classicised, erudite Andalusí milieu. In both structure and theme it newly rewrites the medieval to anticipate the future, thus exposing medievalism's productive capacity to subvert dominant discourses of both literary history and propose alternatives to the discursive and political exclusion of Iberian Muslims and *moriscos*. The former were excluded in contemporary historiographical rewritings of the *SIL materia* while the latter suffered under increasing juridical marginalisation in the reign of Philip II.

Chapter Four considers Lope de Vega's *tragicomedia*, *Bastardo*, written during the expulsions of the *moriscos*. While in the medieval chronicle rewritings identity change can occur between defined categories, *Bastardo* exposes the flimsiness of identity categories from race and religion to the nobility. The play conveys a sceptical attitude towards the capacity of both religion and race to define a collective, a prescient — if jaded — statement in light of the racialised politics of the

expulsion. *Bastardo* also thematises storytelling with the largest number of embedded narratives of the works studied here. The events play out on stage but are then repeatedly retold by characters all with differing viewpoints. *Bastardo* thus exposes the instability of any shared literary-cultural *materia* like that of the *SIL*.

Finally, Chapter Five analyses nineteenth-century rewritings by Romantics Ángel de Saavedra and José Somoza in which tenth-century Iberia is rewritten pessimistically to expose the failings of modern-day constructions of the Spanish nation, liberal or otherwise. By ‘Castilianising’ Mudarra long before he crosses the border, they demonstrate how contemporary Romantic visions that posit al-Andalus as a multicultural utopia acculturate and thus forget cultural plurality, a tendency common in nineteenth-century Arabist scholarship. Saavedra’s *Expósito* emphasises this problematic by ironically lavishing praise on an exceptional, unislamic al-Andalus while denigrating the racialised religious zealotry of North Africa, Castile’s inescapable ties to which inhibit a satisfying resolution to the work. *Expósito* thus demonstrates how Spain’s ongoing colonial relationship to North Africa inevitably undermines conservative medievalisms that anachronistically evoke a definitively Christian Middle Ages, and those that romanticise al-Andalus. In *Bautismo*, meanwhile, Mudarra’s conversion is reluctant and ultimately fruitless, as he is left newly orphaned yet ‘Christian’ in Castile, mourning an Andalusí identity that is ironically already effaced by a narrative that conceptualises him as a modern pacifist steeped in secular philosophy.

The thesis closes with a series of conclusions drawn from its diachronic analysis. The *SIL materia* evolves through time yet retains ideological continuities; namely

how it is consistently rewritten as a border narrative to challenge simplistic or essentialist formulations of medieval Iberia and individual and collective identities. I moreover conclude on the extent to which these works can illuminate a history of mentalities in light of their authorship and reception contexts. The *materia* also gives an innovative perspective on periodisation and intellectual evolution. Throughout the chapters and particularly in those dealing with postmedieval rewritings, it becomes clear that a discourse of medievalism that evokes Iberia's midcoloniality is particularly apt for channelling the concerns of modernity. Medievalism as a literary mode thus destabilises well-worn intellectual watersheds, from the Renaissance to Romanticism and even postmodernism, movements to which rewriting was a paradoxically innovative means of literary creation.

## Chapter One

### Identity in, and of, the Medieval *Siete infantes de Lara*

To write on the *SIL materia* in medieval Castilian chronicles is not to write about the original and its first descendants, but a literary tradition already in transit. It is also to ask why these stories appear in chronicles at that time; to ask what view thirteenth-, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century chroniclers had of tenth-century Castile and al-Andalus. These chronicles relate a narrative that, they claim, already existed as an *estoria*. Each chronicle is therefore technically engaging in medievalism as early as the thirteenth century. Scholars tend to agree with Ramón Menéndez Pidal's view that this *estoria* is none other than a lost *cantar de gesta*, or epic poem, because the chronicles retain traces of versification.<sup>1</sup> There is also unresolved debate on whether the earliest versions found in the *Estoria de España* (c. 1270-89, henceforth the *EE*) and the *Crónica de 1344* (henceforth the *C1344*) draw on the same *cantar* or whether the latter uses a *refundición*.<sup>2</sup> As explained in the introduction, this thesis deals only with the extant texts that comprise the *SIL materia* and therefore follows Colin Smith's belief that chroniclers were capable of "rewriting their themes, without recourse to new poetic materials" (1983: 425). We

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<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal found traces of assonance and versification, largely in the *C1344* (1971: 415-431). David Pattison concurs and argues that chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia* are the only proof of a relation between epic poetry and chronicle (1983: 145). Fernando Gómez Redondo has identified epic-formulaic style in chronicle narratives (1987). Mercedes Vaquero shows that the chronicle redactions of the story of Sancho II give evidence of epic-formulaic style, but not those of the *Condessa traidora* which more likely drew on prose sources (1990). That chronicles prosify poetic material is accepted by Roberto González-Casanovas (1990).

<sup>2</sup> Scholars use the term "refundición" to refer to a rewriting of one determined source, even if that source is hypothetical. For Alan Deyermond, given that the "vengeance section in *EE* has [...] a somewhat perfunctory air," both chronicles could have rewritten the same source differently (2011).

will never know for certain that a poetic tradition existed prior to the stories redacted in chronicles, not least because none of the chronicles refer to a *cantar* on the *materia* they are reworking, although they do so elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> The following chapter therefore presents a series of new readings of what the inclusion of the *SIL materia* in the chronicle form meant for three distinct medieval contexts of reception.

I will analyse the rewritings found in the *Versión amplificada* of *EE* (c. 1289, henceforth *EE amplificada*), the *C1344* (c. 1344) and the *Refundición Toledana de la Crónica de 1344* (c. 1460, henceforth the *Toledana*). These are not the only redactions of the *materia* in medieval chronicles. I have chosen them for their diverse narratives, their centrality to extant scholarship and their representation of three distinct periods of medieval historiography from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. The *EE amplificada*, while not the earliest rewriting, was long thought to be so and is thus canonised in critical editions, and it is studied here newly in light of the context of the reign of Sancho IV. Menéndez Pidal (1971) and Pattison (1983: 43-56) outline other chronicles in which the *materia* is found. Those not studied here that give a relatively idiosyncratic rewriting of the *materia* are the *Crónica de veinte reyes* or the *versión crítica* of *EE* (c. 1282-1284), and the *Interpolación de la tercera crónica general* (c. 1400).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Samuel G. Armistead cites from a variety of thirteenth century chronicles that mention a *cantar* as the source for their narratives on Bernardo del Carpio, Sancho II and the Cid (1987: 340-341). The rewritings of the *SIL materia* studied here never refer to a pre-existing *cantar* but an *estoria*, a term to be elaborated on below.

<sup>4</sup> See Geraldine Hazbun (2015: 154-161) and Peter Mahoney (2017) on the *materia* in the *versión crítica*, and John Cummins (1976) on the *Interpolación*.

The likelihood that any *estoria* these works rewrote lacked a factual basis posed little to no issue for the chroniclers. Chronicles reference all manner of purported sources, from prior chronicles to poetic *cantares* and *estorias*.<sup>5</sup> The sheer amount of material said to be drawn from an *estoria* or a *cantar* rather than a chronicle dispels the idea that the former were considered unreliable.<sup>6</sup> Because of the difference between what writing historiography meant in the Middle Ages and what it means today, modern audiences might question the reconfiguration of these narratives for the chronicle form. What was considered historic ‘truth’ for medieval chroniclers, and how should that inflect our interpretation of the *SIL materia* within the wider chronicle projects?

As Chris Given-Wilson explains, to market something as history in the Middle Ages was not necessarily to claim it as fact. Different categories of historical truth were operative in the medieval chronicle: truth as exactitude, as didactic significance, and as plausibility (2004: 2-3). While the first category is how we might determine ‘fact’ today, the second refers to the chroniclers’ desire “to reveal universal (or moral) truths” inherent in the events they were describing (Ibid: 2). The third category refers to the acceptance of otherwise unverifiable historiographical accounts because of their similarity to other comparable, accepted truths (Ibid: 3). The

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<sup>5</sup> The precedent was set with the Latin *Crónica najarense* (c. 1150) that incorporated popular literary material more so than earlier Leonese historiography (Menéndez Pidal 1980: xxxix). Menéndez Pidal postulates that ‘epics’ were included to a greater extent in the vernacular chronicles beginning with Alfonso X’s *EE* because “constituían la historia patria más divulgada” while Latin histories were only accessible to the erudite (1980: xxvii).

<sup>6</sup> In *EE*, Diego Catalán identifies a hierarchy of sources: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *De rebus Hispaniae* “ocupa el más alto lugar, los cantares de gesta se sitúan, evidentemente, en el escalón más bajo” (1992: 144). *EE* did not, however, value ‘epic’ vernacular sources less than Latin ones: the chroniclers “a los juglares no les cita expresamente sino cuando se quiere hacer notar que lo que cuentan, aunque esté muy divulgado, no es digno de crédito por hallarse en desacuerdo con los autores graves” (Menéndez Pidal 1980: l).

medieval chronicle is thus a constellation of rewritten sources that enumerates a series of events ostensibly in the past; a narrativized past in service to an ideology. Gabrielle M. Spiegel similarly argues in the case of thirteenth-century France that “by adopting prose as the language of history, chroniclers created a novel vernacular historiographic discourse, one that attempted to ground historical truth in a new system of authentication based on prose as a language of ‘truth’” (1993: 2). Hayden White also contends that all historiography is narrative, no matter its sources, and “the notion that sequences of real events possess the formal attributes of the stories we tell about imaginary events could only have its origin in wishes, daydreams, reveries” (1980: 27).

It is impossible, therefore, to disentangle fact from fiction in medieval historiography. This is made clear in the ambiguity of the meaning of *estoria* in medieval Iberia: for Smith, “history and story are simply the same word, the first a learned revival, the other popular” (1982: 55). Gómez Redondo nuances this view with evidence from the *EE* chronicle project in which *crónica* and *estoria* represent:

dos moldes literarios, con una diferenciación explícita en la propia *EE* 'segund que lo fallamos escripto en las crónicas et en los libros de las estorias desto' [...] Y ello es aún más evidente si se tiene en cuenta que las crónicas pueden estar formadas por estorias, mientras que el caso inverso no se plantea. (1989: 64)

Despite their different structural attributes and sources, they are both “moldes literarios.” Deducing whether the *estoria* claimed as a source for the *materia* has a factual basis is therefore unimportant; what is its rewriting by chroniclers as “‘dogma’ que ayuda a gobernar el curso de la historia por venir” (Catalán 1997: 181). The *estoria* was thus rewritten in the partisan, contextually bound chronicle form in

which it held an interpretive — or what Given-Wilson might denote as didactic or moral — significance for its earliest audiences.

Scholars have investigated the plot differences between the medieval chronicle redactions of the *SIL materia*.<sup>7</sup> Yet none of these examine how these distinct stories were received in their context, whether each fits with the aspirations of the wider chronicle and how being part of a chronicle affects how the story is told; a lacuna I seek to fill here. It is firstly necessary to dispel the notion that the chronicle rewritings are neat, self-contained narratives. In the *EE amplificada*, *C1344* and *Toledana* the *materia* is in fact interspersed between the history of tenth-century Castile. This is an obvious point, but not one apparent in Menéndez Pidal's (1971), Carlos and Manuel Alvar's (1991) or Mahoney's (2019) editions. In each chronicle the *materia* has clear links with other events in Iberia, and over a decade elapses between Gonzalo Gustioz leaving Cordova and Mudarra, his son, coming of age and returning to Castile. In the *EE amplificada*, the events notable enough to fill this space are the death and succession of Leonese kings and incursions by Andalusis into Christian Kingdoms (Menéndez Pidal 1977: 443-446). The *C1344* disrupts the story earlier with an excursus after Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra's wedding. Ruy and one of the *infantes* join the Count in battle against Almanzor, during which a miracle takes place in the Vado de Cascajares. Count Garci Fernández then journeys to France to seek vengeance against his first wife who ran off with a French count, known as the *Condesa traidora* story. The *SIL materia* then runs on uninterrupted through to Mudarra's vengeance (Vindel Pérez 2015: 359-428). The *Toledana*

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<sup>7</sup> See Menéndez Pidal (1971) Thomas A. Lathrop (1971), Cummins (1976), Pattison (1983) and Julio Escalona Monge (2000).

features the same interruption (Lathrop 1971: 97-102). The chronicles therefore further justify speaking of a *materia* of the *SIL*, rather than the *SIL* as a discrete literary object, because it is only the *materia's* post-medieval afterlives, from the *comedias* treated in Chapter Three onwards, that come to determine its wholeness after its even greater fragmentation in the *romancero*.

Central to this thesis is the importance of the literary structure in which the *materia* is rewritten to its symbolic value in the context in which it is transcribed, in this case the chronicle. This chapter conducts in miniature what Margaret Burland once did for the *Chanson de Roland*. Burland contends that all medieval Roncevaux narratives thematise the notion of agency in textual reception and retelling, given “the Roncevaux texts all return repeatedly to episodes in which characters within the fiction compose, transform, and interpret such narratives” (2007: 4). In their chronicle form, the fault-lines of the *SIL materia* are revealed, namely through their fragmentariness, references to an *estoria* and the presence of embedded narratives, thereby affecting their reception. This makes obvious their dissimulation as the past of Castile and its inhabitants, or rather their “status as ideology under the guise of a mere accounting of ‘what was.’” (Spiegel 1993: 2).<sup>8</sup> In uncovering the fabrication and contradictions of the *SIL materia* in chronicles I therefore build upon Hazbun’s exploration of how foundational narratives beset with treachery — namely that of the Visigothic King Rodrigo, Bernardo del Carpio, Sancho II and Fernán González — also undermine a coherent collective identity or “monolithic vision of the Spanish

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<sup>8</sup> That chronicles aim to establish an identity for the collective whose history they construct is well-established. Drawing on the work of Benedict Anderson (1983), Hazbun explains how “collective identity is founded upon constant interchange between individual and social frameworks of memory [...] it incorporates a desire to shape the past to meet the needs of the present time” (2009: 31).

nation” in the case of Alfonso X’s *EE* (2009: 79).<sup>9</sup> Despite being local narratives dislocated from a larger, proto-national collective destiny, the chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia* similarly construct an incoherent history by retaining structural markers of their fragmentariness and rewriting.

The chronicle rewritings’ transparent dissimulation as Castile’s past is augmented—and perhaps explained — by their thematic focus on individual identities across the border with al-Andalus. Each version gives a different perspective on how identities can be constructed, dissimulated or changed to wield power, in the very same way chronicles were. The incomplete, surface dissimulations of the Castilian nobility, from the *infantes* and Gonzalo Gustioz to Ruy Velázquez, are set against the public, complete conversion of Mudarra in all three rewritings. The aptness of conversion, of a *change in identity*, to the narrative form of the chronicle as a record of *historical change*, echoes what Ryan Szpiech locates in medieval Iberian conversion narratives: “as an expression of both faith and infidelity, the representation of individual conversion thus deliberately mirrors historical change” (2013: 218). Contemporary religious narratives thus already evinced a concern with how individual identity was tied up with the historical identity of communities. Szpiech also cites the relevance to Iberian conversion narratives of Caroline Walker Bynum’s identification of competing notions of change that emerged in twelfth-century Europe (2013: 223-224). These two notions were, put simply, the idea of metamorphosis, of replacement change, and hybridity, of adding layers to an

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<sup>9</sup> The attempt to construct a proto-national history is clearest in the earliest version of *EE*, the *primitiva*, which Sancho IV’s *EE amplificada* reworks. It charts successive peninsular *señoríos* from the Greeks to the Visigoths, of whom the Asturian-Leonese and Castilian-Leonese kings are depicted as heirs (Fernández-Ordóñez 2002: 54-55). This genealogy was interrupted by the Islamic conquest, depicted as “a temporary nadir in a Gothic history” (Hazbun 2015: 17-18).

unchangeable essence, represented here by Mudarra and the Lara/Salas faction respectively.<sup>10</sup> Identity change occurs via border crossings between al-Andalus and Castile that can be a productive means for raising social status, as in the case of Mudarra and, temporarily, Ruy.<sup>11</sup> Ruy fails because he is a master dissimulator who views his own identity as changeable, but only to an extent, and gains power from reconfiguring himself as a hybrid, all the while essentialising others.<sup>12</sup> Mudarra's cross-border metamorphosis, by comparison, is a challenge to the constructed, impermanent hybridity embodied by Ruy to grow his own status.

All three chronicles moreover make varying use of the elastic concept of *juego* to conceptualise these different types of identity change. *Juego* was already polysemous and contested in the thirteenth century and could refer to literal games, from the *tablado* at the start of all three chronicle narratives to the *C1344* and *Toledana's* inclusion of Mudarra's game of *tablas* in Cordova and the games to celebrate his baptism. Such formal instances of *juego* are presented as socially sanctioned, public ways through which to fashion one's identity.<sup>13</sup> This is akin to what Serina Patterson identifies in medieval texts more broadly: games "functioned as systems, objects, and activities that shaped — or conversely, disrupted — social

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<sup>10</sup> "The hybrid expresses a world of natures, essences, or substances (often diverse or contradictory to each other), encountered through paradox; it resists change. Metamorphosis expresses a labile world of flux and transformation, encountered through story" (Bynum 2001: 29-30).

<sup>11</sup> Montgomery notes but does not specify how "the frontier between two cultures seems to become a dynamic force impelling the narrative action" (1989: 886).

<sup>12</sup> I make this point briefly in an article on the *EE amplificada* and *C1344* and develop it here (De Souza 2020: 60).

<sup>13</sup> The chronicles depict medieval subjects both self-fashioning and fashioning the identities of others. While Stephen Greenblatt argued that the sixteenth century saw "an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process" (1980: 2), Laura Delbrugge challenged this arbitrary watershed and locates self-fashioning in medieval Iberia, because it "has relatively little to do with modernity and virtually everything to do with fundamental human nature" (2015: 3). The chronicles studied here corroborate this.

categories, definitions, and identities” (2015: 2). The way that games can “reflect cultural processes, values, and impulses” (Ibid: 3) is attested to in late medieval Iberian literature on games, such as Alfonso X’s *Libro de los juegos* (c. 1283). In the *Libro*, tabletop games illustrated “how the astute and cautious individual, exercising *cordura*, can make the best of situations involving uncertainties that cannot be managed by reason alone” (Fajardo-Acosta 2015: 491-492). Juan Escourido has also explored the important social function of games in the Alfonsine works in which “operan como tempranos objetos civilizatorios a través de la integración de una racionalidad y una economía de las emociones moderna” (2016: 45).

Evidence moreover abounds in texts contemporary to the chronicles for the slippery distinction between formalised *juego* and a more insidious verbal form: lying, trickery or *lisonja*. For example, Alfonso X’s didactic work *Setenario* (c. 1274-1284) prescribes how baptism ought to be carried out, ordering “que se guarde de non dar el bautismo por palabras que sean dichas commo en manera de juego o de escarnio” (1945: 131), while Chapter 81 of his *Libro de los cien capítulos* (c. 1285) is entitled “de los que son de dos fazes e de los que atrasechan sus palabras de manera de juego” (1998: 70). Sancho IV’s *Castigos* (c. 1292) cites the proverb “en juego nin en veras con tu sennor non partas peras” (2001: 190), a warning against overfamiliarity with one’s superiors. It notably juxtaposes “juego” with “veras,” making the former a synonym for dissimulation or lying. *Juego*’s dual meanings were later ratified by Sebastián de Covarrubias’ dictionary, which gives as its second definition: “llaman juego llevarse unos a otros las capas, y en el hazer cosas indeuidas a hombres de bien, mintiendo, desmi[n]tiendo, jurando, y perjurando, y aun blasfemando” (1674b: fol. 70). Dissimulation and hybridity are a corollary of

private, verbal *juego* in the chronicle rewritings; a tendency that is largely the preserve of Ruy Velázquez but also the wider Castilian faction.

The Castilians' hybrid conception of identity change and their verbal games also entail their essentialisation of others, including Ruy Velázquez's unproductive, erroneous racialisation of his Andalusí allies. A brief digression is warranted here on the idea of race in medieval Iberia, a concept not without controversy. The debate on whether race and racism are valid terminology for the Middle Ages is rooted in the extent to which medieval people believed in essential characteristics, whether somatic, cultural, or religious. Those that argue racism and race did not exist, such as Robert Bartlett, assume that medieval identity was malleable, and that people could change their beliefs and customs in their lifetime (1994: 230). Geraldine Heng recently challenged Bartlett's view by giving evidence for not just skin colour and biology but culture and religion to have been selectively essentialised and thus racialised in the medieval period "in order to distribute positions and powers differentially to human groups" (2018: 3). Although essential attributes are attributed to these facets in order to demarcate human groups to exert power, these essentialisms are strategic and not absolute: "race is a structural relationship for the articulation and management of human differences, rather than a substantive content" (2018: 19).

What is missing in the debate between Heng and Bartlett is the idea that both perspectives are possible in medieval Europe. The *SIL materia* in the chronicles in fact gives examples of both: those who view identity as flexible and malleable, as per Bartlett's formulation, and those who strategically essentialise and racialise others.

These varying approaches to identity are evidenced by Bynum's work on identity change in twelfth-century texts (2001). This chapter is the first study of medieval Iberian literature to bear in mind Heng's reorientation of race as strategic essentialisms that span multiple characteristics. Scholars have, however, made inroads on biological racialisation. David Nirenberg studies the emerging late medieval discourse of *limpieza de sangre* whereby "fifteenth-century Spaniards utilized a vocabulary of race grounded in theories of animal husbandry that posited the biological reproduction of somatic and behavioural traits" (2008: 83), although he refuses to consider this as racialisation because it is not a coherent concept over time (2008: 84). More recently, David A. Wacks located the racialisation of blackness in narratives of the curse of Ham, such as Alfonso X's *General estoria* (2020). Jorge Mariscal traces the origins of modern race to medieval Iberia, where he locates the roots of the Aryan 'superman' in the myth of the Spanish 'godo' (1998). Finally, David Hanlon advances Mariscal's connection between medieval racialisation and endogamy, proposing that "two notions equivalent to that of colonial racial purity crystallized in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Castile and León: the aristocratic notion of agnatic lineage and the ecclesiastical theory of apostolic succession" (2000: 480). The scope for research into race in medieval Iberia and its literature is still huge.<sup>14</sup> I begin that process here for Castile with the *SIL materia*, which evinces different attitudes towards identity change.

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<sup>14</sup> Castilian *villancicos* deal with skin colour (Deyermond 1971: 23), as do Galician-Portuguese *cantigas d'escarnho*, which evince "some of the social preoccupations surrounding religion, difference and identity" (Liu 2004: 130). Jewish characters are racialised in the *Poema de mio Cid* as covetous (see Edna Aizenberg (1980)). Blackness has also been equated to moral degeneracy in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (see Pamela A. Patton (2016)). The racialisation of Islam can be located in the *Poema de Fernán González* (see Deyermond (1990)). James H. Sweet has investigated the racialisation of black Africans in al-Andalus (1997), while Jessica A. Coope has mined Andalusí legal sources to investigate constructions of identity (2017).

The midcolonial nature of medieval Iberia and narratives that specifically deal with border crossings like the *SIL materia* are privileged locations in which to examine the formation of race. The tenth-century setting grants the *SIL materia*'s rewritings the inverse colonial power dynamic to the reality experienced by their thirteenth-fifteenth century audiences: an increased concentration of power in Castile alongside the marginalisation of its colonised, Muslim minority; the *mudéjares*. The cross-border cooperation and contingent identities depicted in the chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia* advocate for a heterogeneous Castile dependent upon Andalusí influence to quash internal conflict and deception. This is also made clear through each chronicle's emphasis on the County's insecure borders and lack of a central authority.<sup>15</sup> All three rewritings moreover promote metamorphosis over an essentialised, hybrid model of identity predicated upon verbal *juego* and manipulation. I will now explore how the identity of both individuals and the chronicle form itself are constructed in the *EE amplificada*, *C1344* and *Toledana*.

### **The *Versión amplificada* of the *Estoria de España* (c. 1289)**

As Catalán once remarked, the section of the *EE* dealing with the Christian conquest of al-Andalus is a "selva textual" with no definitive edition (1992: 45). *EE* was edited by Menéndez Pidal as the *Primera crónica general* (1977, henceforth *PCG*), which makes use of manuscript E<sub>1</sub> for the first part of the chronicle, dated to Alfonso X's

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<sup>15</sup> For Catalán, inter-Christian conflict between Castile and Navarre is the story's focus, given Doña Lambra is from La Bureba, "en tierras del interior que antes estuvieron vinculadas a Navarra," and she opposes the Salas faction with her husband; a more significant opposition than that of Burgos-Cordova (2001: 29). Catalán also notes how "el orden moral restaurado mediante la venganza no necesita ser refrendado por el poder público superior" (Ibid: 34).

reign (c. 1270). Yet the second half of *PCG* relies on  $E_2$  (Catalán 1992: 46), a composite manuscript amongst which is a *versión amplificada* (fols. 23-79, c. 1289) of an earlier Alfonsine version of *EE*, the *primitiva*.<sup>16</sup> In this section, the *EE amplificada*, we find the rewriting of the *materia* to be studied here. Although it is closely affiliated to the *primitiva*, it is dated to the reign of Sancho IV within which it has never been considered.<sup>17</sup> It is not the earliest manifestation of the *SIL materia* — found in the unedited *primitiva* — but I examine it here because since the publication of Menéndez Pidal's *PCG* it was considered to be so, leading to its republication in modern editions (Alvar and Alvar (1991), Mahoney (2019)). By considering the *EE amplificada* in the context of Sancho IV, this chapter newly destabilises its canonicity and exposes it as a fragmented, strategic rewriting. I focus the thematic analysis here solely on the *EE amplificada*, because a comparison with the *primitiva* overlooks the possibility that additional lost rewritings influenced the *EE amplificada*. I will however make reference to the *primitiva* based on Aengus Ward's digital edition (2020) to compare their approach to explicit rewriting in their references to sources; concluding that the *EE amplificada* bears further marks of rewriting.

The *EE amplificada* subverts much of the ethos outlined by Alfonso X in the earlier version of the chronicle. The first vernacular chronicle in Castile, *EE* was marked by

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<sup>16</sup> See Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (2000a: 234).

<sup>17</sup> Pattison (1983: 45) and Gómez Redondo (2013: 141) argue that the *EE amplificada* differs stylistically rather than in its plot to the *primitiva*. Mariano de la Campa Gutiérrez outlines the manuscripts of the *primitiva* (c. 1270), for the period spanning the Leonese kings Alfonso II to Bermudo III, in which the *SIL materia* falls (2000: 87). Menéndez Pidal details the differences in the rewritings of the *SIL materia* between the *primitiva* and *amplificada* (1980: 181-198). All quotations from the *EE amplificada* are taken from Menéndez Pidal (1971) and the wider chronicle material referred to is from *PCG*.

a proto-nationalistic gothic and imperial ideology: Alfonso presents the post-conquest kings as descendants of the Visigoths, a thesis taken from Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* and *Historia gothica* (Fraker 1996: 9). Catalán nuances this view: although Alfonso was interested in affirming “la tesis del neogoticismo de la monarquía Española, concibió ‘el fecho d’España’ unitariamente” by also including the histories of Muslims and Jews (1992: 143). Hazbun has also identified the centrality of Islamic history to *EE*: “the history of Islamic polities is methodically interwoven with that of the Goths from its very origins” (2015: 19).<sup>18</sup> This challenges the idea that *EE* narrates a teleological Christian success and that Alfonso propagated anti-Islamic views, a reading perhaps also made by the *EE amplificada* chronicler in their rewriting of the *SIL materia*.

Critics have identified two major ideological differences in the *EE amplificada* in contrast to the *primitiva* that resonate with its *SIL* narrative. Firstly, it rejects the latter's idealisation of the Castilian monarchy by praising the nobility, which “corresponde claramente con la situación política en tiempos de Sancho, cuyo poder era estrechamente dependiente de su pacto con los estamentos” (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000b: 62). It allows for critique of the monarchy and the possibility that a kingdom could be divided (Ibid: 65). The lack of reinforcement of monarchical power in the *EE amplificada* and the acceptance of a divided kingdom emerges in the freedom granted to the nobles of the *SIL materia* in a fragmented Castile lacking a centralised authority. Secondly, the *EE amplificada* acknowledges the *primitiva*'s

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<sup>18</sup> See also Georges Martin (2000) and Leonardo Funes (2004) on Alfonso X's *EE*.

ideological ambiguity — namely the supremacy of the Gothic lineage alongside the importance granted to Andalusí history — by rejecting the former ethos altogether:

Ni el neogoticismo de la monarquía castellano-leonesa, ni la unión de los señoríos bajo un único imperium, ni el papel de la autoridad real frente a los estamentos parecen valorarse ya como durante el reinado de Alfonso el Sabio. (Fernández-Ordóñez 2000b: 65)

In place of *EE primitiva's neogoticismo* that staked Castile's claim to al-Andalus on an unbroken lineage, the *EE amplificada* evinces a greater interest in Castile as a new kingdom, “por la historia de los “naturales” del reino, más que por la de aquellos que ostentaban anteriormente el señorío de España” (Bautista 2003: 52).<sup>19</sup> Its chronicler therefore saw the ongoing relevance of the *materia* for their renovated history that disassociated Castile from the Visigothic Kingdom and promoted the primacy of the present.

The *SIL materia* found in the *EE amplificada* centres on how identity is constructed; a concern doubly reflected in its structure as a rewriting. The *materia* in the *EE amplificada* begins at Ruy Velázquez and Doña Lambra's wedding, during which Lambra's cousin Alvar Sánchez triumphs at a *tablado* competition. Lambra praises him and her words trigger a confrontation between Alvar and the youngest *infante* Gonzalo González, who kills the braggart Alvar. Ruy Velázquez reacts by injuring Gonzalo; the scuffle is subdued by the *infantes'* father, Gonzalo Gustioz, and Count

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<sup>19</sup> The *EE amplificada* thus evokes the idea of “a ‘natural’ affinity between subject and sovereign territory” from Alfonso X's *Siete partidas* (Rojinsky 2010: 80). The *Partidas* sought to “asimilar los debdos procedentes de la naturaleza a aquellos procedentes de la natura y [...] conferir a la vinculación al señor un estatuto de igual necesidad y trascendencia que el de la vinculación a los padres y a Dios” (Martin 2013). In this way, the *EE amplificada* subtly reinforces its subjects' deference to the corporate kingdom and monarchy, even if it is more critical of the latter than the *primitiva*.

Garci Fernández, also Lambra's cousin. To make amends, the *infantes* go to Barbadillo with Lambra. Lambra is offended by Gonzalo González's semi-nude bathing in the *huerta* and instructs her servant to assault him with a blood-filled cucumber, an insult Gonzalo finds so offensive as to murder the servant. Ruy then plots his vengeance by writing to his Andalusí ally Almanzor, asking him to kill Gustioz — sent unknowingly as a messenger to Cordova — and the *infantes*, who will accompany Ruy in a battle at Almenar. Almanzor only agrees to the latter, and he allows Gustioz to languish in prison where he falls in love with an Andalusí noblewoman. Despite inauspicious omens, Ruy leads the *infantes* and their *amo* Nuño to their deaths in battle. Their heads are brought to Cordova where they are identified by Gustioz, whom Almanzor then allows to return to Castile, leaving his pregnant lover. Her child, Mudarra, grows up under Almanzor's tutelage and requests to leave for Castile once of age, where he kills Ruy and Lambra, thus avenging his half-brothers.

Extant readings of the *materia* in its various guises frame the act of treachery as the centre of the narrative and Ruy Velázquez as the focus of the chroniclers' ire (Carolyn Bluestine (1982), Thomas Montgomery (1988), Marcelo E. Fuentes (2015)). I recently challenged this notion by examining how the entire Lara faction exhibit toxic behavioural patterns in the *EE amplificada* and *C1344* (2020). I develop that reading here by proposing that the *EE amplificada* centres around different forms of *juego*. *Juego* can be literal and sanctioned but also private and manipulative, represented by the Castilian characters' dissimulation and creation of hybrid identities to wield power while refusing full metamorphosis. Their dissimulation signals an attitude towards identity founded upon the notion of the essential core,

what Bynum calls “hybridization,” an outlook that can degenerate into racialisation when projected onto others. The most consistent example of this is Ruy Velázquez who only performs the role of *moro* to grow his own power. The Andalusis by contrast conceive of identity flexibly and reject the kinds of strategic, but ultimately fruitless, essentialisms that the Castilians construct. The only solution offered up by the *EE amplificada* is Mudarra’s arrival in Castile and his vengeance, announced publicly on both sides of the border.

The centrality of *juego* is clear from the opening wedding scene with public games: “de alanzar a tablados et de boffordar et de correr toros et de iogar tablas et agedexes et de muchos ioglares” (209). The greatest of these is the *tablado* at which Lambra praises Alvar, “mas valió el alli solo que todos los otros” (14), offending Gonzalo. Lambra’s words are obviously provocative yet she still toes the line of decorum by complimenting Alvar in public for his performance in a sanctioned game which, although a form of dissimulation, was a public method for men to construct their identity symbolically in a display of arms: medieval warfare for sport “allows [men] to constitute themselves as ‘men,’ who fight for and who are watched by women” (Fradenburg 1991: 212). Lambra’s words cause confusion, with Sancha and her sons taking them in jest, “quando aquello oyeron donna Sancha et sos fijos, tomáronse a riir; mas los caualleros como estauan en grand sabor de un iuego que auien començado ningún dellos non paro mientes a aquello que donna Llanbla dixiera” (209-210). The *infantes* ignore Lambra’s reaction because they are distracted by yet another formalised “iuego.” Lambra’s words are interpreted differently by the youngest *infante* Gonzalo González, who “paro mientes” and reads into it an underlying flirtation. Yet is this the correct reading? Lambra’s words are

left allusive in the *EE amplificada*, and elsewhere her thoughts and feelings are merely paraphrased, such as directly after Alvar is murdered by Gonzalo (210) or when she complains of her servant's murder to Ruy (216). Gonzalo projects an identity onto Lambra without being certain of her intentions, that of promiscuity, thereby accepting essentialist gender discourse of the era.<sup>20</sup> Gonzalo's unthinking impetuosity is well-documented;<sup>21</sup> I would add that throughout the *EE amplificada* it is caused by his misreading of situations and projecting essentialist assumptions of identity onto others, from Lambra's perceived promiscuity to the battle at Almenar in which he does not believe Ruy Velázquez, the *caballero* and "el mayor prez darmas" (212) could be treacherous, until he is convinced by Nuño's eyewitness report of his collaboration with the Andalusis (228). The *tablado* scene therefore charts the transformation of sanctioned, public gameplay into a private conflict triggered by the manipulation of both Lambra's words and the performative conversation between the men, as Alvar then "començo luego de dezir sus palabras tan grandes" to Gonzalo (210).

Verbal dissimulation or *juego* is endemic amongst Castilian noblemen, affecting even Gonzalo Gustioz, who can only placate Ruy after Lambra's cousin is murdered by flattering him: "Sodes del mayor prez darmas que otro que omne sepa, de guisa que moros et christianos vos han por ende grand enuidia, et vos temen mucho" (212), a prophetic invocation of Ruy's manipulation of cross-border alliances. By contrast, Lambra resorts to physical gameplay to avenge Alvar's death: she has her

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<sup>20</sup> St. Isidore summarises the Aristotelian view of women prevalent throughout the Middle Ages: "femina is derived by a Greek etymology from 'fiery force', because she lusts so strongly, for the female is much more sensual than the male" (quoted in Bullough 1994: 33).

<sup>21</sup> See De Souza (2020: 52) for a summary of scholarship.

servant pelt Gonzalo González with the blood-filled cucumber, because, as she explains, “esta iogleria a muchos empeeçra” (214). The comedy of the scene is made clear when the *infantes* believe the servant is bringing them “alguna cosa de comer,” and when the others apart from Gonzalo react by laughing (214). The youngest *infante* chastises his brothers, “vos levades *en juego* tal fecho como éste,” causing the *infante* Diego to deliberate with his brothers that if the servant “nos atiende et non ha miedo de nos, entendremos que fue la cosa fecha *por juego*, et dexar lemos” (215, emphases mine). They conclude it was not a game and overreact by killing the servant.<sup>22</sup> The opposite occurs later when the *infantes* refuse to believe their *amo* Nuño’s reading of bad omens, “echando en juego esto que les dizie” (223). The *infantes* consistently misinterpret *juego* or locate it where it does not exist. The importance of correctly understanding *juego* was in fact underlined by Alfonso X in his second *Partida* on kingship:

Y otrosí, el que lo dijere, que lo sepa bien reír en el lugar donde conviniere, pues de otra manera no sería juego; y por eso dice el verbo antiguo que no es juego donde hombre no ríe, pues sin falta el juego con alegría se debe hacer, y no con saña ni con tristeza. (1992: 172).

It is the *infantes*’ misinterpretation of different kinds of *juego*, both verbal and physical, which has increasingly dangerous repercussions in the *EE amplificada*, as it is what leads to their deaths.

Ruy is the most prevalent verbal dissimulator from the outset of his vengeful plan, when “començo estonces luego a falagar a sos sobrinos con sos engannos et sus

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<sup>22</sup> While the cucumber assault was punishable in the *fueros* of Cuenca, Teruel and others (Lapesa 1967: 32-33), it warranted only a fine, not the death penalty (Burt 1982: 346), the disproportionate response granted by Gonzalo.

palabras enfiñidas et falssas” (217). His manipulation crosses over from the verbal to the physical: he constructs the battle so carefully as to ensure the *infantes*’ participation by dispatching their father to Cordova, expressing his own enthusiasm at their involvement, allowing them to opt out and by sending out a *pregón* for more soldiers to join them, who are convinced because Ruy “siempre era bien andant” (221-222). The construction is so believable that the narrator steps in to remind us “mas todo esto que les el mandaua fazer era enganno et nemiga” (227). To underscore Ruy’s commitment to dissimulation, the chronicler has him maintain it until the very end even after the audience has witnessed events to the contrary, when he denounces Mudarra in front of the Count: “que non daua nada por todas sus menazas, et demas, que non dixiesse mentira ante so sennor” (242). Ruy thus constructs a false identity that relies on what was there before, namely his role as a respected *caballero de armas*, in order for the *juego* or dissimulation to function.

While dissimulation or *juego* enables the Castilians to construct hybrid identities of their own, it also leads them to deny the idea of replacement-change and essentialise others, as in the example of Gonzalo González essentialising Lambra above. Ruy Velázquez also strategically essentialises Andalusis in an example of cultural racism. He expects them to do his bidding, not because of his social status or power over them — after all, he is a lesser Castilian noble, in need of funds after his wedding — but because, he assumes, they hold an essential, war-mongering enmity towards Castilians (De Souza 2020: 60). This begins in Castile, where Ruy beheads the Andalusí servant who has transcribed his letter to Almanzor and who, he assumes, will betray him (219). Although Ruy strategically racialises the Andalusí men in an attempt to grow his own power in Castile, he fails when they respond by flouting his

expectations and deconstructing his motives. Almanzor is able to read Ruy's letter critically, "vio la nemiga que venie en ella" (220), and make his own decision, unlike Gustioz and his sons who are unable to unpack Ruy's constructed discourse because of trust in his social standing. Nor do Viara and Galve, the kings Almanzor sends into battle at Almenar, fit Ruy's expectations, when they offer the *infantes* a *tregua* in battle that angers Ruy who threatens to report them to Almanzor (233). Viara and Galve deliberate with the *infantes*, quite literally changing sides, where they reveal that they consider complete metamorphosis to be possible: "nos non sabemos que fazer aqui; ca si Roy Blasquez uuestro tio, se fuesse pora Cordoua, assi cuerno diz, *tornarsie mucho ayna moro*, et Almançor dar lie todo so poder" (234, emphasis mine). The fluid Andalusí conception of identity will be amplified in the *C1344* in both the behaviour of the kings and Mudarra. Ruy's racialisation is thus another form of private, verbalised *juego*; a projection of a false identity upon others that is nevertheless strategic and self-involved. The *EE amplificada's* disapproval of this mindset emerges in ironic tension between Ruy's proximity to "tornarse moro" and his refusal to do so, one taken up by the later chroniclers.

Only Mudarra can put an end to the internal Castilian conflict, not just because he is an outsider or "un puente que une las dos culturas" (Zaderenko 2013: 70), but because his actions are marked by public, honest ceremony at every stage. After being publicly knighted by Almanzor, Mudarra asks him and his mother about the circumstances of his birth (240). He then makes another public declaration in Cordova "a sos caualleros un dia et a toda su companna" that he intends to set out for Castile (240-241). His men dutifully agree, after which he seeks permission from Almanzor who organises his departure. It is a public ceremony where Mudarra

“espidiouse de [Almanzor] et de todos los otros moros poderosos, et fuesse su uia, el leuo consigo muy grand caualleria et grand companna” (242). Even upon arrival in Castile Mudarra has a formal audience with the Count to state his intentions, after which he kills Ruy Velázquez (243). Mudarra’s example for Castile is that of public, honest, border-crossing and metamorphosis into Garci Fernández’s vassal, later emphasised in the *C1344* and *Toledana* that have him convert to Christianity.

The fragmented, hybrid identities of the Castilians engaged in *juego* is doubly reflected by Castile’s status as a permeable borderland beset by conflict on all sides. The *EE amplificada* begins by emphasising that Doña Lambra is “natural de Burueua” (208), a detail missing from the *C1344* and *Toledana*. Bureba’s outsider status, despite being part of Castile, is compounded when it is singled out amongst the description of guests arriving from external territories at the wedding: “enbio conuidar [...] a Gallizia, a Leon, a Portogal, a Estremadura, a Gasconna, a Aragon, a Nauarra, et couido otrossi todos los de Burueua, et a los otros de toda Castiella” (208). Castile’s permeable boundaries during the wedding underscore its insecurity, presaging Almanzor’s eventual successes at Almenar and beyond. Enabling the infiltration of foreign Christian Iberians into Castile is Count Garci Fernández, Lambra’s cousin, also of Navarrese origin.<sup>23</sup> His minor role mirrors the tendency of the *EE amplificada* to place more importance on the nobility and to denigrate the monarchy or central authority. His irrelevance is underscored by the end when the avenger Mudarra ignores his order for a three-day *tregua* and ambushes Ruy Velázquez at night (243).

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<sup>23</sup> His historical mother was Queen Sancha of Pamplona (*PCG*: 412), and his wife Ana hailed from Ribagorza, a *comarca* on the border with France (Collins 1983: 305).

Alongside Castile's topography and power structures, the material conditions of the *EE amplificada* influence how the *materia* is rewritten. The chronicle leaves marks of its rewriting for its readers to uncover, unveiling it to be just as constructed as the Castilians' dissimulation. The most obvious external marker of the *materia's* construction in the *EE amplificada* is its aforementioned fragmentariness: the break in the narrative between the *infantes'* deaths and Mudarra's vengeance (*PCG*: 443-446). The interwoven material in the composite manuscript E<sub>2</sub> demonstrates how chroniclers juxtaposed relevant material to suit their aims.<sup>24</sup> The denigration of *juego*/dissimulation on the Castilian side and the praise of Andalusí honesty is reinforced structurally in the *EE amplificada* by not only interpolating additional successes in battle by Almanzor but also following the *materia* with his conquest of Santiago de Compostela whence he brings the trophy of the cathedral bells to Cordova (*PCG*: 448-449). This passage recounts the raid and partial destruction of the city in 997 by Almanzor (Collins 1983: 199). As well as Andalusí superiority, this material also makes clear the frequency of cross-border alliances with Andalusí rulers for socioeconomic gain.

A second feature of chronicle rewriting found in the *EE amplificada* is its reference to purported sources; an example of how medieval writers "often played with text, creating either metagame puzzles or games of interpretation" (Patterson 2015: 13). The material and psychological presence of *juego* in the plot is thus emphasised by

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<sup>24</sup> Thirteenth-century vernacular chronicles, from the reign of Alfonso X on, were composed by schools or "talleres" of translators, compilers and rewriters who undertook "una labor sincrética total. Para ello acopia materiales innúmeros, hace venir libros de todas partes" (G. Menéndez Pidal 1951: 369). See also Catalán (1963).

the chronicle's structural qualities. The justification "según dize/cuenta la estoria" is invoked on seemingly implausible occasions to convince the chronicle's audience. This is not a new technique in the *EE amplificada*: the *primitiva* manuscript also contains such references, although the technique is more frequent in the former. The *EE amplificada* includes a new "segund dize la estoria" when Alvar Sánchez's blow at the *tablado* resonates to the nearby *villa* (209). It then follows the *primitiva* with references to an *estoria* at Almenar, when Ruy's men defect to the *infantes'* side (232) and when the latter kill countless soldiers whilst outnumbered (234-235). It is also used to justify Almanzor's relationship to Mudarra, "como cuenta la estoria amauual mucho, ca era muy so parient" (240), that Almanzor sent Mudarra to Castile with Christian captives (241) and how Mudarra kills Ruy Velázquez (243). Pattison also notes that the *EE amplificada* cross-references more than the *primitiva*, with Ruy further justifying his vengeance by detailing each of the *infantes'* offences (1983: 46). The same occurs in Cordova where the Andalusí noblewoman is pregnant with Gustioz's child, "a que llamaron despues Mudarra Gonçaluez" (220), a reference shared with the *primitiva*. The former instance reminds the audience why events are unfolding as they are, while the second insinuates the *materia's* ubiquity by assuming its readership knows how this will end. By drawing attention to purported sources on occasions that might provoke audience disbelief, and by treating the *materia* as a well-known story, the *EE amplificada* makes its construction or dissimulation clearer than the earlier *primitiva* manuscript, concordant with its status as a later rewriting. *Juego* thus also extends to the role of the rewriter in vernacular historiography, who creates a text whose identity is dependent both upon rewriting an extant tradition and looking forward to the future by entertaining its audience and thus encouraging further rewritings to

perpetuate the *materia's* memory. While Suzanne Fleischman argues the *SIL materia* survived “by virtue of its having been *received as history*” (1983: 303), its construction and themes suggest it has survived because it demonstrates *how history is done*.

This extends to the presence of retelling within the narrative itself. The Castilians' verbal *juego* also involves them weaving many short stories to influence others and fashion a hybrid identity. On occasion the characters engage in longer instances of storytelling that mirror the chronicler's craft.<sup>25</sup> Ruy Velázquez, once again, is the focal point. He uses narrative to further his dissimulation, from his persuasive letter to Almanzor to the convincing performances he gives at Almenar: “fijos, non ayades miedo, ca yo uos diré lo que es; digo vos que yo he corrido este campo bien tres vezes, et leue ende muy grandes ganancias non fallando moro nin omne ninguno que me lo estoruasse” (228). Ruy not only rewrites the past but reinterprets the future: “començoles de loseniar et dezir: ‘fijos, estos agüeros mui buenos son, ca dan a entender que de lo ageno ganaremos grand algo, et delo nuestro non perdremos nada” (224). The omens symbolise the chronicle's use of pre-existing material, given they foreshadow the outcome of a well-known story yet are still re-interpreted multiple times, not only by the honest reader Nuño but also by the disbelieving *infantes* and Ruy Velázquez who rewrites them to suit his own purposes. The omens will be multiplied by the *C1344* and *Toledana*, underscoring their meta-historiographic role. Manipulation is not the only way to tell a story,

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<sup>25</sup> Fuentes also identified three embedded narratives in the *EE amplificada* and *C1344*, only in connection with Mudarra (his mother's story, Mudarra learning of his birth, and Sancha's dream in the *C1344*), and concludes “the legend is by itself a narrative embedded in more extensive and not always consistent texts” (2015: 36).

however. Mudarra's mother, an Andalusí noblewoman, is able to quell Gonzalo Gustioz's grief through her story, "dexad de llorar et de auer pesar en uos, ca yo otrossi oue doze fijos muy buenos caualleros" (238). The reader takes this at face value in the *EE amplificada*: it is not qualified as *lisonja*, unlike Ruy's story-telling, and is a redemptive example of the power of narrative to do good in the right context.

This reading of the *EE amplificada* challenges Peter Linehan's view of Sancho's historiography as marked by "creativity of a perverted kind perhaps, symptomatic of the degeneracy of an age in which the *aficionado* would exploit the opportunity of foisting partisan history on posterity" (1993: 479). It is not degenerate to reveal what had already been happening in the Alfonsine scriptorium: hybrid compilation and rewriting for a determined audience. The rewriting of the *materia* in Sancho IV's Castile challenges the idea that vernacular historiography could "ayuntar quantos libros pudimos auer de istorias en que alguna cosa contassen de los fechos dEspanna" into a convincing whole for the Castilian collective (*PCG*: 4). The very existence of the *EE amplificada* as a rewriting of the *primitiva* proves competing notions of collective identity formation in thirteenth-century Castile.

The choice to recall this tenth-century border narrative, in which the Castilian faction is plagued by ineffective dissimulation, a hybrid identity model that clings onto an eternal essence, and is saved by the honest, flexible Mudarra, is prescient for the late-thirteenth century. The *EE amplificada* reflects the complex colonial situation of thirteenth-century Castile in the wake of Alfonso X's reign. While Castile dominated the Peninsula and al-Andalus had shrunk, preserving the memory and

contribution of Andalusí culture had been central to Alfonso X's intellectual project, from his translation school at Toledo to the adaptation of Arabic literary forms like *Calila e Dimna*. The *EE amplificada's* rejection of Alfonsine historiography's *neogoticismo* and its glorification of a centralised monarchy is complemented by its rewriting of the *materia* that challenges those who make assumptions about Andalusí while denigrating their wayward Castilian counterparts.

Cooperation with Andalusí continued to be important in Sancho's Castile, during which many features of the fluid borderland setting of the tenth century in fact persisted.<sup>26</sup> The Andalusí had exploited the discord between Sancho and his father Alfonso towards the end of the latter's reign (O'Callaghan 2011: 60). Sancho then sought alliances across the Mediterranean with the Marīnids of Fes in 1285, later aligning with Muhammad II of Granada against a Marīnid attack of the ports Tarifa and Algeciras (O'Callaghan 1983: 397). Contradictory images of Muslims emerge in Sancho's *Castigos*, too, whose readers are instructed to pay attention to their good deeds as well as denigrate their religion.<sup>27</sup> I therefore disagree with Antonella Liuzzo Scorpo's suggestion that Almanzor's exemplary behaviour in *EE* does not constitute "propaganda that supported the Muslim values against Christian ones" (2011: 224). The praise of Andalusí behaviour is central to the *EE amplificada's*

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<sup>26</sup> Borderlands could be autonomous and act autonomously even after conquest, such as the customs from the frontier period that lived on later in Teruel and Cuenca (Abulafia 2002: 5). The flexibility of the thirteenth-century Castile-Andalusí border is evident in anomalous enclaves such as Crevillente, "a Mudejar state under Castilian overlordship" (Harvey 1992: 42); a status also partially enjoyed by Murcia (Ibid 44-47). The political borders of medieval Iberia did not shift at the same pace as cultural and linguistic ones, such as the Mozarabic Christians of Toledo who used Arabic for two centuries after the city's conquest by Castile (Abulafia 2002: 23). Even in the 1260s and 1270s was the frontier with al-Andalus "perilously undermanned" (Linehan 2001: 48).

<sup>27</sup> "Para mientes en los moros e en los jodíos e verás que en muchos de ellos da Dios en este mundo muchos bienes e poderíos, que mete en sus manos buenas andanças que les da en honrras e en enemigos e grandes riquezas que les da en honrras e en viçios e en muchos otros bienes que han" (2001: 90).

denigration of the Castilian attitude towards identity, both individual and collective, as just as hybrid and constructed as the chronicle form itself.

### **The *Crónica de 1344***

While the transmission and variants of the *C1344* are nowhere near as complex as *EE*, its genesis, composition and aims are harder to pin down. The *C1344* had long been assumed to be a Portuguese translation as a result of Lindley Cintra's edition (Pattison 2013: 391) and Catalán's study (1962). Ingrid Vindel Pérez's thesis recently cast reasonable doubt on Cintra's methodology given that the *C1344* is a complex compilation of sources, not all of which are Portuguese: the traces of assonance and versification found in its redaction of the *SIL materia*, along with its close filiation to the Castilian *Poema de Fernán González*, suggest "bien podría estar vinculada directa o indirectamente a la labor historiográfica de Alfonso XI" (Vindel Pérez 2015: 260-261).

The reign of Alfonso XI of Castile (1312-1350) began with an unstable thirteen-year minority during which the nobility expanded their power. Upon reaching his majority, his reign was marked by noble-monarchical tension due to his continued centralisation, notably through the promulgation of the *Siete Partidas* in 1344 which limited the nobility's power (Deyermond 2009: 66). Alfonso XI pursued a number of historiographical projects, notably the *Crónica de los tres reyes* on his immediate predecessors: Alfonso X, Sancho IV and Fernando IV, to which a fourth was added on his own reign. Catalán considers fourteenth-century historiography to evidence "el desarrollo de un arte nuevo de historiar, más rico en elementos retóricos y más

dramático y vivo” (1992: 156). This is evidenced by the *Crónica de los tres reyes* which never refers to sources or authorities to legitimate its narrative and instead “busca fundar su autoridad a través de una aparente autonomía absoluta” (Saracino 2017: 81). Historiography under Alfonso XI was also concerned with the nobility’s role, with the aforementioned chronicle seeking to “evidenciar los efectos nocivos que dicho estamento habría causado en el reino de Castilla durante los reinados de sus antepasados, y a la vez otorgar a Alfonso XI un rol de monarca capaz de poner fin al período de incertidumbre” (Ibid: 83). In the *Poema de Alfonso XI* by Rodrigo Yáñez, Deyermond similarly identifies a focus on conflict with the nobility, including some of the former regents during Alfonso’s minority, and external Muslim polities (2009: 66). Miguel Ángel Manzano Rodríguez studies the representation of the Marīnid Dynasty in works sponsored by the King, whose “authors made an effort to portray a positive image of their enemies and of the main events in their history” (2016: 11). These two tendencies persist in the *SIL materia* and are amplified here in contrast to the *EE amplificada*: the denigration of the Castilian nobility and the moral elevation of the Muslim Andalusī ‘foe.’

In contrast to the larger whole in which it resides, the rewriting of the *SIL materia* in the *C1344* has garnered more attention than the *EE amplificada* and *Toledana*. While it echoes the story outlined above of the *EE amplificada*, it departs from it at the battle of Almenar, after which Ruy Velázquez sacks the lands of Count Garci Fernández and Sancha and Gonzalo Gustioz fall into poverty. Meanwhile in Cordova, Mudarra infers his heritage during a game of *tablas* with another Muslim king. Arriving in Castile, Mudarra sacks Ruy’s stronghold of Vilviestre. Sancha has a prophetic dream of Mudarra’s arrival and her drinking Ruy’s blood. Repeated

comments are made of Mudarra's similarity to Gonzalo González, and it ends with Mudarra converting to Christianity and putting Ruy to death at a *tablado*. Significant innovations are found in the earlier parts of the story too, including the portrayal of Doña Lambra and Ruy Velázquez, Gonzalo Gustioz and the Andalusí noblewoman, and an increased emphasis on auguries. The *C1344* also expands the centrality of the *juego* motif, for not only are there further instances of literal gameplay to signal identity construction, but Mudarra's conversion is inserted as the obverse, positive example to Ruy's dissimulation.

Extant critical appraisals of the *C1344*'s rewriting hint at its renewed focus on individual identity by focusing on the colonial power dynamic at play. Hanlon's reading is particularly suggestive: that the *SIL materia* in the *C1344* is ambivalent towards Muslims to justify the subordination of the *mudéjar* in contemporary Castile (2000: 240). Irene Zaderenko believes the *C1344* aims to "incorporar al moro Mudarra al ámbito feudal y cristiano castellano, haciendo de él un digno antepasado de la familia Lara" (2013: 78-79). Bluestine sees Mudarra as a metonym for the desire to "blend the various peoples of the Iberian Peninsula into the dominant Christian culture" (1985: 468). The circumstances of Mudarra's conversion no doubt reflect the colonial power dynamic; a cultural and interpersonal colonisation of al-Andalus that is as common an interpretation for the fourteenth century rewriting as it will be in the nineteenth. Yet these critics overlook Mudarra's strategic, individual decision to convert. The tenth-century inverse colonial context of Mudarra willingly crossing the border for both personal and professional reasons (to become the Count's vassal) cannot easily equate to what Hanlon might view as the assimilation of the fourteenth-century *mudéjar*. As a memory of Andalusí domination and agency

in times of Castilian overlordship, Mudarra's "tornarse cristiano" is a consensual decision to change his identity to resolve ineffectual, degenerate Castilian dissimulation, represented by Ruy's incomplete "tornarse moro."

The rewriting of the *SIL materia* in the *C1344* results in a sharper focus on the two contrasting models of identity change outlined by Bynum, with the hybrid model characterising the Castilian noble class' verbal dissimulation. Ruy Velázquez's calculated dissimulation is made clearer through the addition of his political and economic aims in the *C1344*: once the *infantes* are vanquished, he sets out on a quest to take territory from the Count: "Ruy Vasques le robaua las tierras quanto podia" (289).<sup>28</sup> This seems to have been his aim all along, given it can be inferred when he reassures Lambra vengeance will be meted out, "yo vos prometo que atal derecho vos ende de que todo el mundo avra que desir" (259), hinting at his hunger for power.<sup>29</sup> Ruy's projected essentialisms out of a desire for socioeconomic gain extends in the *C1344* from his racialisation of Andalusis — concordant with the *EE amplificada* — to his treatment of women. While Lambra's motives were assumed by Gonzalo González in the *EE amplificada*, in the *C1344* Ruy exploits Lambra's femininity as an excuse for his treachery after receiving the letter condemning his behaviour from Almanzor's vassal Alicante. He feigns repentance, decrying "christianos nin moros non fiaran de mi, pues fis tan grant trayçion" and blames Lambra, who "en mi vida me fiso faser trayçion" (277). His condemnation of Lambra

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<sup>28</sup> All quotations are taken from Menéndez Pidal (1971); references to the wider *C1344* are from Vindel Pérez (2015).

<sup>29</sup> For Catalán, Ruy's economic motivations were "hechas en beneficio de los gustos de un público que reclama claridad en la clasificación y destino de buenos y malos y de la necesidad que unos nuevos códigos políticos imponentes de exonerar a la autoridad superior, condal-real, de cualquier culpa en el orden de la justicia" (2001: 322).

is founded upon stereotypes of the manipulative woman in medieval discourse used to shield his political ambitions.<sup>30</sup>

Gonzalo Gustioz is also further denigrated in this chronicle: from his verbal dissimulation and flattery of Ruy in the *EE amplificada*, in the *C1344* he is physically and sexually violent, giving further evidence of noble degeneracy. After hearing of his sons' death in battle, Gonzalo takes the calculated decision to rape the Andalusí noblewoman, who in the *C1344* is Almanzor's sister: "conbusco fare el fijo que a los otros vengara" (286). He violently essentialises and exploits her as an available mother figure for his own gain. This line also functions as a new anticipation of the story's denouement absent from the *EE amplificada*, which treats the *materia* as a well-known fact and makes the *C1344*'s status as a rewriting clearer: even Gonzalo knows how it will end. The narrative disapproval of Gonzalo's actions is clear in his ensuing blindness, a symptom of lust in medieval therapeutics (De Souza 2020: 55). Once he returns to Castile, his wife Sancha notably excuses his behaviour as temporary based on circumstance: "vós non errastes nada en lo faser, que quien yase en prisión o en cativo non puede tener ley" (299), thus acknowledging Gonzalo's border-crossing to have been a momentary change, equivalent to the hybrid dissimulations the noblemen perform in Castile.

The *C1344* further underlines the moral exemplarity of Andalusí Muslims, who conversely have a fluid conception of identity that allows for metamorphosis. In

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<sup>30</sup> "Ruy therefore exploits essentialist paradigms of femininity—the idea that it was plausible for him to be under the "manipulative" influence of Lambra—all the while veiling a covetous and ultimately toxic desire for socioeconomic advancement" (De Souza 2020: 57). These essentialist paradigms are founded upon the Aristotelian differentiation of gender whereby women are "more shameless and false, more readily deceived" (1878: 231).

addition to Viara and Galve, the *C1344* has two further Andalusí leaders involved in the battle against the *infantes*, Barrasín and Alicante (272). All four witness the *infantes'* exhaustion and offer them a *tregua* (274). The character of Alicante is then substantially developed: after the battle he composes a letter condemning Ruy's treachery to Almanzor, a motif added in the *C1344* to oppose the letter composed by Ruy which was marked by essentialist assumptions. Alicante's letter is a moral *exemplum* founded on fluid conceptions of identity:

La carta desia en como le enbiaua desafiar Alicante por el rrey Almançor, e por si, e por todos los otros que eran con el, e por todos los de allen mar e de aquen mar, e que lo desafiaua asi como traydor que era. (277)

Alicante's language points to a universal morality whereby "los de allen mar e de aquen mar," regardless of their race, religion or cultural identity, would condemn Ruy. Almanzor's empathy is also augmented in the *C1344*. He mourns the *infantes'* loss: "Pesoles mucho e con grant duelo que del ouieron començaron de llorar" (284). Almanzor's sadness is not exclusively preserved for those who live within his kingdom's borders. Almanzor and Alicante thus object to Ruy's behaviour as an unaffiliated mercenary, incapable of a true alliance as he wrongly believes the Andalusí men hold an essential enmity towards Castilians. The *C1344* portrays the Andalusí men as open to real allegiances across frontiers and capable of empathy across sociocultural divides.<sup>31</sup>

Also set against the Castilians' private dissimulation are further instances of public, socially sanctioned games in the *C1344* that mark Mudarra's border-crossing.

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<sup>31</sup> See also De Souza (2020: 60).

Alongside the *tablado* that launches the conflict, a game of *tablas* occurs in Cordova before Mudarra returns to Castile and he puts Ruy Velázquez to death at yet another *tablado*. At every turn Mudarra's change in identity is negotiated through public instances of *juego*, for which he is well prepared: he is initially tellingly described as “mucho aprenedor de tablas e de axedres e de *todos los otros juegos*; e muy caçador de todas caças; e quanto auer ganaua todo lo daua e despendia con todos los de la corte del rrey” (290, emphasis mine); primed with knowledge to see through the private *juegos* of Castile. He is then shown playing *tablas* in Almanzor's palace with the King of Segura who divulges Mudarra's parentage with the insult “vete, fijo de ninguno” (291). What began as a controlled way for Mudarra to negotiate his identity vis-à-vis a superior at court degenerates when the King violates the rules of the game, provoking Mudarra with verbal *juego* and forcing an untimely recognition of his true identity.<sup>32</sup> Mudarra is so appalled that he “tomo el tablero e diol con el un tan grant golpe por çima de la cabeça quel fiso lançar la sangre por las narises e por la boca” (291). The intimate connection drawn between public *juego* and identity change will be compounded at the end of the redaction, when a newly converted Mudarra puts Ruy to death in front of a crowd at a *tablado*. The centrality of formalised gaming to Mudarra's border-crossing and conversion speaks to the contemporary perception of gaming as a multicultural activity, with Alfonso X's *Libro de los juegos* featuring images of a variety of social classes alongside Muslim and Jewish figures all playing games (Constable 2007: 346). Public, formalised

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<sup>32</sup> The medieval board game is usually “un *habitus* civilizatorio. Desplaza la violencia hacia un escenario simbólico altamente codificado tanto en sus reglas internas - las del juego – como en los riesgos potenciales que comporta, permitiendo la sublimación y la represión de los instintos violentos” (Escourido 2016: 107).

games are thus availed of in the *C1344* as a universal language that enables cross-border communication and identity formation.

Once in Castile, Mudarra's conversion fits its medieval conception "as a kind of metamorphosis of the old self into the new and thus was naturally cast in a narrative form" (Szpiech 2013: 223). Conversion therefore stands for narrative or historical change; here it represents an evolution in Castilian values enabled by Mudarra. His conversion is coupled with a public adoption ceremony akin to a complete rebirth: Sancha "metiólo por una manga de una falifa de çicatron que tenia vestida, e tirólo por la otra" (302), in a clear allusion to childbirth. The *çicatron*, a fine silk tunic of Arabic origin, is also suggestive of his ritualistic parting with his Andalusí origins.<sup>33</sup> Mudarra's public metamorphosis from Andalusí to Castilian counterposes the private manipulations of the Castilian nobility.<sup>34</sup> The baptism is then notably celebrated with yet more public games: "alli dio el conde muchos dones e muy granados, e fiso faser muchas alegrías, e matar muchos toros, e crebantar tablados, e bofordar" (302-303). Sancha then asks Mudarra to "faser armar un tablado, por que la trayçion que el fiso fue començada sobre alañar a tablado en Burgos" (312). Those who also lost family in Ruy's constructed battle then take turns attacking him, "con dardos o con asconas o con varas de lançar" (312). His death by way of a *tablado*

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<sup>33</sup> On the garment's provenance see Jesusa Alfau de Solalinde (1939: 49).

<sup>34</sup> Although Szpiech argues that medieval conversion narratives sometimes framed the convert as a hybrid, Mudarra's transformation is a metamorphosis. This could stem from competing narratives around conversion in legal discourse contemporaneous to these chronicles. In the *Partidas*, promulgated in 1348, the identity of Muslim Andalus was conceptualised as a political and regional rather than religious affiliation: "conversion to Islam is conceived of in political terms (though often expressed in religious terminology), while conversion to Judaism is understood within an essentially religious context" (Carpenter 1986: 279).

thus puts a fitting, public end to the cycle of internal Castilian gameplay in which the community is empowered and unified.

The necessity of al-Andalus as a moral exemplar comes in the wake of a Castile portrayed as fragmentary and in disarray in the *C1344*, as in the *EE amplificada*. A brief but important detail is newly found at the start of the *C1344* rewriting, however, with the news that Ruy Velázquez is granted Lambra as a bride by Garci Fernández after his success in battle with the Leonese (250). The County is therefore presented as vulnerable to outside incursions on more of its borders. As Castile's central authority, Garci Fernández is also portrayed negatively in the interpolated story of his vengeful excursion to France where he too succumbs to the same fruitless dissimulation as Ruy Velázquez.<sup>35</sup> The lack of a centralised authority thus calls into question the extent to which the *SIL materia* in the *C1344* supports Alfonso XI's aims to centralise and curtail the nobility. The latter is achieved by the emphasised degeneration of the nobility, with the chronicler's ire also focused on Gonzalo Gustioz. The attitude towards Castile as a founding county is somewhat more ambivalent, akin to Sancho IV's rebuttal of Alfonso X's historiographical theses.

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<sup>35</sup> The *C1344* breaks up the *materia* with the battle at the Vado de Cascajares in which Ruy and the *infante* Diego fight with the Count against Almanzor and only win by way of a miracle. The *Condesa traidora* locates Castilian degeneracy and dissimulation even in the office of the Count, who literally disguises himself to cross the border into France and take revenge, framed as a foreshadowing and possible inspiration of Ruy's treachery that suggests dissimulation is endemic within the Castilian nobility from its highest ranks downward. The Count adopts a temporary, strategic identity that does not bode well for him in the end, given his new French wife — a foil for the Navarrese Lambra — eventually schemes to have him killed by poisoning his horse (Vindel Pérez 2015: 366-370).

In contrast to the *EE amplificada*, the *C1344* contains more internal markers of its status as a rewriting. Although it lacks a gap between the initial offence and Mudarra's vengeance, it includes the aforementioned digression on the *Condesa traidora* after the wedding as well as more references to sources, embedded narratives and interpolated poetic styles. Critics have suggested the *C1344* draws on a *cantar de gesta* because of its traces of assonance, yet this cannot be definitively proven.<sup>36</sup> What can be concluded is that the chronicler mixes a narrative style with poetic language, which in turn makes known the *C1344*'s status as a patchwork of diverse *materia*. The repetition of similar assonantal final syllables predominates in the lament by Gonzalo Gustioz over his sons' and Nuño Salido's heads in Cordova. An extract from the start of the lament is enough to prove the preponderance of the "io" assonantal sound at the end of clauses and sentences:

E el tomo la cabeça de Muño Salido e rrasnose con ella como si *biuo* fuese: 'Dios vos salue, Muño Salido, mi compadre e mi *amigo* ¿e que fue de los mios *fijos* que vos yo dexe en encomienda, por que vos erades en Castiella e en León muy rreçelado e *temido*?' e dixo: 'conpadre, de Dios seades perdonado, e non fuerdes vos en este *conseio* con el traydor de Ruy Vasques, mas vos catar les yades los agüeros como amo e *padrino*, e ellos non vos querrían creer, ca les dolia la mi *prision*, por que yasia en *catiúo*.' (280, emphases mine)

The assonantal endings carry a poetic cadence, reminding the audience of the *materia*'s entertainment value while also signalling the affected, performative nature of Castilian nobles like Gonzalo who are plagued by dissimulation. His lament signals why the Castilian faction has decayed: what ought to be a moving account is instead a generic catalogue of his sons' public, knightly qualities (De Souza 2020:

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<sup>36</sup> For the rationale and method for extracting assonance see Menéndez Pidal (1971: 415-431).

54). Its inclusion is concordant with the heightened critique levelled at the Castilian nobility in this rewriting.

Another stylistic reminder of the *C1344*'s status as a rewriting are its references to "cuenta/dize la estoria" at improbable moments. The final three chapters on Mudarra's return and vengeance also contain more blatant references to a purported source than the *EE amplificada*, with chapters beginning "cuenta la estoria" (289, 295, 302). The *C1344* also begins a chapter with "dise el cuento que" (254). "Cuento" functions as a synonym of "estoria" and could have a specific inflection as a short prose narration.<sup>37</sup> These references sit alongside further instances of presaging and embedded narratives. After Gonzalo Gustioz's presage of Mudarra as avenger noted above, a second detailed 'spoiler' is given upon his conception:

Fincase ella preñada de un fijo que despues llamaron Mudarra Gonçales, que fue despues muy buen chriftiano e a seruiçio de Dios, e fue el mas onrrado ome que ouo en Castiella, afuera del conde don Garçi Ferrandes, que era ende señor; e este Mudarra Gonçales mato despues a Ruy Vasques e a doña Llambra e vengo a sus hermanos asi como vos lo la estoria contara adelante. (286-287)

Here the chronicle refers to itself as an "estoria" just like its sources, equating their task, content and technique akin to earlier projects of rewriting like the *EE amplificada*. The chronicler is therefore unconcerned with legitimating the validity of sources with which they identify their own craft. When compared to the *EE amplificada*, the *C1344* also increases the number of presages in the form of omens

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<sup>37</sup> "La amplitud de significación del término en la Edad Media, aplicado a la narración corta en general, parece tener su correlato exacto en la época actual" (Paredes Nuñez 1984: 436). Gómez Redondo locates "su aplicación a las narraciones caballerescas" in *EE* (1989: 62).

from one to two initially (264), and a third comes in Sancha's dream prophesying Mudarra's arrival (296). Embedded narratives are also more important in the *C1344*: Mudarra's mother not only tells Gonzalo Gustioz a longer backstory (285-286) but she also tells stories to Almanzor (289) and Mudarra (see Fuentes (2015)). The narrator qualifies the first of these with "e ella todo efto que desia era mentira, por lo conortar, ca ella nunca fuera casada nin ouiera fijos, mas era donsell e muy hermosa" (286). Although her lie is well-intentioned, "por lo conortar," in denoting such an extensive narrative (and one that was previously accepted in the *EE amplificada*) as "mentira," the *C1344* once again impels its readership to pay attention to partisan rewriting.<sup>38</sup>

In short, the *C1344* includes almost all of the techniques that the *EE amplificada* avails of in rewriting the *SIL materia* and builds upon them: additional instances of public *juego* are set against Castile's private dissimulations, it features additional morally superior Andalusis, and Mudarra converts as a paragon of open metamorphosis to rescue Castile from degeneracy. It also makes more explicit reference to purported sources and includes additional embedded narratives. It is more difficult to identify the extent to which this chronicle serves the historiographical aims of Alfonso XI: its origins are still uncertain and it no doubt went through a process of translation, whether into or out of Portuguese (see Catalán 1962). Alfonso XI's quest to reign in an overreaching nobility is reflected in its denigration of the Castilian faction, although the resonance of the *C1344*'s presentation of Andalusis as a paragon of flexible identity change is harder to locate

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<sup>38</sup> This unusual instance of an Andalusis dissimulating could also be connected to her speaking Castilian, taught to her by her Christian *ama*, thus aligning her to the language's degenerate cultural practices.

in the mid-fourteenth century. Akin to Sancho IV, Alfonso XI was still engaged in warfare with Granada and the Marīnids and ruled over a population that included *mudéjar* settlements in areas conquered in the last century.

Hanlon reads the representation of Muslims in the *C1344* “as expressions of anxiety on a cultural level about the ambiguous status of the Mudejar, of the Muslim as a subject to be governed” (2000: 479). Mudarra “functions as a narcissistic, metaphorical substitution of the last of the Gonzalo lineage; he therefore hides difference in order to restore purity and restabilize González’s land tenure” (2000: 493). Juridical ambiguity and thus anxiety did persist towards *mudéjares* in fourteenth-century Castile.<sup>39</sup> I do, however, challenge Hanlon’s reading of Mudarra as being subservient to Gonzalo Gustioz’s interests. Although his conversion erases his Muslim-Andalusi identity, it takes place in the tenth century after which Almanzor and al-Andalus continue dominating the Peninsula, as described in the material following the *SIL materia* in the *C1344* (Vindel Pérez 2015: 433-440). Hanlon also overlooks Mudarra’s agency, ambition and promotion within Castile: he takes up the same office as Ruy, of *alcayde mayor*, and sets about gaining territory for himself. This association ends the *materia* in the *C1344* on an ominous note: Mudarra rises to the same rank in the nobility as his uncle, hinting that the cycle of Castilian dissimulation may not be at its end (De Souza 2020: 60-61). A notion of anxiety could therefore be read into the heightened moral benevolence of the Andalusis of the *C1344*, whose influence is necessary for Castile to recover

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<sup>39</sup> While *mudéjares* were able to practice their religion, their juridical marginalisation by Alfonso XI signals the kind of anxiety of governance Hanlon suggests, including the prohibition of *mudéjares* holding certain offices and having Christian names (Ladero Quesada 1978: 280, 289). The *Siete partidas* also evidence this ambiguity and of “the hostility towards them as people who reject Christianity, and yet the desire that they should be dealt with justly” (Harvey 1992: 66).

socioeconomically but is disappearing through acculturation and colonisation. the *C1344*'s amplified critique of superficial, hybrid approaches to identity change through dissimulation could also signal a prophetic anxiety towards forced conversion, not yet a policy in Castile but one encouraged by the papacy in the twelfth-century northern European crusades, and one enforced less than 150 years later in Iberia in 1492.<sup>40</sup>

### **The *Refundición toledana de la Crónica de 1344* (c. 1460)**

The final medieval rewriting of the *SIL materia* to be studied here is found in a late-fifteenth century chronicle dubbed a *refundición* for its similarity to the *C1344*. Castilian vernacular historiography transformed in the fifteenth century from its careful use and justification of sources in the *EE* to an even more descriptive mode than the *C1344*. For Menéndez Pidal, the *Toledana* is “la última rezagada de la antigua escuela alfonsí,” although the link is perhaps even more tenuous (1980: lxxv). Catalán maintains that it was “realizada hacia 1460 por un judío o cristiano nuevo de Toledo” (1962: 341-342). Ward’s study supports this theory and outlines the *Toledana*’s five notable features: how it rewrites its sources, its concept of ‘España,’ how it rewrites ‘legendary’ material, the emphasis on Toledo and its Jewish population, and the placement of a self-reflexive historian within the text (2000: 59-60), five elements that inflect its rewriting of the *SIL materia*.

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<sup>40</sup> See Eric Christiansen (1997: 71)

Lathrop's invaluable study of the *SIL materia* in the *Toledana* examines its departure from the earlier chronicle forms and vindicates the chronicler's artistic skill, although it does not explore what this rewriting means in its very specific sociocultural context.<sup>41</sup> Lathrop's edition uses the MS from the Biblioteca Nacional, confirmed by Ward to be a *refundición* of the *C1344* that tries to absolve the Jewish community of Toledo of the purported sins of its co-religionists; a notable ideological rewriting which was suppressed in other, later manuscripts pertaining to the *Toledana* tradition (2000: 75). The Jewish or possibly *converso* authorship of the chronicle must thus be borne in mind in its rewriting of the *materia*. Following on from the violent persecution of 1391 that led to mass conversions, the fifteenth century saw the introduction of anti-*converso* legislation as well as an outbreak of popular violence in Toledo in 1449, through which the *Toledana's* author likely lived (Ray 2012: xix; Vaquero 2004: 254). Vaquero analyses the *Toledana* by focusing on passages that feature Toledo. A hybrid vision of *neogoticismo* emerges; one that seeks to recuperate the importance of Muslims and Jews in Iberian history, "en defensa no sólo de la situación de 'dhimmi' (dimmies) o 'protegidos', de la que los hispano-judíos habían gozado, sino también de la España de la ahí al-kitab, o de la 'Gente del Libro'" (2004: 253), and one that also exalts the monarchy for its support and protection during times of persecution (Ibid: 255). The gothic thesis is therefore renewed in the *Toledana*: both the Visigoths and Andalusis are responsible for Toledo's splendour, with Toledo the root of *mudéjar* Spain (Ibid: 269).<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> For Lathrop the chronicler crafts "a much more refined story of the legend through character development and a fine dramatic sensibility. He has avoided the traditional chronicle technique of telling in advance what is going to happen" (1971: 19).

<sup>42</sup> The *Toledana's* author can be understood as part of "el bando de los defensores de los linajes hebreos" alongside Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Alonso de Cartagena and others (Vaquero 2004: 259). Historiography was a preferred mode for them to do so: a later example is the statesman and exegete Isaac Abarbanel who lived in Toledo in the 1480s who grafted the story of Nebuchadnezzar onto

The *neogoticismo* of the *Toledana* runs counter to the tendency of the *EE amplificada* and recuperates this Alfonsine and, originally, Toledan ideological move, rooted in Jiménez de Rada's chronicle. Its renewed reverence for monarchical authority and Toledo's Visigothic — as opposed to Andalusí — splendour modulates how it rewrites the Andalusí Muslims and cross-border interaction of the *SIL materia*. In an appendix to her article Vaquero suggests the *Toledana's* rewriting conceptualises intercultural interaction as positive in its longing for a *mudéjar* Spain: “el arreglador presenta a Almanzor y su hermana como compasivos, caritativos, verdaderos y honestos” (2004: 272). Here I go beyond Vaquero's brief analysis and newly identify that the *SIL materia* in the *Toledana* is transformed into the strongest conversion narrative of all three chronicles. Mudarra undergoes a metamorphosis in not only religion but name, and the chronicle criticises Ruy Velázquez for his scepticism towards this change. The *Toledana's* portrayal of Mudarra and other Andalusí Muslims must be read in light of the persecution of Castilian Jews in the fifteenth century in the wake of the violent persecution of 1391 that led to mass conversions, as well as hostility towards *conversos*.

The *Toledana's* plot largely follows the *C1344*, although it includes expanded episodes that are pertinent to the construction of Castilian and Andalusí identity formation. The *Toledana's* narrative style and structure are also distinct, not only in how it organises the *SIL materia* but also in how the chronicler's voice permeates, as Ward has gestured to but not examined. The two types of identity change,

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Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's idea that the Iberian Peninsula had been ruled by Hercules' nephew, tracing Toledo's Jewish community back to the 5th Century BCE (Beaver 2016: 41).

hybridity and metamorphosis, are again structuring features around Ruy Velázquez's unfulfilled "tornarse moro" (124) and Mudarra's final conversion in Castile.<sup>43</sup> The *Toledana* also retains three crucial instances of symbolic gameplay from the *tablado* through to Mudarra's *tablas* game at Cordova to Ruy's final demise. Ruy Velázquez's dissimulation is given yet more emphasis here, and the Castilian nobles do not escape scrutiny either. The *EE amplificada's* flattery of Ruy Velázquez by Gonzalo Gustioz ('Gustines' in the *Toledana*) is also retained, with the latter exaggeratedly referring to Ruy's "grandes fechos" (103). Explicit blame is meted out upon the *infantes* for their misunderstandings of *juego*: the *Toledana* remarks that they leave Barbadillo after murdering Lambra's servant, "por non errar más adelante" (104). Their refusal to believe Nuño's omens is also characterised more harshly: while Nuño cries and wails, the *infantes* view it as "todo en burrla" (111). Their negative portrayal comes to a head in the battle scenes, with the chronicler adding visceral descriptions of the fighting *infantes*: at one point they fight so viciously that "non semejauan onbres, mas espíritos diabólicos" (119), while a few pages later they attack "como raiosos leones de Libia" (124). This unusual phrasing may be understood in the Jewish context of the *Toledana* and its authors promotion of a *mudéjar* society: the description of the *infantes* as "diabólicos" overturns the tendency for medieval Castilian writers to racialise Andalusí Muslims by association with the Devil.<sup>44</sup> The *Toledana* undermines this essentialised, rhetorical commonplace by linking it to the *infantes'* valiant but ultimately futile prowess. The connection of the *infantes* to "Libia" moreover points to Castile's hazy boundaries with al-Andalus and, by association, North Africa.

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<sup>43</sup> All references to the *Toledana* are taken from Lathrop's edition (1971).

<sup>44</sup> For example, in the anonymous *Poema de Fernán González*, Fernán describes how "ayuntan los diablos con sus conjuramentos" to cooperate with the Andalusis (2015: 224).

Lathrop's study notes that the *Toledana* heightens Ruy Velázquez's dissimulation through narratorial qualification and psychological insight (1971: 48-49). Ruy also constructs an elaborate performance to convince Gonzalo to go to Cordova: he commissions a second letter that is read aloud to Gonzalo and then "trocóla carta que traya en su manga por la otra" (107). This involves the help of additional Andalusí servants, an addition that further villainises Ruy for lording over Andalusis in his household. The *Toledana* also expands upon Ruy Velázquez chastising the Muslim Kings for having mercy on the *infantes*: if they did not kill them, "que juraua a Dios de non torrnar para Castilla, et que se yria para Cordoua para Almançor, et que les faria presto cortar las cabeças a todos porque yuan contra el mandamiento de Almançor" (124). For Lathrop, this exemplifies how "Ruy Velázquez acts variously as a Christian or a Moor, [...] whichever suits him best at the moment" (1971: 59). Lathrop encapsulates what I have identified as Ruy's role as a strategic shapeshifter who also racialises and essentialises when it suits him; a tendency found in the *EE amplificada* and augmented in the *C1344* and *Toledana*.

To bolster Lathrop's comparisons I would add that the *Toledana's* narrator more explicitly judges Ruy as deceptive throughout: he approaches the *infantes* and their father "muy lleno de mentirosas informaçiones malas et cabsadoras de muy grandes males" and his complaints are qualified as "traición" (105). Ruy's crafting of a false narrative is expanded on the battlefield, too, where he downplays the extent of the Andalusí army: "Son todos los viejos & los niños & las mugeres & presonas que vos non han de contrastar el prouecho" (116), thus echoing his misinterpretation of the omens. Ruy also dissimulates by exaggerating the *infantes'* threat to the Andalusí

rulers whose clemency he threatens to report to Almanzor with the stark warning “se auia de arder toda la tierra de moros” (123). Ruy’s hybrid shapeshifting is also stressed during his pursuit by Mudarra: Gonzalo Gustines fears Ruy’s ongoing Andalusí links, “por las grandes partes que en todos los reinos de los moros alcançaua ca por él se quedaua de ante de non acabar destruyr todo el condado segunda la grand suma de moros auia a su mandado y amistad” (153); an ironically essentialising comment given Almanzor and the King’s attitude towards Ruy thus far. Ruy is nevertheless accompanied by both Christian and Muslim soldiers, symptomatic of his ability to manipulate both sides: “los moros y christianos que ynçitados avía” (155).

The *Toledana*’s adherence to the *neogoticista* theory of Castilian origins is also evoked by its depiction of the Castilian collective. It reframes the conflict as internal, rather than as a result of Castile’s tensions with Navarre as in the *EE amplificada* and *C1344*. To do so, Sancha, the *infantes*’ mother, is granted a new, unusual backstory: she in fact had three husbands, the first of which, a prince, fathered the *infantes*. Her second husband is said to be Count Fernán González, Garci Fernández’s father, making the *infantes* the Count’s half-brothers and Gonzalo Gustines their stepfather (102). The conflict is thus a result of intermarriage within the same Castilian kin-group, although the *infantes* are also granted a mysterious royal origin. The narrative voice admits to the *Toledana*’s rewriting by prefacing the passage with “segun el que la estoria rrecuenta” — “recontar” literally being “to retell” — and following it with “si otra cosa y ha, que perdone quien leyere, ca la estoria nin rrasón non lo declara” (102). This innovation also serves to distance Mudarra from the *infantes*; he is no longer a blood relation, which makes his subsequent conversion

more significant. While the *C1344* ends on a pessimistic note with Mudarra following in Ruy's footsteps, the *Toledana* conversely denies his familial relationship to the traitor enabling a renewal and metamorphosis for the decayed Castilian nobility. A more optimistic, inclusive future for Castile is also imagined in the language used by the *Toledana* to conceptualise the story's topography: when Mudarra departs for Castile, Almanzor refers to Gustines' fame in "las Españas" (138), thus including al-Andalus in a more inclusive vision of "España."

The *Toledana's* portrayal of Andalusis conforms to Vaquero's judgment that they are "compasivos, caritativos, verdaderos y honestos" (2004: 272). Almanzor is more aware of Castilian dissimulation as he laughs as he reads Ruy's letter (107) and treats Gonzalo Gustines carefully: "yd vos agora con ese mi alcaide, el qual vos terna bien preso & bien rrecabdado a vuestra honrra lomas que ser pueda" (108). His attachment to Mudarra and excitement for his birth is emphasised, "porque non avía fijos, y entendía de faser generaçión y alcuña y nonbre de aquello que ella pariese" (134). Mudarra's mother is also granted more respect: she is no longer Almanzor's sister but "una mora suya" and is not raped by Gonzalo Gustines. Her speech to console him conveys a fifteenth-century mentality: "metiólo en la natural rasón, y físole entender en cómo todo aqueste mundo era una suma de vanidad" (130).<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the kindness shown by the four Andalusí leaders to the *infantes* during the battle's *tregua* is more detailed: "fisiéronles lauar las caras y las bocas y los ojos de la mucha tierra et sangre que tenian" (123). Even small descriptive references signal the importance of Andalusí culture for Castile:

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<sup>45</sup> This period saw an increasing number of poetic reflections on life's evanescence, including the anonymous *Dança general de la muerte* (c. 1400) and Jorge Manrique's *Coplas* (1479) (Deyermond 1971: 190-192).

Barbadillo's garden is described as the most beautiful "en la España" with an "alberca de agua" — an irrigated pond of Arabic origin — where Gonzalo González bathes (103).

The most important innovation in the *Toledana* is Mudarra's more formalised and finite conversion, which thus endorses the idea that one's culture or religion of birth can change. Mudarra's first adoption by Almanzor is described in detail: it is celebrated in Cordova eight days after his birth when he is ceremoniously circumcised, named, and Almanzor's vassals accept him as his successor (134). His adoption is yet another example of public identity transformation or metamorphosis with social consequences.<sup>46</sup> En route to Salas, Mudarra then visits a church out of curiosity and feels an affinity to Christianity which makes his conversion self-induced (143). He importantly chooses to change his name in baptism to Gonzalo González (151), underscoring his full metamorphosis. From this point on the narrator accepts his conversion and refers to Mudarra as Gonzalo even in chapter headings (153). The importance of accepting Gonzalo's new identity is made clear through the denigration of Ruy, who conversely rejects it: he refers to him as "Gonçalillo," "renegado" and "fijo de la renegada" (159), racialising Gonzalo and denying the validity of his conversion as a "renegado." Ruy decries Gonzalo/Mudarra as a dissimulator, giving credence to birth as a determiner of identity. This is reinforced in their verbal exchange towards the end, with Ruy interrogating Gonzalo/Mudarra: "¿Quién soys vos?, desi, caullero, o a quien quereys?" (160). Ruy demands to know who Gonzalo is, completely invalidating his

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<sup>46</sup> Almanzor gives Mudarra a Muslim name and circumcises him in a ceremony that does not appear Islamic but rather the Jewish *berit mila* in which, in addition to circumcision, a name is imposed on the newborn (Vaquero 2004: 273).

consensual conversion. Gonzalo does not cede to his provocation, however, and responds by calmly explaining his parentage (160). Akin to his arrival in Castile in all three chronicles, Gonzalo/Mudarra is open and honest about his identity and its evolution.

While the *Toledana* expands upon the model of individual identity found in the earlier chronicles, it presents a distinct type of historiographical discourse. Embedded narratives still abound, although Mudarra's mother's words when consoling Gonzalo are no longer qualified as "mentira," as in the *C1344*, but rather "un fingido cuento," forming a metaliterary comment on the moralising role of historiography (130). Her later speech to Mudarra is also condensed because the chronicler feels no need to repeat what they have written: "le contó toda la estoria segund que de sus ova" (137). Her storytelling is thus equated explicitly with what has come before in the chronicle. While the earlier chronicles refer to an *estoria* when events appear implausible, the *Toledana* refers to fictitious sources when the narrative voice permeates. Lathrop identifies these outbursts where the narrator refers to an original "autor" (1971: 20). This occurs after Lambra praises Alvar at the *tablado*, and in the aforementioned fabricated backstory of Sancha, which "makes it appear as if he were actually reporting it from his source" (Ibid). This connotes a distinctly fifteenth-century sensibility: historiography and its sources are now framed as the sole creation of an "autor." The *estoria* referred to in centuries past was anonymous, whereas here a text by an "autor" are invoked as a purported source for the *materia*. The narrative style is also geared towards the private reader, with one chapter beginning "ya de suso avéys oydo" (133).

The *Toledana's* construction for private reading is also evident in its rejection of cross-referencing: the chronicler diverges from the earlier tendency to treat the *materia's* outcome as a foregone conclusion for its audience and instead assumes it is their first encounter with it (Lathrop 1971: 43). This tension between the known and the unknown and the potential for drama amidst well-known *materia* will be explored by the balladeers and playwrights in the next centuries. The *Toledana's* status as a rewriting does, however, obliquely emerge in its dramatic foreshadowing, as it includes yet more omens (four instead of two or one in the earlier chronicles). The *Toledana* recognises its audience's potential pre-knowledge while leaving room for doubt, evidenced by Nuño's reactions to the successive portents. In the first two instances he refuses to tell the *infantes* and only the third and fourth trigger his warning (109-110). It is as if Nuño knows they will react with intense scepticism; the additional omens are needed to propel their inescapable fate. Dramatic foreshadowing also permeates the *infantes'* more sombre characterisation in the *Toledana*: they are not depicted laughing at Lambra's words at the *tablado*, while after Gonzalo is pelted with the cucumber, the *infantes* laugh but only "por disimular" (104). Once again, akin to Nuño's resignation, the *infantes* sense the offence this otherwise humorous insult will cause, whereas in the *EE amplificada* and *C1344* their reaction implies Gonzalo González's response is disproportionate. The ubiquity of the *SIL materia* by the fifteenth century is therefore reflected in the characters' restraint, as if they know the fate that awaits them.

The *Toledana* thus reframes the *SIL materia* as a conversion narrative in which the complete metamorphosis of religious and racial others is only beneficial for Castile.

This is emphasised through its addition of Ruy Velázquez's scepticism towards the Muslim Mudarra's metamorphosis into the Christian Gonzalo. The *Toledana* is most interesting for its representation of a distinct type of historiography: it tells the story for the first time, newly granting authority to the chronicle "autor" to whom the *materia* now belongs. This "autor" entertains an audience through narratorial innovation, reflective of "the burgeoning genre of literary prose" in the late-fifteenth century (Ward 2011: 63). For Ward, the *Toledana* is "perfectly consonant in discursive structure with many other fifteenth-century prose texts" and therefore "succeeded in one of the aims of written history by creating a new horizon of expectation" (2011: 172) This attitude towards Castilian history — as a literary repository malleable by individuals — was eminently necessary in an increasingly oppressive fifteenth-century Toledo, whereby art and literature were the means by which the Jewish community expressed their affinity to their home.

### **Conclusions**

The increasing focus on conversion in these three historiographical rewritings of the *SIL materia* chronologically correlates to the increased homogenisation and Castilianisation of Iberia. Yet correlation is not causation; these chronicles are responses to an evolving colonial yet still intercultural situation. Scholars have not yet been able to reconcile the portrayal of Mudarra's conversion with Almanzor's magnanimity and ongoing successes in all three chronicles. It is indeed possible to read Mudarra's conversion as a colonialist move of enforced assimilation. Yet it was not read this way by the *Toledana* chronicler whose criticism is reserved for Ruy Velázquez for doubting it. In each rewriting it is thus important to note where the power resides: who is attempting to change their identity, who is categorising

others, and what their motives are. Mudarra has total agency in his conversion, while Ruy and the other Castilian men are trapped in a cycle of dissimulation tied to their identity as members of the noble class.

Why then might these chronicle narratives convey two distinct attitudes towards individual identity in Castile and the extent to which it can change? The *SIL materia* is an effective basis from which to work through Castile's ongoing colonisation of al-Andalus and meditate upon that which was lost. The border crossings and power vacuum at the centre of the story also allow for the freedom to demonstrate different, heterogeneous forms of individual and collective identity formation and to question the increased centralisation and Castilian expansion. That the metamorphosis model succeeds in all three chronicles in the figures of Mudarra and other Andalusis tells us something about how these chroniclers conceived of the identity of their texts, too. The chronicle's identity as a rewriting — as a narrative retaining multiple medieval discourses from centuries past, both written and oral — makes it suitable grounds for deliberating on the nature of change.

The chronicle sits in-between these two conceptions of identity. Like Ruy Velázquez on the one hand, the chronicle aligns to the hybrid identity model outlined by Bynum as a *bricolage* of newly conjoined sources. On the other, by making self-reflexive reference to its sources, the chronicle also makes known its processes of rewriting and its imposition of a new, fantastical coherence on the past. For Bynum, the metamorphosis model of medieval identity transformation “is essentially narrative,” as a story or constant series of changes (2001: 30). Any narrative chronicle is therefore something new, rather than a hybrid drawing on extant texts

with eternal essences. As early as the thirteenth century, then, were chroniclers grappling with the same questions of textual transformation, intertextuality and originality inherent in the idea of rewriting; questions that were just as important to the twentieth-century poststructuralists. Further studies could therefore investigate the attitude towards rewriting in medieval Castilian historiography beyond the chronicles' qualitative attitudes towards sources which has been amply studied. Why would these chroniclers make the craft of history obvious to their viewers? By being encouraged to dissect the historiographical process, the reader actively engages in a process of interrogation, of looking out for *juego*; one that the *infantes* and Gonzalo Gustioz fail to do.

## Chapter Two

### The Borderlands of the *Romances de los siete infantes de Lara*

“A border is a dividing line, a narrow strip along a steep edge. A borderland is a vague and undetermined place created by the emotional residue of an unnatural boundary. It is in a constant state of transition.”

Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1999)

In the introduction and in the study of the chronicle rewritings in Chapter One the thematic foci of the *SIL materia* were emphasised: their consistent status as tenth-century border narratives that feature repeated crossings into al-Andalus and back into Castile; an activity that precipitates a high degree of intercultural interaction and identity change. This chapter explores how border crossings function geographically, interpersonally and structurally in four ballads that take up the *materia*, representative of different print contexts. In each *romance* the border functions not as an arbitrary dividing line between two territories; rather the indeterminate borderland is where the action unfolds and is, I newly propose, doubly embodied by the compartmentalised narrative of the ballad itself. The *romance* allows for the most obviously intertextual, flexible form of rewriting or medievalism: as a poetic construction it continually gestures to that which lies beyond its boundaries; a full(er) story left for its audiences and subsequent rewriters to construct freely.

Although scholars often refer to a *romancero viejo* or medieval ballads, the earliest extant evidence of this poetic tradition is from the late-fifteenth and the early-

sixteenth century, in the form of *pliegos sueltos* — printed pamphlets of the *literatura de cordel* — and *cancioneros* — songbooks usually with a named editor. The idea that ballads circulated in earlier periods stems from the work of neotraditionalist scholars like Ramón Menéndez Pidal, for whom this poetic tradition existed in prior centuries “principalmente en la tradición oral” in an “estado latente” (1973: 182, 429).<sup>1</sup> He also argued that ballads were fragments of what were once longer, epic poems akin to the *Poema de mio Cid*, or the *cantar* that he hypothesised to be behind *C1344* (1953: 71-75), a view later supported by Diego Catalán (1970, 1971, 1987) and Samuel G. Armistead (1981). There is, however, a lack of concrete evidence for this hypothesis: John Cummins’ comparison of the chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia* and the ballad “Pártese el moro Alicante” demonstrates that “precise textual evidence in support of the theory of casual epic fragmentation is virtually nil” (1970: 368). Irene Zaderenko (2005) likewise shows how few surviving ballads featuring the *Cid* directly reflect any scenes from the *Poema de mio Cid*, and those that do differ significantly from the earliest manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

Menéndez Pidal collated a *Romancero de los infantes de Salas* in 1963. These ballads are classified as either *primitivos* “cuyos orígenes inciertos se sitúan aún en tiempos medievales”; *viejos*, “de estilo puramente juglaresco o con reciente tradición en la primera mitad del s. xvi”; *eruditos*, “de los rimadores de Crónicas a mediados

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<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal was a *neotraditionalist* because he sought to resolve the opposing viewpoints of nineteenth-century traditionalists, who believed ballads arose mysteriously amongst the folk, and that of individualists for whom popular poetry was written for — rather than by — the collective by erudite poets (1972: 56-69). For Menéndez Pidal the former was too vague, and the latter overlooked the amendments made to a ballad in every recitation by both erudite and non-erudite balladeers (Ibid: 73). Menéndez Pidal insists instead upon studying all potential variants of a single ballad, which is “obra de varios autores, cuya parte respectiva no se puede apreciar aislada” (Ibid: 69).

<sup>2</sup> Roger Wright also posited that ballads may have even pre-dated epics, given “many brief ‘popular’ octosyllabic verses in vernacular had been sung in Spain since Roman times” (1985: 256).

del s. xvi (Romancero Medio)”; or *artificiosos*, “de los poetas del Romancero Nuevo (fines del s. xvi, comienzos del s. xvii)” (1963: v). Menéndez Pidal’s study differentiates ballads from ‘variants,’ a decision not without controversy. On the *SIL materia* he counts six *primitivos* (with four additional ‘variants’), one *viejo*, twenty-three *eruditos* and seventeen *artificiosos* (with twenty ‘variants’, largely collected from the modern Sephardic diaspora). To this list must be added one further ballad discovered by José J. Labrador Herraiz and Ralph A. DiFranco (2002). We are therefore faced with seventy-two printed testimonies. Literary analyses of this corpus are rare, and the only extant studies incidentally focus on the ballads deemed the oldest by Menéndez Pidal; the so-called *primitivos*. The ballad beginning “Pártese el moro Alicante” has attracted the most attention, treated by Cummins (1970), Louise Mirrer (1996) and Geraldine Hazbun (2018, 2020), who also analyses “A cazar va don Rodrigo.” Finally, Joaquín González Cuenca produced a book-length study on “Ya se salen de Castilla” (1982) which demonstrates just how much ground is yet to be covered: it is possible to devote an entire article or monograph to a single ballad, such is the level of linguistic, thematic and sociohistoric complexity presented by these poems.

The current paucity of scholarship and the need for detailed linguistic and sociological studies of the *materia* in the *romancero* have led me to choose four as-yet unstudied ballads for analysis. Only one is dubbed a *primitivo*, while one has a named poet, another is an anonymous *artificioso* and the fourth was collected from the modern Sephardic diaspora. The following are thus a representative sample of the ballad in early modern print culture, spanning *cancioneros* and *pliegos sueltos*, as well as the modern oral tradition recorded by an ethnographer:

1. “¡Ay Dios, que buen caballero!”: First printed in Esteban de Nájera’s *Segunda parte de la Silva* (1550)
2. “Ruy Velázquez el de Lara”: First printed in Lorenzo de Sepúlveda’s *Romances nuevamente sacados* (1551) and anonymously in a *pliego suelto*.
3. “Sentados a un ajedrez”: Parts are found in an anonymous *comedia* (1583), first printed in full in the second part of the *Silva de varios romances* compiled by Juan de Mendaño (1588).
4. “El rey de los moros”: First recorded in New York in the 1950s, sung by a Sephardic Jewish immigrant from the Ottoman Empire and transcribed by Isaac Levy. It is possibly a rewriting of a ballad beginning “Sacóme de la prisión,” first printed in *Romancerillos de Pisa VII* (1596-1597).

A plausible hypothesis for the lack of studies on the *materia* in ballads is their status as rewritings and Menéndez Pidal’s theories of epic-ballad interdependence: these poems therefore could be unfairly perceived as mere repetitive, unoriginal fragments of the chronicle redactions studied in Chapter One; an idea this chapter will refute. A connected issue is the ideological impasse in scholarship over whether ballad scholars should conduct a ‘neotraditionalist’, diachronic study of all versions both extant and hypothetical (pursued by Menéndez Pidal, Catalán, and Armistead),<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ian Michael gives a summary of Menéndez Pidal’s views and their renovation by Catalán: for the former, the Spanish *romances* are different from other European ballads because they rewrite epic poetry. They have regular metre as per the epic: a couplet of two octosyllabic lines with assonance in the alternate even lines. These ballads were originally news-bearing, although also incorporated material from French *chansons de geste* and ballads, the native lyrical tradition and even from chronicles. They use few rhetorical devices and end by “callando a tiempo.” They survived continuously in oral tradition from the fourteenth century to at least the twentieth, and each *romance* exists as a chain of variants without a fixed text (1996: 91).

or a synchronic, 'neoindividualist' analysis that seeks to pin down the printed ballad to its date of transcription and a single poet (a view pioneered by Giuseppe Di Stefano, Paul Bénichou and Colin Smith).<sup>4</sup> Before analysing the aforementioned four *romances*, I will delineate my take on the debate and why I believe a mid-way approach can be forged between the two schools of thought.

It is undeniable that these poems in print were destined for a public that may well have remembered and divergently recited them orally in versions now long lost. Yet also undeniable is the importance of these ballads' print contexts for their creation and reception. As Wright put it:

What we are dealing with [...] are sixteenth-century songs which appealed to publishers. [...] Since there is no fixed text to most ballads, and even the same performer can vary his version considerably from occasion to occasion, the idea that these are in some sense the standard versions needs to be consciously avoided. (1991: 10).

Michael goes even further: "what we have [...] of the *romances viejos* are fossils, re-shaped and even falsified by art poets and fashionable editors" (1996: 97). Julio Rodríguez Puértolas had earlier emphasised the need to study the sociohistorical reality that propelled the creation and printing of each ballad, because "el romancero es la historia de una frustración. La del ser humano en un momento de crisis religiosa, política y social, histórica. La del hombre moderno" (1972: 104). In

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<sup>4</sup> Bénichou's *Creación poética en el romancero tradicional* (1968) emphasised the "capacidad renovadora" and innovation of a ballad, rather than what it remembers from prior tradition (1968: 7-8). Bénichou considers ballads as "creaciones propias, como cosa que vive y vale por sí misma" (1968: 124). Di Stefano's *Sincronia e diacronia nel Romanzero* (1967) suggests that neotraditionalism borders on anachronistic, as sixteenth-century texts are used to establish an older, oral tradition. Like Bénichou, Stefano concludes that individual ballads are "in aderenza alla poetica individuale di un autore" (1967: 100). Smith argues that the absence of textual evidence for ballads earlier than the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries means they have to be considered individual creations (1973).

line with such perspectives, I consider these four ballads as individual acts of medievalism; of rewriting the tenth century for a new, modern public, whether those who comprised the early modern Spanish market for songbooks and *pliegos* or the Sephardic diaspora.

If the connection between ballads and lost epic poems is unprovable, the relationship of the *romances* to the chronicles that rewrite the *materia* is therefore no more discernible than that of the rewritings studied in chapters three, four and five to the chronicles. This does not mean, however, that all aspects of neotraditionalism can be discarded. Catalán's views are perceptive and can enrich the study of medievalism. As delineated in the introduction, Catalán developed the notion of *apertura* to describe the peculiar open discourse of medieval literature, with ballads being typical examples of "estructuras abiertas" which can be rewritten or recomposed orally according to their contemporary "realidad social e histórica" (1997: 164, 178). Medieval authors and balladeers saw their works as "una versión personal de una obra colectiva, siempre inacabada y, en consecuencia, piensa[n] que su obra es un bien comunal, utilizable por otros" (Ibid: 161). What Catalán describes here are none other than the mechanisms of medievalism, whereby a *materia* like that of the *SIL* is considered "un bien comunal," ripe for rewriting. It is thereby taken up by not only the chroniclers and balladeers, but later the *comedias* and Romantic works, which become consistently more self-reflexive and leave behind more meta-literary markers of their rewriting, particularly in the form of anachronisms which will abound from Lope's play onwards.

Just as with the chronicles studied in Chapter One and the works to be studied in the following chapters, a ballad is indeed “creado mediante la colaboración sucesiva de multiples cantores-autores, generacional, cultural y artísticamente diversos” (Catalán 1970: 19).<sup>5</sup> At some point in its history a ballad was composed in light of another and its balladeer thus remembered something from prior versions, but that something cannot be quantified as its “valor sémico nuclear” (Catalán 1997: 176), nor can its sources be definitively traced. What medievalisms have in common as rewritings is, I argue, what I have already identified in the chronicles and what Catalán himself described as their boundaries with what they rewrite: “las fronteras que separan el proceso de transmisión oral o manuscrita de una obra y el de creación de una ‘nueva’ aparezcan sumamente borrosas” (1997: 163). I expand upon Catalán’s idea of a medieval rewriting’s inherent “borrosas fronteras” by identifying the structural, poetic borderlands of these postmedieval ballads that, like the chronicles, function as metaliterary markers of rewriting. The ballads are, however, unique, in that they rarely narrate a self-contained story.<sup>6</sup> They are fragments whose ‘borderness’ emerges in their status not only as rewritings whose meaning shifts according to an audience’s pre-knowledge but as poems that leave open innumerable possibilities to have occurred before and after the story they tell. An anticipation of the before and after, of pasts and futures, is common to ballads diverse in content, time period and, crucially, print context. This also manifests in

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<sup>5</sup> Catalán’s idea that variability is “un rasgo definitorio del discurso ‘tradicional’, que lo distingue de los textos propiamente ‘literarios’ de arte personal” (1997: 160) is also ruptured by the medievalisms studied by this thesis. As stated in the introduction and elsewhere argued by Gutiérrez Trápaga (2017), the printing press did not bring an end to *mouvance* or *apertura* which persisted long after in medievalisms.

<sup>6</sup> Exceptions do exist in the form of long-form ballads, although none survive on the *SIL materia*. See, for example, the French-inspired ballads “Ya cabalga Caláinos” and “Media noche era por filo” (Díaz Roig 2005: 221-227, 228-233).

structural features common to the *romancero* such as an *in medias res* opening and their capacity to *saber callar a tiempo* (see Smith 1996: 33). The structural fragmentariness of ballads also influences their ethos, something identified by Rodríguez Puértolas, who proposes that in the *romancero* “[la] realidad ya no es una, sino que se presenta fragmentada” (1972: 87). Ballads that gesture to longer narratives are thus particularly apt embodiments of a fragmented reality replete with ambiguities, the interpretation of which is reliant upon an audience’s recreative remembrance of the fuller story gestured to beyond.

This fragmented reality necessarily impacts on how the thematic features of the *SIL materia* are rewritten. The ‘borderness’ of the ballad’s structure will be shown in the following examples to influence the way the *materia’s* geographic, interpersonal borderlands between Muslim al-Andalus and Christian Castile are constructed as “sumamente borrosas;” contingent and undefined. As border texts that in turn reflect the tenth-century borderland, these ballads prove Anzaldúa’s contention that borders cultivate a peculiar “consciousness of the borderlands” (1987: 77). Writing self-reflexively of her experiences as “the new *mestiza*” living on the US-Mexico border, Anzaldúa theorised how this subject “copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity” (Ibid: 79). The same tolerance for the ambiguity of the border was evident in the *SIL materia* in chronicles and becomes more concentrated in these fragmented *romance* narratives. This idea builds upon Şizen Yiacoup’s study of those ballads commonly denoted *fronterizos*, set later on the fifteenth-century border between Castile and the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada (2013a). For Yiacoup, the *fronterizos* embody cultural exchange as well as conflict, and “deliberately recall Spanish identity as inherently manifold, a layered identity

composed through the complex, longstanding interactions of different ethnic, cultural and religious groups” (2013a: 3). Yiacoup’s reflection can be extended to the configuration of identities in ballads that rewrite the *SIL materia* in which Castilian-Christian and Andalusī-Muslim territories and identities are not clearly defined or demarcated.

What resonance might these ballads then have held for their earliest audiences, whether listeners or readers? The first three ballads reached audiences of *cancioneros* and *pliegos sueltos* the mid-late sixteenth century. Their recollection of the tenth-century borderland and al-Andalus is inseparable from Spain’s “double experience of acquiring an empire while holding Islam at bay and investing enormous energies into excising Moors and Moorish culture from the newly constituted nation” (Fuchs 2003a: 3). Barbara Fuchs refers to the policies of cultural homogenisation in the wake of the invasion of Granada in 1492 by Isabel and Ferdinand which coincided with the expulsion of Jews and the subsequent forced conversion of its Muslim population to Christianity in 1502. The ground had also been laid for the increasing enforcement of Catholic Orthodoxy with the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478 by the same monarchs.<sup>7</sup> Yet while these borders were erased politically, converted Muslims and their descendants — *moriscos* — persisted in significant communities throughout the sixteenth and into the seventeenth century in Spain and constituted a challenge to the dominant discourse’s purported erasure of religio-racial internal borders. Many *moriscos* practised a form of crypto-Islam and were targeted by the Inquisition for doing so.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> On the Inquisition’s formation and aims see Henry Kamen (2014b: 1-91).

<sup>8</sup> L. P. Harvey puts forward a case for ongoing cryptic practices amongst Iberian Sunni Muslims based upon a *fatwā* issued by a *muftī* in Oran, Ahmad Bui Jum'a, in 1502 and found translated as late as

*Morisco* intellectuals also established networks with Muslim communities in Morocco and the Ottoman Empire (García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2013: 102). Spain's persistent borderlands with diverse religious and racial groups were also expanded through the invasion of the Americas, extending the borders of the Spanish Crown across the Atlantic. Despite projects of ideological homogenisation in the incipient nation state, in line with Counter-Reformation discourse, sixteenth-century Spain was still one of fluid borderlands between Christianity and Islam, and Iberia and the 'New' World it had invaded, akin to the medieval setting of the *SIL materia* as it is rewritten in these three ballads.

The persistence of racial and religious heterogeneity notwithstanding, sixteenth-century Spain also "sheltered an impressive range of local identities" leading to institutional and governmental pluralism (Amelang and García-Arenal 2019: 248). Rather than an absolutist state, historians now consider the newly united Spain to have been "a composite monarchy, made up of communities, and kingdoms that were not absorbed or eliminated by the monarchical-dynastic discourse and discipline" (Cardim et. al. 2019: 41). These kingdoms also retained varying levels of juridical and political autonomy.<sup>9</sup> This was therefore far from a homogeneously or harmoniously united polity. Indeed, internal tensions between kingdoms reasserted themselves at the start of Charles V's reign, in revolts by the Castilian *Comuneros* (1520-21), the *Germanías* or artisans of Valencia (1519-1523) and the Franco-Navarrese who attempted to reconquer the Kingdom (1521-1524). The latter half of the century saw the Alpujarras War with the *moriscos* of Granada (1568-1571)

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1560 (1987). See Mercedes García-Arenal (1978) for records of sixteenth-century *morisco* trials by the Inquisition.

<sup>9</sup> See also Antonio Feros (2017: 23-30).

and the Aragonese Revolt against the government of Philip II (1591-1592). Throughout the century, trade links and conflict in the Mediterranean also served to blur political and cultural boundaries.<sup>10</sup> Early modern Spain was thus more fragmented and 'medieval' than the Union of the Crowns would suggest, with a persistence of plural, local identities and national boundaries contingent upon relationships between centre and periphery.

To rewrite and thus remember tenth-century Iberia's borderland between Castile and al-Andalus in a way that emphasises the hybrid, shifting nature of individual identities and the permeability of geographical borders serves as a foil for the prevailing condition of sixteenth-century Spain's fluid geographic and religio-racial boundaries in the first three ballads, as well as later medievalisms like the *comedias* to be studied in the subsequent chapters. The fourth ballad to be studied, "El rey de los moros," conversely evokes the diasporic and thus borderland existence of the Sephardic Jewish diaspora. Forcibly expelled in 1492, Sephardic Jews went on to settle in both the eastern and western Mediterranean. I consider what this ballad's innovative reconstruction of the Iberian Middle Ages might mean in its context of performance of New York in the 1950s when it was sung by a Sephardic Jewish immigrant from the Ottoman Empire. A triple diasporic consciousness marks the ballad's rejection of national and supranational borderlands, as well as its tenuous link to the rewritings studied thus far. It thus broadens the boundaries of

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<sup>10</sup> Daniel Hershenzon's study of captivity in the early modern Mediterranean examines how "transimperial maritime networks shaped Europe's seemingly bounded territorial identities" and "reshaped and entangled communities around the Mediterranean, extending their boundaries across the sea" (2018: 8, 10). Hershenzon overturns the notion that Christendom and Turko-Muslim civilizations diverged in the sixteenth century, given intercultural networks and exchange persisted into the next century.

medievalism, a literary mode that now depends on intergenerational, diasporic memory.

**“¡Ay Dios, qué buen caballero!”<sup>11</sup>**

While Andalusi-Castilian relations are central to the unfolding plot of the *materia* in chronicles, the trigger for the action in all three cases were the tensions that emerge between the Christian Kingdoms of Castile and Navarre, configured through a familial conflict. The story thus unfolds in a Castile that is both dependent upon and besieged by cross-border interactions on all sides; a borderland lacking a central authority and in which categories of self and other are far from clear. The *materia*'s multiple border crossings would take on new valence once it was rewritten for a sixteenth-century public and the ballad beginning “¡Ay Dios, qué buen caballero!” (henceforth “¡Ay Dios!”) is one such example.

The earliest printing of “¡Ay Dios!” is in Esteban de Nájera's *Segunda parte de la silva de varios romances* (1550, Rodríguez Moñino 1970b: 309-310). Menéndez Pidal surmises that it is likely to have been a *primitivo* given its close connection to the chronicle rewritings, although this remains an unprovable hypothesis (1963: 104). It nevertheless differs significantly from the rewritings studied in Chapter One, and its idiosyncrasies respond to its print context. Vicenç Beltran argues that the early modern printing of historic ballads was nothing short of propaganda to prop up the inherited power of the nobility (2016: 117-124). In Beltran's new edition of Nájera's

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<sup>11</sup> All subsequent quotations are taken from Rodríguez Moñino (1970b: 309-310) referenced by line numbers.

*Silva* in which “¡Ay Dios!” is printed, he reiterates the likely propagandistic intent of including ‘historic’ ballads in the *Segunda parte*. The editor from Zaragoza’s local loyalties are noticeable in four ballads that are included on the history of Aragon to glorify its heritage (2017: 65), and Beltran also calls for further studies on how the publishing of ballads based on the nobility legitimated their power: “son paradigmáticos los casos de los Fajardo de Murcia, los Manrique, los Ponce de León y otros que esperan un estudio atento” (2017: 80).

Although there is no evidence that Nájera was himself in service to the nobility, Beltran’s hypothesis gives useful general context to the survival of the *SIL materia* in the sixteenth century and beyond. The Laras were still prominent members of the nobility and literary *materia* featuring their ancestors continued to be disseminated in the form of poetry and chronicles.<sup>12</sup> Fifteenth-century members of the Manrique de Lara family included Rodrigo Manrique de Lara, a supporter of Isabel I’s claim to the throne, as well as his brother Gómez and son Jorge, the famed vernacular poets. Isabel rewarded the family with titles: the Ducado de Nájera, awarded to Pedro Manrique de Lara y Sandoval (Rodrigo’s nephew) in 1482 (Morales Muñoz 2018), and the Marquesado de Aguilar de Campoo, awarded to García Fernández Manrique de Lara in 1484 (Rodríguez-Ponga y Salamanca 2018). Notable sixteenth-century descendants included *Inquisidor general* Alonso Manrique de Lara (1471-1538) who expanded the remit of the Inquisition to *moriscos* (Llorente 1826: 170) and drafted the thirty-six points of evidence for their purported crypto-Islamic faith (Cook 2016: 19), and his son Jerónimo who took up the same office as his father (Llorente 1826:

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<sup>12</sup> Including the *Toledana* and Florián de Ocampo’s *Crónica General* (1541).

65). The surviving grandees were also routinely linked to the medieval *materia* in the early modern period. An elegiac ballad written on the death of Pedro Manrique de Lara y Sandoval's son, another Jorge Manrique, describes how Jorge "de los infantes de Lara derechamente venia."<sup>13</sup> A closer look at both "¡Ay Dios!" and Nájera's printing practice however call into question Beltran's broad statement that

La relación entre los Manrique y los Siete Infantes de Salas o de Lara no era una leyenda inocente, pues estaba en la mente de toda la sociedad castellana del Renacimiento y era tenida muy en cuenta por los miembros del clan, cuyo prestigio social resultaba beneficiado. (2017-2018: 77)

Nájera enjoyed rapid commercial success that then led to the subsequent publication of the *Segunda* and *Tercera parte de la silva* (Caravaggi 2014: 181). The speed at which he compiled new materials thus suggests his editorial choices were economically rather than politically motivated, as Beltran surmises. Rodríguez Moñino argues that Nájera took Martin Nucio's *Cancionero sin año* and "quiso realizar en él las necesarias modificaciones para ponerlo más de acuerdo con el gusto español" (1969: 118). Although Nájera draws heavily on Nucio's *Cancionero* for the first part of his *Silva*, in the second he adds many new texts, including "¡Ay Dios!," the inclusion of which appears to be a result of a desire for novelty and to stand out from competitors. He worked in collaboration with anonymous "amigos" who recommended or provided him with new ballads to be published.<sup>14</sup> "¡Ay Dios!" features in a section entitled "Siguiense los romances que tratan de Hystorias Españolas" amidst 35 others. Following "¡Ay Dios!" are two further ballads that

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<sup>13</sup> It is printed in Nucio's 1550 *Cancionero* and in Nájera's *Silva* (Menéndez Pidal 1914: fol. 236; Antonio Rodríguez Moñino (1970b: 217-218). For studies on the ballad see Juan Bautista Avall-Arce (1992) and Beltran (2017-2018: 71-72)).

<sup>14</sup> Rodríguez Moñino quotes from Nájera's prologue to the *Primera parte*: "Algunos amigos mios, como supieron yo imprimia este cancionero: me traxeron muchos romances que tenian: para que los pusiesse en el" (1970b: 12).

rewrite the *SIL materia*, “Saliendo de Canicosa” and “Pártese el moro Alicante,” neither of which are found in Nucio’s *Cancioneros* (see Ménendez Pidal 1963: 136, 161). By following Nucio and classifying these ballads as “hystorias españolas,” the section’s subtitle attempts to frame the *materia* as ‘history’ of an emerging nation-state in which the ancestors of contemporaneous nobility took part, although not necessarily laudably.

The ballad broadly maintains the relevance of the Lara family but, like the medieval chronicle rewritings, does not merely exalt their ancestors. It depicts a permeable and conflictual medieval borderland, in stark contrast to the suppression of Spain’s religious and racial homogeneity by the sixteenth-century ruling classes including descendants of the Laras. “¡Ay Dios!” also notably omits the aforementioned conflict between Castile and Navarre, found not only in the chronicles studied in Chapter One but also in other contemporaneously printed ballads that rewrite the *SIL materia*; an excision that notably comes in the aftermath of Ferdinand IV’s conquest of Navarre, its annexation to Castile and its subsequent uprisings, supported by France and lasting until 1524. Despite its expurgation of Castilian-Navarrese conflict, Castile’s boundaries are depicted as permeable throughout the ballad in its focus on safety and the domestic sphere.

“¡Ay Dios!” presents a condensed story while omitting features found in other contemporaneous and medieval iterations of the *materia*. This begins in its opening lines, which configure the protagonist Rodrigo as a praiseworthy, crusading hero, “que mató cinco mil moros” (2), a detail that erases the start of the most elaborated rewritings in the *C1344* and *Toledana*, in which Rodrigo is praised instead for his

performance in battle against the Leonese (Menéndez Pidal 1963: 106-107). This is the first of three instances in which the ballad asserts Castilian-Andalusi conflict, not cross-border conflict with other Christian Iberians. It thus enshrines the types of religio-racial oppositions cultivated by the ruling classes in Nájera's day.<sup>15</sup> Despite its crusading ethos, the ballad still alludes to the alliances sought across the Andalusi border with Castile: Rodrigo goes on to kill his nephews and sell "sus cabezas al moro que las llevaba" (5) – that is, forge an alliance across the border. Rodrigo's experience of the tenth-century borderland is thus emblematic of complex loyalties and the necessity of interracial interaction. A prophetic declaration then also excludes the role of Andalusis in the *infantes'* demise: "[Rodrigo] no matara a sus sobrinos – los siete infantes de Lara" (4), portraying Rodrigo as the violent "caballero" whose nephews, we can only assume, died by his own hand, although in the chronicle rewritings they are killed by Almanzor's soldiers. Naming Rodrigo "de Lara" – as opposed to Velázquez — is also significant: the epithet explicitly aligns him to Castilian territory and focuses the ensuing narrative on inter-Castilian enmity, all the while refusing to tell the story of the borderland alliances and conflict alluded to in lines 1-5.

A sense of uncertainty begins to permeate "¡Ay Dios!" from these opening lines, which gesture to the ballad's borders with an unknown full(er) story beyond and thus its status as a rewriting. The inaccessibility of Rodrigo's past is also underscored by initial preterit tense; unusual in *romances* that narrate action. It

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<sup>15</sup> Rodrigo demonstrating his valour against an Andalusi rather than a Leonese army is also present in two other ballads on the *materia*, "Ya se salen de Castilla," printed in a *pliego suelto*, and "A Calatrava la vieja," first printed in Nucio's 1550 *Cancionero* (Menéndez Pidal 1963: 97-104). The idiosyncrasy of this detail makes it all the more notable in its print context.

grammatically heightens the finality of Rodrigo's fundamental change from "buen caballero" to a borderland-dwelling traitor. The narrative then shifts into the hypothetical subjunctive:

Si aqueste muriera entonces, - ¡qué grande fama dejara!,  
no matara a sus sobrinos, - los siete infantes de Lara,  
ni vendiera sus cabezas – al moro que las llevaba. (3-5)

The opening five lines function as a summary of the rewritings studied in Chapter One from the perspective of Rodrigo's actions and a tension arises between the ballad's status of fragment and its gesturing towards a larger whole. Time then jolts away from lamentation into action framed by an 'always-already' imperfect tense in line 6: "Ya se trataban sus bodas, con la linda doña Lambra." The transition from the general to the specific here takes its audience's knowledge of the "bodas" for granted, for which "ya" serves as a cue. The anaphora that follows then acts as a mnemonic for the audience to remember what they know of a longer story:

Las bodas se hacen en Burgos, - las tornabodas en Salas;  
las bodas y tornabodas – duraron siete semanas:  
las bodas fueron muy buenas – mas las tornabodas malas. (7-9)

The narrative reaches the present tense and with it the specific episode that forms the rest of the ballad in line 12: "aún faltan por venir – los siete infantes de Lara." The balladeer's quick transition between tenses thus makes known the existence of a story beyond the ballad, relying on a sixteenth-century audience's possible memory of the *materia*. An acknowledgment of this memory sits uncomfortably next to the ballad's own constructions of the story it wants its readers or listeners to recall.

Despite its omission of inter-Christian conflict, “¡Ay Dios!” still makes oblique reference to Navarre and goes on to evoke the instability of internal borderlands through images of penetrable domestic and defensive spaces. The event of the wedding triggers a vast number of itinerant, unhoused guests: “Ya combidan por Castilla, por Castilla y por Navarra / tanta viene de la gente – que no hallaban posadas” (11-12). The ballad’s sole reference to Navarre hints at what Catalán argues is the central conflict of the chronicle rewritings: that of Salas and the territories on the Navarrese border, including Bureba and Vilvestre, represented by Rodrigo and Lambra, rather than of Christian Castile and Muslim Cordova (2001: 29-30).<sup>16</sup> Indeed, the *EE amplificada* not only described guests arriving from Navarre, Portugal and further afield, but also from Lambra’s native Bureba, on the Castile-Navarrese border (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 208).<sup>17</sup>

The omission of any explicit mention of inter-Christian conflict, and Lambra’s Bureban-Navarrese origin, is maintained throughout. Yet much of the ballad is paradoxically taken up with the symbolism of unstable internal spaces within Castile. The arrival of guests for the wedding is chaotic, overpopulating Burgos and Salas with countless outsiders. This usurpation extends to the “posadas” and the anxiety evident in the voice of Sancha in conversation with her sons, the *infantes*. She physically directs them to their lodgings but cautions that “tomedes vuestras

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<sup>16</sup> This is also supported by Thomas Montgomery’s convincing etymological tracing of Lambra’s name to a mythological Basque child-murdering creature (1989: 886).

<sup>17</sup> Menéndez Pidal describes Bureba as “una vasta región que comprende desde la sierra de Oña hasta más de la mitad del curso del río Oca y su cabeza es Bribiesca; hoy forma un partido judicial de la provincia de Burgos” (1971: 12). The ballad “A Calatrava la Vieja,” found in Nucio’s 1550 *Cancionero*, also calls her “doña Lambra de Burueva” (Menéndez Pidal 1963: 102-104).

armas” (20), specifying that “allá ireis a posar – al barrio de Cantarranas” (21). The “posadas” are then described by Sancha as a refuge from fate:

Por Dios os ruego, mis hijos, - no salgáis de las posadas,  
 porque en semejantes fiestas – se urden buenas lanzadas.  
 Ya cabalgan los infantes – y se van a sus posadas,  
 hallaron las mesas puestas – y viandas aparejadas. (22-25)

Sancha draws a contrast between the purportedly safe domestic sphere and that of impending violence or battle. Her fear for her sons leaving the “posadas” insinuates a lack of secure internal boundaries, reflective of the status tenth to eleventh century Castile where conflict raged both internally and with other Christian kingdoms. Line 25 ominously implies that the boundaries protecting those in the *posadas* from the dangers of the outside world are in fact porous. The impersonal phrasing “hallaron las mesas puestas – y viandas aparejadas” suggests an unknown, seemingly all-knowing agent who, like the narrator, is aware of the *infantes’* fate: the “viandas” they have prepared specifically refer to “el sustento de comida que nos da fuerças para caminar, o se dize de vianda Toscano, porque sustenta la vida, o el vivir” (Covarrubias 1674b: fol. 208). Whoever is serving the *infantes* knows the trials that await them. Such persistent allusions to a longer story and its outcome infuse every stage of the ballad with a foreshadowing of death, reflected in the porous borders of both the ballad and the domestic sphere. This is also applicable defensively, for when the youngest *infante* Gonzalvico leaves his *posada* he departs to a *plaza*:

y halló a don Rodrigo que a una torre tira varas,  
 con una fuerça crescida a la otra parte passa. (29-30)

Here Rodrigo penetrates a defensive structure in a display of valour, something Gonzalvico then fails to do (31-32). The connection made between the *infantes’* fate

to insecure domestic spaces as well as defensive ones, directly as a result of the wedding and its vast influx of strangers, signals an anxiety over the permeability of Castile's borders and the potential for internal conflict within them; thus echoing both the regional conflict of earlier rewritings of the *materia* and sixteenth-century Spain's own internal divisions.

The ballad suppresses inter-Christian conflict for a third time in Lambra's reaction to Rodrigo's feat and Gonzalvico's failure to match it: "que más vale un cavallero que cuatro de los de Salas" (35). While this is an affront on the *infantes*, in doing so Lambra is – relatively uncontroversially – praising her husband. The medieval chronicle rewritings as well as two further sixteenth-century ballads ("A Calatrava la vieja" and "Ya se salen de Castilla") all rewrite a similar scene that features a third character beating Gonzalvico: in the ballads it is a *caballero* from Cordova, while in the chronicles it is Álvaro Sánchez, Lambra's cousin, presumably also from the Navarrese borderland.<sup>18</sup> The exclusion of the outsider *caballero* compounds the ballad's earlier omissions of Lambra's origin and Rodrigo's conflict with León. Taken together, these details reveal an anxiety surrounding inter-Christian conflict across Iberia's internal borders which were still relevant and fragile in the sixteenth century.

Sancha then responds to Lambra, telling her not to insult her sons (37-38), and Lambra retorts "pariste siete hijos, como puerca en muladar" (40). The use of "muladar" implies Sancha and her family are uncivilised and lack a secure, clearly

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<sup>18</sup> See Menéndez Pidal (1963: 97-104).

demarcated place to call home. Gonzalvico's subsequent response then verifies the family's incivility and gives weight to Lambra's accusation: "Yo te cortaré las faldas por vergonçoso lugar / por cima de las rodillas un palmo y mucho más" (42-43). The exclusion of Lambra's Navarrese origin and her portrayal as the obsequious wife impedes the heightening of their familial conflict to a level necessary to justify Gonzalvico's crude response in the closing lines, which leaves open the possibility for Rodrigo's response in line 4 to have been *potentially* justifiable and undermines the narrator's moralising against his border-crossing in the process.

"¡Ay Dios!" thus presents an unbalanced conflict in which the villain is unclear by the end. The narrative voice attempts to extol the virtues of conflict and decry cooperation in the borderlands of Castile and al-Andalus, but by framing Lambra's transgression as merely verbal doubt is raised over Rodrigo's culpability. The ballad's resultant moral uncertainty is underscored by the anxiety that emerges surrounding internal borderlands represented by domestic and defensive spaces, revealed to be penetrable, undefined and thus inadequate to prevent the inevitable internal Castilian conflict, triggered by Rodrigo's marriage to the Navarrese Lambra. This anxiety is also structurally evoked in "¡Ay Dios!" in its uneasy reliance on knowledge it presumes on the part of its audience of a longer narrative, which builds dramatic tension. While the geographical frontier between Castile and al-Andalus is only fleetingly mentioned, it is importantly portrayed as just as porous as the boundaries of Castile with Navarre.

How then would a ballad that evinces an anxiety for territorial and factional security, and the possibility for its inhabitants to cooperate with those across geographical

boundaries, be received in the sixteenth century? The unification of the Iberian Christian kingdoms in the wake of the Catholic Monarchs — achieved politically but not practically — could explain the suppression of cross-regional conflict in this ballad. In the fifty years prior to the publishing of the *Silva*, during which “¡Ay Dios!” could have circulated in *pliego suelto* format, Navarre was conquered by Ferdinand in the name of Aragon, subsequently rebelled and eventually ceded to Castile, to whom Ferdinand was forced to hand it over. The portrayal of Rodrigo’s Andalusi alliance in the opening lines is also loaded in the wake of the conquest of Granada and the forced conversion of its Muslim population. Despite Rodrigo’s collaboration with the Andalusi ruler to oust his nephews, Gonzalvico is not portrayed as wholly innocent in the ballad, suggesting some comprehension of Ruy’s cross-border alliance.

The anonymous rewriting therefore abounds with ideological contradictions: while it excludes overt conflict across the Castilian-Navarrese border, it retains an anxiety over internal security and leaves ambiguous the validity of cooperation across the Castile-Andalusi one. This ideological ambiguity is heightened by the ballad’s structural features; namely its invoking of temporalities before and after the events which the audience is encouraged to construct autonomously. The ballad’s composition obviously cannot be attributed to Nájera, a Zaragozaan entrepreneur who most likely compiled extant sources in order to capitalise on the popularity of Nucio’s *Cancionero de romances*. Yet his inclusion of “¡Ay Dios!” — preceding the ballads “Saliendo de Canicosa,” which emphasises Ruy’s orchestration of the battle while omitting reference to Cordova/Almanzor, and “Pártese el moro Alicante,” which narrates the mourning of “toda Córdoba” for the loss of the *infantes*

(Rodríguez Moñino 1970b: 310-311) — is a notable contradiction of contemporary religio-racial homogenisation and regional unification. It is more likely to have been the unknown source of “¡Ay Dios!” that made these changes: perhaps a *pliego* that also contained the other two ballads that were first printed in the *Silva*.

### “Ruy Velázquez el de Lara”<sup>19</sup>

The ballad “Ruy Velázquez el de Lara” (henceforth “Ruy Velázquez”) tells of the vengeance exerted by Ruy on his nephews, the *infantes*. Its context of transcription differs from the anonymous origins of “¡Ay Dios!” and its printing by Nájera: it is attributed to Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, a self-professed compiler of historic ballads under the title *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España* (c. 1551) (*Romances sacados*), where the ballad in question is also printed (1580: fols. 9-10).<sup>20</sup> The *Romances sacados* contains twelve ballads that rewrite the *SIL materia*, and the “historias antiguas” refers to Florián de Ocampo’s 1541 chronicle rewriting, *Las cuatro partes enteras de la crónica de España*.<sup>21</sup> Sepúlveda is considered a pioneer of the *romances eruditos*, or ballads that purport to transpose chronicle content into ballad form (Menéndez Pidal 1963: 164), although recent studies and a closer look at “Ruy Velázquez” demonstrate that his poetry is not so limited in its scope. In the introduction to his edition of the 1551 Steelsio

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<sup>19</sup> All subsequent quotations are taken from Menéndez Pidal (1963: 170-171), referenced by line numbers.

<sup>20</sup> Two early editions of *Romances sacados* exist: one printed by Juan Steelsio in Antwerp in 1551 and another by Martín Nucio, also in Antwerp but undated. Mario Garvin hypothesises that Nucio’s came first (2018b: 75). I have only been able to access a 1580 copy printed by Pedro Bellere, also in Antwerp, and held by the Biblioteca Nacional de España. This is likely a reprint of Steelsio’s due to their shared subtitle: “Añadiose el Romance de la conquista de la ciudad de Africa en Berueria, en el Año M.D.L. y otros diversos, como por la Tabla parece.” Alejandro Higashi (2018) and Garvin (2018a) have recently reproduced Steelsio and Nucio’s editions respectively.

<sup>21</sup> See Garvin (2018a: 203-204) for a list of the ballads and their corresponding chapters in Ocampo.

printing of *Romances sacados*, Higashi disagrees with Menéndez Pidal and notes Sepúlveda's innovative inclusion of an explicitly didactic foreword, with “una perspectiva historicista más explícita” (2018: 91). Alongside the foreword, Higashi also highlights Sepúlveda's editorial innovation of presenting linked ballads consecutively (2018: 119).<sup>22</sup> For his part, Garvin notes how “Sepúlveda es el primero que ofrece completa la historia de los siete Infantes de Salas en romances” (2018a: 62). Garvin and Higashi mark a change in the fortunes of the *romancero historiado* or *erudito*, although the individual poems are yet to be analysed: ground that will now be broken in this chapter.

Sepúlveda's works are not only a symbol of the ballad's entrance into a wider literary marketplace but also the organised dissemination of the *materia* akin to chronicles which were also printed and available for popular audiences in the sixteenth century.<sup>23</sup> “Ruy Velázquez” was later printed in an anonymous *pliego suelto* entitled *Aquí comiençan quatro romances de los siete Infantes de Lara* where it is the last of four ballads.<sup>24</sup> The *pliego* collects ballads that comprise a linked narrative, beginning at the wedding in Burgos and ending at Almenar, as the *infantes* and Ruy Velázquez traverse the undefined borderland with al-Andalus. The *pliego* omits Sepúlveda's authorship, which meant his works went into circulation anonymously while reaching a broader public through the cheaper printed format.

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<sup>22</sup> As a result, Higashi rejects the classification of his ballads as *eruditos*, preferring instead *romances historiados*: “la aparición del romancero historiado en distintos productos editoriales y en un período de tiempo determinado ilustra un auge que hermana imprenta y producción poética, con la intención común de dignificar el romance y adaptarlo a los gustos de la época” (2018: 46).

<sup>23</sup> Ocampo's chronicle was on sale in a Sevillian bookshop in the 1540s which proves “había en Sevilla un interés suficiente por la obra de Ocampo y por la cronística en general” (Garvin 2018a: 45).

<sup>24</sup> Mercedes Fernández Valladares dates the Prague *pliego* to c. 1564-1570 based upon the woodcut used (2005: 1097). Four copies are listed by Rodríguez Moñino in his *Diccionario* (1970a: 406-407). Durán dates it to the sixteenth century (1877: lxvii) as does Menéndez Pidal (1963: 164). The Prague version is reproduced in Menéndez Pidal (1960: 81-88).

In both extant printed editions this ballad therefore sits alongside others that rewrite portions of the *SIL materia* which, when read consecutively, function as a coherent narrative akin to the chronicles. There is an overt push against the kinds of ideological ambiguity that come with an individual ballad divorced in print from the story beyond its formal boundaries. Sepúlveda's edition and the *pliego* both draw clear boundaries between neat narrative units of a larger, coherent whole, and control the readerly audience's reception. Yet these works are nevertheless demarcated as individual poetic compositions and thus deserve individual scrutiny, particularly given the possibility that they were read or sung individually.<sup>25</sup>

Despite this possibility, *Romances sacados* features a prologue in which the poet delineates his view on the genre of the *romancero* and how the subsequent poems ought to be read. Sepúlveda outlines an ascetic desire to purge popular literary consumption of frivolity by making such 'chronicle poetry' available:

Y si las historias gentiles y prophanas dan tan grande contentamiento a los lectores, con ser muchas d'ellas ficciones y mentiras afeytadas: quanto mas sabor dara la obra presente, que no solamente es verdadera y sacada de hystoria la mas verdadera que yo pude hallar: mas va puesto en estilo que vuestra merced lee. (1580: fol. 2)

Although Sepúlveda endorses Ocampo's chronicle by crediting it as a source — a nationalist project which aimed to legitimate both the national and imperial jurisdiction of Charles V<sup>26</sup> — Sepúlveda still sought to capitalise on the *apertura* of

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<sup>25</sup> As Rodríguez Moñino put it, the *pliego* was "el cuadernillo barato que reúne un haz de composiciones para cantar o para leer, patrimonio literario de un pueblo, atendido casi exclusivamente antes a la tradición oral" (1970a: 11).

<sup>26</sup> Helena Alonso García de Rivera identifies the similarities between Carlos V and Alfonso X: the former "actuó legitimando su poder a través de la labor cronística tal y como el rey Sabio había pretendido" (2015: 38-39).

the *romancero*, because he then explains how his ballads are “para aprouecharse los que cantarlos quisieren” (1580: fol. 3). He therefore anticipated their uncontrollable entrance into and reworking by the oral tradition, something later facilitated by the mass-produced *pliego*.

“Ruy Velázquez” begins with Ruy having sent Gonzalo Gustioz to Cordova and invites the *infantes* to join him in battle. We witness the *infantes* moving towards the Campo de Almenar in an ambiguous borderland, while their *amo* Nuño Salido interrupts this process after the augury of bad omens.<sup>27</sup> “Ruy Velázquez” does not follow its purported source — the *Tercera parte* of Ocampo’s chronicle — exactly. A close comparison of the ballad to Ocampo corroborates Higashi’s view that “no es producto del mero rimar y acomodar sílabas; detrás de cada verso, se aprecia una cuidadosa selección de la información” (2018: 76), and Garvin’s, that “suaviza ciertos rasgos tremendistas de la Crónica” (2018a: 82). The ballad omits the populace’s joy at the news of the — ultimately treacherous — expedition into Andalusi territory led by Ruy Velázquez as well as Gonzalo González’s second, ruder retort to Nuño Salido on the omens, “callad vos desta razon” (Ocampo 1541: fol. cclxiii). The ballad also includes new references to a “vía” in line 30 and one to “Castilla” in the penultimate line and elaborates the bird omens sensed by Nuño (23-24). Sepúlveda’s poem is therefore an autonomous poetic creation whose language, form and structure work against the closed ideological imperatives in the prologue. As a fragmented, medievalist rewriting it makes frequent gestures to a larger

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas Glick notes that Almenara — from the same etymological root as Almenar — is in fact an Arabism from the Arabic word for ‘watchtower’: even in name the location is paradigmatic of the frontier landscape, both natural and man-made (1999: 62).

narrative like “¡Ay Dios!” while also retaining a topographical and moral ambiguity throughout.

In both the *Romances sacados* and the *pliego*, “Ruy Velázquez” is preceded by the ballad “Muy grande era el lamentar” and in the former it is also followed by “Llegados son los Infantes.” Yet if it is read alone, apart from a prescribed larger narrative as an orally transmitted ballad would be, its uncertain status in relation to a story beyond, as well as the episode’s interstitial location in the borderlands between Castile and al-Andalus, come to the fore. Taken alone the ballad gestures just as uncertainly to a story before and beyond its 35 lines: we begin with sparse detail of Ruy Velázquez’s “gran maldad” (1) and by the end the *infantes* and Nuño have made little progress, still suspended in the ominous location of the borderland, the laws of which the former are unable to comprehend. It begins with news of Gonzalo Gustioz’s journey to Cordova, “para que luego lo mate Almançor, que aí residía” (3), dismissing his power with the verb “residir.” The omission of Almanzor’s jurisdiction and thus the strength of Ruy’s Andalusí alliance begins an uncertain journey away from Castile. Ruy persuades the *infantes* to join him in battle at Almenar (7), which is the second of seven toponyms that appear in this relatively short ballad: Córdoba, Almenar, Febros, Barbadillo, “un pinar,” Salas, and Castilla. From line 14 onwards the ballad narrates a linear “carrera” towards and through a borderland that becomes increasingly undefined as anxiety permeates *en route* due to inauspicious omens. The indistinct topography of the borderland is moreover underscored visually in every edition of the *pliego* cited above. Each features a lone woodcut illustration below its title that emphasises its borderland location: One depicts a “hueste saliendo de una ciudad” (Rodríguez Moñino 1970a: 406); another

“representa a varios jinetes en las afueras de una ciudad” (Ibid) while a third is an image of “caballeros y dama, a caballo, en el campo” (Ibid: 407). Each image thus represents a group *in medias res*; exiled from the urban safety of Castile with unclear future prospects.

Leaving Barbadillo in line 16 the route immediately becomes uncertain, and natural imagery permeates over distinctive locations: “llegados a un pinar que en la carrera se hacía” (18). The “pinar” is where Nuño Salido senses the omens and invokes the security of Salas:

Díxoles: — Tornaos, Infantes, a Salas la vuestra villa,  
no pasemos adelante, malos agüeros avía.  
Un buho da grandes gritos, un águila se carpía,  
cuervos muy mal la aquexavan, yo de aquí no pasaría. (21-24)

Nuño’s description of the *agüeros* not only departs from Ocampo’s chronicle but also draws a sharp contrast between “la vuestra villa” and the uninhabited, animalistic borderlands in which they now find themselves, and where the omens can indeed appear. The borderland is thus a site of a belief system not proper to either Christianity or Islam. The *infante* Gonzalo then rebukes Nuño: “que el agüero que dezís a nos nada no empecía / sino al que haze la hueste y por mayor la regía” (27-28). While he is unable to understand the natural signs read by Nuño in the borderlands, Gonzalo’s own disorientation in the unspecified location becomes clear in his reference to “la hueste,” a vague description of the motivation for their journey. His naivety is foreshadowed earlier in the ballad by the *infantes’* response to Ruy’s specific — and again toponym-laden — instructions (11-13) with an undefined reference to “la tierra” where they find themselves. The *infantes* are thus

displaced by the borderland expedition and blind to its workings and idiosyncratic value system, including Ruy Velázquez's "palabras engañosas" (5) and the natural omens. Nuño in response is able to read the landscape and gives specific geographical directions that the *infantes* should take: "porque vais essa carrera, que lleváis muy mala guía / ca tales agüeros vide non bolveréis a Castilla" (34-35). The "carrera" Nuño references has transcended beyond the geographical to the naïve pursuit of a metaphorical journey based upon their misguided belief in Ruy. Nuño's anxiety is moreover underscored by the ballad's quickening "ia" assonance, which is not only facilitated by imperfect verbs that accelerate the action but also by crucial terms such as "villa," "vía," "Castilla" and "vida," whose deferral to the end of the lines underscores the urgency of the *infantes* returning back to the demarcated safety of Castile and its jurisdiction.

The journey of the *infantes* into the borderland of Almenar is unclear even at the ballad's close, by which point the audience cannot fathom where the "Castilla" Nuño gestures to, far off in the distance, actually might be (35). The reference to "Castilla" is notably absent from Ocampo and functions in juxtaposition to the events of "Córdoba" at the start of the ballad. The ballad therefore attempts to ground a journey into the borderland geographically; a backward logic that fails given we begin with the location that the *infantes* journey towards and end with a retrospective gesturing to their starting point that cannot be recovered. The journey thus disorients audience, character and narrator and the idea of the borderland as a lawless, hybrid place of mixed loyalties persists. The ballad's focus on the uncertainty of the borderlands between Castile and al-Andalus, as well as a failure to compartmentalise and locate the narrative between these two locations (with the

backwards logic of *Córdoba – Castilla*) make it more than just an attempt at versifying historiography. Although a reader of Sepúlveda's *Romances sacados* would then quickly be able to locate the *infantes* in the next ballad — beginning “Llegados son los Infantes” — a listener or reader of the *pliego* would be cut off with Nuño's ominous farewell: “de vos yo me despedia” (36), leaving both the *infantes* and the reader/listener to determine their fate.

As an individual poem and as the end to the *pliego*, “Ruy Velázquez” goes beyond Sepúlveda's purported aim simply to rhyme chronicles. As an autonomous poetic structure it conveys the power of the borderland over those who cannot fathom it — namely the *infantes* — and thus leaves its audience with a prevailing anxiety for the in-between space it narrates. While Beltran has read Sepúlveda's works as a possible endorsement of the Manriques de Lara, this hypothesis lacks evidence and is weakened by the contents of ballads like “Ruy Velázquez” that portray the *infantes* unheroically, as unable to understand the danger of the borderland so clearly articulated to them by Nuño.<sup>28</sup> Instead the ballad's borderland anxiety could be read in its mid-sixteenth century print context as emblematic of Castile's own disempowerment: the monarchy's centre yet also another of its peripheries, sharing borderlands not only with other Iberian kingdoms but with new imperial territories still in the process of annexation.

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<sup>28</sup> Beltran conjectures that “en la edición de Nucio [de *Romances sacados*] se añade al título la precisión de que el autor era vezino de Seuilla, lo que nos devuelve a la sospecha de si la preeminencia de este ciclo tendría que ver con la presencia de un Manrique al frente del arzobispado de la ciudad” (2017-2018: 77).

**“Sentados a un ajedrez”<sup>29</sup>**

The earliest transcribed version of the ballad beginning “Sentados a un ajedrez” (henceforth “Sentados”) is likely lost, as the earliest evidence for it is contained within *La gran comedia de los famosos hechos de Mudarra* (1583), with which it shares character names and whole lines, as well as a notable series of *redondillas* (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 127). That we do not have an earlier source than the *comedia* does not preclude the idea that it existed in an earlier ballad form, yet it is included here in order to analyse what made this ballad particularly attractive to dramatists, given the scene later reappears in Lope’s *Bastardo* (1612).<sup>30</sup> The earliest printing of the ballad to be studied is taken from the second part of the *Silva de varios romances* compiled by Juan de Mendaño (1588). Other than Rodríguez Moñino’s edition, there is very little information available on either Mendaño or the context of his *Silva*’s publication. As “Sentados” appears there in full for the first time, however, and is mentioned only five years earlier in the *Famosos hechos*, the ballad can be considered a product of the late-sixteenth century. I propose that as a ballad wholly set in al-Andalus featuring Muslim characters its ethos stands in stark contrast to the official line taken against *moriscos* in the aftermath of the suppression of the Alpujarra rebellion (1568-73), sparked after Phillip II’s 1567 decree banning spoken and written Arabic and Arabic names, and the seizure of Arabic literature. Although Muslims were forcibly dispersed from Granada after the

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<sup>29</sup> All subsequent citations are taken from Rodríguez Moñino (1966: fols. 1-3) as line numbers.

<sup>30</sup> *Los famosos hechos* remains inedited and survives in one 1585 manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional (BNE 14.864: ff. 178v-211r). That the *comedia* is the source for the ballad is still in doubt because it also uses earlier ballads to construct its plot (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 127). The three-act play stages Mudarra’s vengeance, focusing on his murder of Ruy Velázquez and his immolation of Lambra in her home, and the episode that either draws on or inspired the ballad in question occurs in the first act (Ibid: 353-363). See also Manuel Cuenca Cabeza (2014).

uprising, Arabic-speaking enclaves and adherence to their faith – albeit in the form of crypto-Islam – persisted. Internal boundaries between religious and racial identities were thus far from clearly defined despite attempts on the part of the crown to homogenise.

“Sentados” in fact contradicts the officialised doctrine on forced conversion and suppression of *morisco* culture by depicting the struggle of a mixed-race character to define himself across the borderland. The ballad was moreover likely attractive to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century playwrights due to Mudarra’s realisation of the performativity and arbitrariness of the socially imposed categories of race and legitimacy, a theme taken up by Lope’s play studied in Chapter Four. It is also important to note the ubiquity of the ballad’s story in the late sixteenth century: the events of “Sentados” formed a well-known local tradition in the community of Segura de la Sierra — once a contested border village in the province of Jaén — which is represented in the ballad by the King of Segura. The ballad’s plot was reported to those who visited the village on behalf of Philip II to record the *Relaciones topográficas* (1575), not long before the first manuscript testimony of “Sentados” in *Los famosos hechos de Mudarra*, dated to 1583 (see Genaro Navarro López (1971)). Beltran makes the connection between the local tradition and the fact that Segura was “encomienda de Rodrigo Manrique” (2017-2018: 76), a descendant of the medieval Laras; a possible explanation for the community’s identification with the story. Beltran does however overlook the significance of what was once a thirteenth-century frontier settlement seeking to define itself not only by way of the *SIL materia* but specifically using the border-crosser Mudarra and his experiences in al-Andalus.

The ballad depicts a scene wholly set at Almanzor's court and is much elaborated in contrast to the chronicle rewritings, although it shares their focus on *juego* as a metaphor for the arbitrary negotiation of religious, racial identity.<sup>31</sup> Mudarra is playing chess with the Seguran King, Aliatar, while his uncle Almanzor and his mother Haxa are present. His mother Haxa is described as also being in service to Aliatar, likely as his concubine. Mudarra wrestles with his own mother's sexuality which serves as a foil for his anger in the face of his self-identification later in the ballad. The ballad charts the gradual revelation of Mudarra's identity as half-Castilian and half-Andalusi, locating him between both cultures while present physically on one side alone. Alongside gameplay, ocular imagery is employed to reveal the subjective nature of racial and religious differentiation. Mudarra's visual misinterpretation of the chess game has fatal consequences for his opponent, while sight and appearances superficially become the site of truth in the latter half of the ballad. Mudarra is thus unconsciously aware of the arbitrariness of identity categories, opening up the fluidity of the boundaries between them, given his status changes only through the words of others.

There is a lexical emphasis on movement and speed from the ballad's opening, which begins at a slower, meditative pace in contrast to the more action-orientated poems considered thus far:

Sentados á un ajedrez, - Despacio su juego entablan

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<sup>31</sup> Mudarra plays chess with the King of Segura in the *C1344*, although the exchange featured in the ballad does not take place. Menéndez Pidal believes the chronicle scene "proviene de la 'Chanson' escrita á fines del siglo XIII sobre la historia de Galien" (1971: 32), but this may not be the chronicle's source, particularly given the interest in tabletop games in thirteenth-century Castile discussed in Chapter One.

Aliatar, rey de Segura, - Y el gran bastardo Mudarra,  
Delante el rey Almanzor - Y en la presencia de Axa. (1-3)

The opening lines introduce the scene with a hyperbaton that underscores the material aspects of the courtly setting. Mudarra and Aliatar enter into the game with care and consideration, as they continue to play “Discurriendo van por lances, Juegan con destreza y maña” (5). The chess game plays a similar function here as the game of *tablas* did in the *C1344* and *Toledana* in Chapter One: it triggers a public shift in Mudarra’s identity. Chess also has precedent in the sixteenth-century *romancero*, forming a central motif in the *fronterizo* “El romance de Fajardo,” in print in 1550, some three decades before “Sentados a un ajedrez” (Correa Rodríguez 1999: 332). Yiacoup’s analysis of the former ballad traces the history of chess and its likely introduction to Iberia through al-Andalus (2013b: 274-275) and cites Jenny Adams’ explanation of the game’s multivalent significance in the medieval period:

[Chess] encoded anxieties about political organization, civic community, economic exchange, and individual autonomy, while the actual game in real life was seen to model an ideal civic order based on contractual obligation and exchange. (2006: 2)

Akin to the *tablas* game in the chronicles, chess enables its players to model anxieties about individual and collective identities, something clearly reflected in “Sentados” as the game prompts Mudarra’s negotiation of his mixed heritage and illegitimacy. Soon after it begins, the narrative voice disrupts the temporal scheme of the ballad’s story by calling Mudarra “el gran bastardo” (2), a contradictory epithet, at once disparaging and lauding, which spoils the slow revelation of his identity that constitutes the remainder of the poem. The narrative voice uneasily

reveals itself to be aware of Mudarra's story beyond the boundaries of the ballad, thus pointing the audience towards the existence of a longer narrative. Mudarra's status as *bastardo* is then linked to Haxa's infidelity: the narrator's praise — "Mora, que sirve Aliatar de mucho donaire y gracia" (4) — is sarcastic in light of the narrator's wider knowledge of Mudarra being "el gran bastardo." The upcoming material presence of gameplay is thus foreshadowed linguistically in the omniscient, yet potentially sarcastic, narration.

The narrator in fact continues to play with the audience in its selective knowledge and ambiguous language, reminiscent of the meta-historiographical techniques of the chronicles. The narrative builds dramatic tension with the ominous aside, "Que pierde mucho el que pierde – Y gana mucho el que gana" (6) which alludes to the high stakes for something the audience could only identify if they mapped upon this ballad other, potentially divergent, rewritings of Mudarra's trajectory. The narrator then obscures the events leading up to Mudarra murdering Aliatar:

El moro rey que los ojos – tiene puestos en quien ama,  
Tocó una pieza por otra – jugando una treta falsa. (7-8)

Here the audience would not necessarily immediately identify "el moro Rey" with Aliatar, as we have also been introduced to "el rey Almançor" (3). The narrator thus plays with the linguistic ambiguity and blurs the roles of Aliatar the step-father and Almanzor the uncle. Whichever king is in fact distracted by looking at the one he loves (Haxa) executes a false move, which Mudarra interprets as trickery: "[no conoce] ni si por ver á su mora vino á jugar o jugaba" (10). The pace of the ballad picks up as the slow measured gameplay is interrupted by the Andalusí King's desire

for “su mora” which could also refer to Haxa’s role as either lover or sister. The possibility thus remains that Mudarra is in fact reacting to the Seguran King’s interest in his mother, rather than his cheating at the chess game, which would explain the extent of Mudarra’s subsequent anger. He destroys the palace, throwing furniture, and has no qualms at subverting Aliatar’s authority and the social hierarchy of the Cordovan court: “Que aunque no soy rey, la injuria, Con quien me enoja, me iguala” (14). The King responds by insulting Mudarra for his most obvious congenital trait: “Llámale bajo y espurio, Hijo de ninguno, y nada” (16). Ambiguity as to Mudarra’s racial background remains: at this point he could still be the illegitimate son of two Andalusis, rather than a Castilian.<sup>32</sup> Mudarra responds with unfettered violence, splitting the King’s head open then and there, foreshadowing his willingness to engage in violent vengeance in Castile; another context in which he is the social inferior. His murder of the King is then tellingly qualified by the narrator as being “sin reparo alguno” (19) which propels his exile to Castile.

After Aliatar’s death, the game’s slow start is then contrasted abruptly by Mudarra moving “con presteza” (21) to another room in the palace to talk to his mother. The narrator displaces any potential grief Haxa might have by suggesting she is only “ya del ruido alboratada” (22). Mudarra then confronts her with a long soliloquy:

Importa, enemiga madre, - al enojo con que vengo  
 Decirme el padre que tengo, - Porque importa tener padre;  
 Que yo por muy claro siento - Que tengo padre, y buen padre,  
 Por tener tan buena madre, - O por mi buen pensamiento.  
 No quiero á mis ojos ver - Quien me diga en tiempo alguno  
 Que soy hijo de ninguno, - Pues alguno me dió ser;  
 Y si tú, fortuna, sobras - en darme mal importuno,

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<sup>32</sup> “Espurio” is also a specific juridical term, found in Alfonso X’s *Siete Partidas* to refer to a child of a “barragana” or concubine and a man of high social status (1992: 292). The King of Segura’s insult is thus highly ironic, given the insinuates that Haxa is now *his* concubine.

Quando no sea de ninguno - seré hijo de mis obras. (23-30)

Mudarra is the only character granted speech in “Sentados,” and his soliloquy dissonantly breaks with the regular a-a assonance of the rest of the ballad. The interpolated *redondillas* instead form an ABBA rhyme scheme. Mudarra’s attitude towards his mother is as ambiguous as the narration: he calls her “enemiga” but then gives her a veiled complement that he must have a good father “por tener tan buen madre” – although it could also be because he has “buen pensamiento.” Mudarra’s speech also furthers the ballad’s ocular emphasis: his desire for selective vision “no quiero á mis ojos ver – quien me diga...” is somewhat incongruous to the way in which he first received the accusation of illegitimacy (through hearing) and harks back to his unreliable vision during the chess game. The rhymed link between the infinitives “ver” and “ser” thus gestures towards an indelible connection between appearances and identity, rendering the latter a superficial construct. It then ends with an address to “fortuna” which jolts the ballad from its medieval setting to the sixteenth century, granting Mudarra a stoic tone: “seré hijo de mis obras.” It once again foreshadows what Mudarra goes on to do — murder a social superior — and subtly invokes the audience’s possible memories of the story’s end. Mudarra’s resolution to overcome the social constructions of illegitimacy and race through his own *obras* becomes a central concern in Lope’s *Bastardo*, for which “Sentados” could have served as more than just the inspiration for one scene.

The ballad’s emphasis on the visual as a site of truth and a trigger for identity change continues with Haxa’s reaction: “Afligida está la mora - Por verse del hijo que ama” (31). The audience is then only granted a second-hand description of her reaction:

Le descubre todo el hecho - Del de Bustos y el de Lara;  
 Y otras razones le dijo – Salidas de allá del alma,  
 Por lo cual vino á tomar - De sus hermanos venganza. (36-38)

That Haxa is denied direct speech means that the ballad reveals an unstable, undefined boundary with a larger narrative that is entirely undefined and omitted, reduced metonymically to “el hecho del de Bustos y el de Lara.” In a few short closing lines the balladeer ruptures the poem’s own borders and opens up a multitude of interpretive possibilities that rely on an audience’s pre-knowledge — if any — of a longer story that constitutes more of the *SIL materia*.

“Sentados” thus not only questions the validity of staunchly demarcated borders of religious and racial identity but also of the ballad form itself. It narrates a shorter episode than the events described by “¡Ay Dios!” and “Ruy Velázquez” and is thus more reliant upon a fluid *materia* beyond. In doing so it makes Mudarra’s background just as constructed, ephemeral and unfathomable as the narrative it allusively appeals to. A pervading sense of “play” thus emerges between balladeer and audience: the narrative voice has a selective omniscience and purposefully withholds information to allow certain parts of the ballad to retain multiple meanings or even remain indecipherable. The reduction of Mudarra’s change in status – both legally and religiously – to a performative game moreover calls into question the dominant ideologies of Mendaño’s day and arguably reflects a social reality of hybrid, mixed identities persisting from the Iberian Middle Ages to the late sixteenth century.

### “El rey de los moros”<sup>33</sup>

Like the three preceding ballads, “El rey de los moros” both reflects the sociocultural situation of its performance and dialogues with an ongoing tradition of rewriting the *SIL materia*. It was sung in New York in 1959 by a member of the Sephardic diaspora of the Ottoman Empire and recorded by Isaac Levy. A complex history marked by acceptance and assimilation as well as violent rejection meant that the Sephardic diaspora had a complicated and ambivalent attitude towards the Ottoman state: the Tanzimāt reform period (1839-1876) led to the promulgation of citizenship and sumptuary laws that promoted equality between the religions of the Empire and aimed to promote patriotism. As a result, “Ottoman Jewry had no counter-narrative to Empire” (Phillips Cohen 2014: 10). By the late nineteenth century, overt displays of patriotism (such as the 1892 quadricentenary celebrations of the acceptance of Sephardic Jews in 1492) coexisted with a scepticism towards army conscription and a lack of access to state schools and bureaucratic jobs (Ibid: 11-15). The patriotism felt by Ottoman Jews, including the Sephardic diaspora, was thus “an ongoing, contested and evolving project” (Ibid: 15).

Large-scale emigration from the Empire to the United States and Western Europe was triggered well before the Second World War by a number of factors. While the dominant narrative is that many emigrated to avoid conscription, this is merely speculative, especially in the case of the large Jewish community at Salonika studied

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<sup>33</sup> All subsequent quotations are taken from the Castilianised transcription by Menéndez Pidal (1963: 214) based upon Isaac Levy’s *ladino* recording (1959: 50-51), in the form of line numbers.

by Devin E. Naar (2007: 446).<sup>34</sup> The Greek occupation and subsequent rebuilding of the city alienated many Jews who still felt allegiance to the Ottoman Empire, an allegiance that continued in their new homelands (Ibid: 455). Ottoman Sephardic Jews living in New York established the *ladino* newspaper *La Amerika* in 1910, continuing to refer to the empire as ‘patria’ and to themselves as Ottomans (Phillips Cohen 2014: 134-135). Julia Phillips Cohen has also studied the advertisements published in the same newspaper, one of which advertises Turkish coffee for sale with a Turkish slogan well-known to Ottoman Jews and thus “indicates the extent to which Ottoman Jews had adopted the symbols of their state and claimed them as their own” (Ibid: 135).

The singer and sociocultural situation of the ballad is therefore marked by multiple levels of diaspora. In his study of Sephardic cultural production both before and after 1492, David A. Wacks speaks of the community’s status as a double diaspora, given they already considered themselves to be living in a diaspora in Iberia pre-1492, a diaspora doubled after the expulsion of 1492 when Spanish – later known as *ladino* - became a diasporic Jewish language (2015: 1-2). Wacks views a diasporic consciousness as one that “implies an originary culture [...] and the varied expression of that culture when it responds to the resources of the local host culture” (2015: 9). In “El rey de los moros,” I argue that a *triple* diasporic consciousness emerges, as its singer is an Ottoman Sephardic Jewish emigrant in the US, whose ancestors had previously left Spain. It depicts an unspecified, racially

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<sup>34</sup> Naar explains that by the early twentieth century “the Ottoman state provided the Jews and other monotheistic non-Muslim populations—namely Christians—with the power of self-organization in exchange for certain taxes. Salonika, Istanbul (the imperial capital), and Izmir represented the largest urban Jewish communities according to this framework” (2007: 440).

homogeneous borderland marked neither by political boundaries nor cultural categories.

Before analysing the poem, it is apposite to consider how, at such a great temporal and geographical distance from the medieval Castile of the chronicles, “El rey de los moros” is part of the *materia*, especially given the anonymity of its characters and the hybrid nature of its setting. Menéndez Pidal has postulated that its narrative echoes an older ballad with the opening line “Sacóme de la prisión,” which narrates Gonzalo Gustioz’s experience as a prisoner of Almanzor in Cordova (1963: 214). The definition of the *materia* given in the introduction was not exclusive or delimited; indeed this thesis constitutes the first analysis of its diachronic evolution that could grow to encompass less overt, programmatic rewritings. “El rey de los moros” thus demonstrates how the *materia*’s remit can expand to encompass texts that only obliquely share scenes, action and characters with earlier rewritings. The ballad’s anonymities are in fact crucial to its triple-diasporic recreation and reflective of this community’s links to Iberia.

The analysis that follows discusses whether a ballad recounted in a triple diasporic state retains any sense of lamentation or loss, as well as how it evokes the self-definition of an incipient yet still minoritized community in the New York of the 1950s; one that continued to profess cultural loyalty to the by-then disintegrated Ottoman Empire. As a medievalist work the ballad moreover presents a dislocated view of the Iberian Middle Ages with a narrative voice that is distanced from and unsure of the events it recounts. The triple diasporic context also permeates the ballad’s presentation of identity, as any sense of physical border-crossing as well as

racial or religious difference is effaced in contrast to earlier rewritings of the *materia*. While the spatial borderlands and social reality of medieval Iberia and the earliest rewritings are at a distance, “El rey de los moros” paradoxically maintains a close knowledge of events to come and thus reveals its connection to the tradition of Iberian medievalism.

The ballad begins with the summoning of an anonymous man from prison. What then follows is the removal of a cloth from the table by an unknown group of men to unveil an unspecified number of bloodied heads, revealed to be the prisoner’s sons and their companion:

El rey de los moros – de las prisiones lo llamaría,  
 en el saray lo sentava – y comidas le daría  
 tanto bueno hay presente – que el alma le estremeçía:  
 — Ni sé si era por bien, ni sé si era por negro.  
 En medio de las fiestas - el mantel de la mesa quitarían,  
 demandar le demandavan – si las cavezas conoçía; (1-6)

What is immediately striking from the opening lines the intrusion of this uncertain first person narrator in line four, uncertain as to the King’s motives and the reason for the prisoner’s captivity. The speaker is thus marked with a diasporic distance from the well-known, repeated character names of the *materia* found in the aforementioned ballads and the later afterlives to be studied in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. This distance is then underscored by the pervasive anonymity of almost all characters, beginning with the prisoner, unnamed and objectified only as “lo,” who emerges on the demand of an unidentified “rey moro” who presumably has jurisdiction over a prison and its territory. A clue is then given

as to the location, the “saray” (Turkish “sarayı”), a castle or government building peculiar to the Ottoman Empire, where the action unfolds.

Linked to the overall anonymity of the scene’s actors is the lack of racial and religious differentiation between characters who in other rewritings of the *SIL materia* are characterised as either Muslim-Andalusi, Christian-Castilian or mixed-race. No religious identity other than “moro” (1) and “morica” (12) is mentioned here, effacing the cross-cultural borderland interactions of other rewritings and locating the ballad in a homogenised Muslim state, potentially reflective of the ironically exclusive utopian nineteenth-century policies of the Ottoman Empire before its collapse, whereby the Tanzimāt reforms posited religious and racial equality for Muslims, Jews and Christians. Yet this utopian vision was far from the reality, as although Ottoman Jews expressed nationalism,

[...] to dwell on the year 1492 as a moment of Jewish redemption emphasized their status as symbolic immigrants, and thus had the effect of excluding Jews from discursive constructions of Ottoman identity. Although the idea of the Jews as guests became pronounced as racial definitions of Turkishness took root during the early Turkish Republican era, clearly, it was present already in the late Ottoman period. (Phillips Cohen 2014: 141)

Towards the end of the empire’s existence, then, and prior to mass waves of emigration, Jews were still ideologically excluded from Ottoman identity, which is similarly configured here in “El rey moro” as solely Muslim, despite the ballad’s allusions to earlier iterations of the *SIL materia* set in Iberia and featuring Iberian Christians. The cultural heritage of the Sephardic diaspora is thus indelibly marked by its experience in the Ottoman Empire; the racial difference that may have once

been prominent in the *materia* is effaced and replaced with an exclusively Muslim milieu.

The erasure of boundaries between religious and racial identities in the ballad is, however, paradoxically counterweighted by the ballad's structural borders, evoking the diaspora's complex history of boundary-crossing that is also central to other rewritings of the *SIL materia*. The ritualistic presentation of the heads is marked by anonymity whereby "el rey moro" is absolved of culpability; an anonymous group "el mantel de la mesa quitarían" (5), leaving open the question of the victims' demise and the culprit. Further narrative judgments create an overwhelming sense of ill-fate regarding the unknown full(er) story, harking back to the mythic, pre-Christian customs found in the medieval Castilian chronicles whereby the borderland is ruled by omens and lacks a distinct belief system:

enbueñas estaban de sangre, - conoçer no las podia,  
Malogrado fue el padre - que todas las conoçía,  
de sus hijos cada una - y de su moço tan querido. (7-9)

In the closing lines, the narrator continues to hint at a story beyond the ballad but refuses to tell it:

¡Malaña, el cavallero, que tal cosa él haría,  
con un saco de çeniza a llorar se metería!  
¡Quén salvará a sus hijos, sino'quel de la morica!  
Ya se arma, ya se viste, a vengar ya se iya. (10-13)

The "cavallero" in line 10 is a further example of an anonymised agent who is obliquely made responsible for "tal cosa" – likely the beheading of the sons – yet this is never clarified. The "cavallero" could equally refer to the father who has just

identified the heads, who is presumably then condemned “a llorar.” There is thus narrative ambiguity regarding who is responsible for what, and what fate awaits each actor. Emphasis is instead placed on the only concrete details given in the final lines which serve to explain what will happen next, in both the future and present tenses. The narrative voice is aware that the father’s grief will be avenged, by “*Que de la morica,*” yet another anonymised figure. While we can assume it is her offspring, the narrative voice relies on audience complicity to fill in the gaps of this anonymised story with a presumably pre-existing larger tradition. The ballad’s dialogue with a pre-existing tradition is made linguistically evident in the use of narrative voice and an uneasy combination of tenses, in a manner similar to “*¡Ay Dios!*”

The temporal location of the ballad is then jolted by the final line 13 with the inceptive “*ya,*” a device present in older ballads yet paradoxically invoked here to bring the narrative into the present: we are no longer in a nostalgic or legendary mode, “*el de la morica*” has arrived in the present as the balladeer sings, “*ya se arma, ya se viste, a vengar ya se iya,*” as if the process of vengeance is ongoing; it has not yet been achieved at the moment of the ballad’s performance and is still being prepared for. “*El rey de los moros*” therefore lacks the satisfying closure of the chronicle accounts of vengeance by suggesting that there is more to do. The idea of ongoing work to avenge past sorrow, that of the “*malogrado*” father, refracts the mentality of the triple diaspora, whose history and cultural heritage is still present in the moment of this ballad’s performance and still being resolved. The ballad thus exemplifies how an orally composed and transmitted work dialogues with prior

tradition, enabling it to reflect both on its moment of performance or transcription as well as the painful history of the diasporic literary tradition it seeks to continue.

### Conclusions

This chapter has aimed to account for the exceptionality of the *romancero* as a unique form of rewriting without romanticising it; to explore its special status as a corpus of texts that epitomise the *apertura* of medievalism. A journey through four of the *materia's* afterlives in the ballad tradition, incredibly varied in their contexts of printing and/or transcription, reveals the centrality of the borderland to their content, structure, and language. What is remembered by each balladeer is the *materia's* status as a series of medievalist rewritings that are inevitably open to future emendation and recasting. This emerges in each ballad's gesturing to a longer story beyond its boundaries which constitutes an overt demand for audience involvement in the construction of meaning.

For all his insistence upon a shared semiotic root that is unchanging from one ballad to the next despite variance, Catalán ends his study on *apertura* by lamenting that diachronic philological studies have not really answered “qué propósitos mueven a los trasmisores de una crónica alterar la narración tradicional” (1997: 182). The same goes for ballad studies, and it is a lacuna that I have filled here with a study of four unstudied rewritings of the *SIL materia*. Finally, the borderlands of these medievalist poems also challenge extant taxonomies of the *romancero viejo*; namely the existence of a *fronterizo* sub-category as distinct from the *histórico-épicos*

amongst which these four ballads are usually considered.<sup>35</sup> This chapter therefore makes a case for broadening the *fronterizo* category to include those that rewrite earlier medieval borderlands, or indeed for doing away with ballad categories altogether in order to understand the relevance of poetic medievalisms in early modern Spain.

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<sup>35</sup> In Martin Nuncio's *Cancionero* (1551) and, later, Durán (1877), they are categorised as "romances relativos a la historia de España" (Durán 1877: 439). In Menéndez Pidal's *Flor nueva de romances viejos* (1933) they are *romances históricos*. Díaz Roig (2005) follows, calling them *histórico-épicos*. Pedro Correa Rodríguez's anthology excludes ballads set on earlier medieval frontiers (1999).

## Chapter Three

### **Innovating Medievalism for the Stage: Juan de la Cueva's *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara* (1579)**

Juan de la Cueva's (1543–1612) historical *tragedias* and *comedias* are credited with being the earliest extant evidence of medievalist theatre in early modern Spain. His *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara* (1579) (henceforth *Infantes*) is the first recreative transformation of the *SIL materia* beyond the traditional confines of the chronicle — where it appears as a linear, historically framed narrative — and the fragmentary ballad tradition, where snapshots of a larger story are narrated retrospectively. Before its earliest Sevillian audience of 1579, *Infantes* unfolded with a hitherto alien immediacy whereby historical time is dissolved into a suspended, yet instantaneous, theatrical time.<sup>1</sup> Central to Cueva's staging of the *materia* is this dramatic shift of the tenth century into the present which exposes the limitless potential of medievalism as a paradoxically forward-looking literary mode, with its characters transforming their pasts into actionable futures. In both structure and theme, *Infantes* newly rewrites the medieval to anticipate the future, thus exposing medievalism's productive capacity to subvert dominant discourses of both literary history and to propose alternatives to contemporary circumstances.

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<sup>1</sup> The first printed copy states that *Infantes* was first performed in 1579 at the Huerta de Doña Elvira in Seville by Alonso Rodríguez's theatre company, which also performed two further *comedias* by Cueva during the same year and at the same location (Cebrián 1992: 195). See also N. D. Shergold (1955).

While Cueva is renowned as the first to rewrite medieval Iberian literary material for the stage, his history plays have not yet been analysed in this way; that is, as a pivotal moment in the development of literary medievalism that reacts to prior tradition. There is also a dichotomy in Cueva studies between those who dismiss his theatre on qualitative, aesthetic grounds — such as the critiques levelled at *Infantes* by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1922: 290), Marcel Bataillon (1935), Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1971: 121-126), Alfredo Hermenegildo (1973: 301), and Susan de Carvalho (1988) — and those who stress Cueva’s innovative contribution to Spanish drama; notably Francisco de Icaza (1953), Antonio López Fonseca (2014) and Sofie Kluge (2020). The latter group have focused on Cueva’s transformation of classical precedent and how *Infantes* portrays the past, yet have failed to reconcile *Infantes*’ novelty as a hybrid popular-classical tragedy with its setting, plot and character, and how both together would resonate in the society for which it was written. Icaza highlights Cueva’s “audacia innovadora, que le hace abrir caminos que otros han de recorrer y de los que él se aparta para buscar nueva senda” (1953: xxiv). López Fonseca meanwhile explores Cueva’s appropriation of Senecan tragedy, and how “se rebela contra la tradición clásica y erudita, alejándose del rigorismo técnico del clasicismo” (2014: 291), an argument that could equally be made for Cueva’s flexible use of medieval literary culture. Kluge deems *Infantes* a mourning play, or *Trauerspiel*, as per Walter Benjamin’s formulation. For Kluge, by beginning mid-way through the story found in the chronicle rewritings, *Infantes* gives an “alienated or detached—melancholic—historiographical glance at the heroic medieval past” (2020: 267). *Infantes* is thus “concerned primarily with unideal, broken, amputated history” (2020: 278). Kluge however makes an artificial distinction between the *infantes*’ deaths as “history” and the rest of the play, while overlooking its

contemporary resonance in Cueva's native Seville.<sup>2</sup> It is important to understand *Infantes* in light of prior rewritings of the *SIL materia*, which do not connote history in general, as Kluge proposes, but rather medievalism as a creative narrative mode.

Departing from extant scholarship, this chapter constitutes the first synthesis of the play's mechanisms of medievalism — namely how it interacts with a pre-existing literary tradition — with both its sociopolitical context and its stylistic innovation. I propose that *Infantes'* temporal displacement of the *SIL materia* into the present and the future emerges in its plot, characterisation and style, all radically distinct from prior rewritings. The four-act *tragedia* opens in Act I in Cordova, al-Andalus, with the *infantes* already dead in battle and Almanzor's vassals Viara and Galve recounting the events to their leader. Gonzalo Bustos is brought from his cell and complains of his unlawful imprisonment as an ambassador. Almanzor then allows him to read the letter from Ruy Velásquez who demanded his captivity, and his sons' deaths, and invites him to dinner. Zaida, Almanzor's sister and Gonzalo's lover, laments that the latter will leave her for Castile. Act II opens with Viara's soliloquy on his changing fortunes. The banquet then begins with a song by a *truhán*, followed by the presentation of eight heads retrieved from the battle at Almenar, which Gonzalo identifies as his sons and their tutor Nuño. He delivers a lament and attempts to murder the palace guards, although is prevented by Almanzor who is so

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<sup>2</sup> Kluge divorces *Infantes* from the *materia*: Benjamin's 'mourning play' definition fits the play, "excepting features dependent on specific aesthetic production circumstances (such as the stock of historiographical sources)" (2020: 273). Kluge then contradictorily argues that it is a mourning play because it presents "medieval Spain" as "a discordant, violence-ridden landscape marred by blood feuds and interracial conflict" (Ibid: 274), unjustly emphasising interracial conflict when the chronicles, ballads and *Infantes* all evince interracial cooperation. Her conclusion, that Cueva "redeems the past by recreating it anew [...] and giving it a happy ending" (Ibid: 285), overlooks the ubiquity of this ending in prior rewritings and the possible memories of *Infantes'* audience.

moved by Gonzalo's plight that he sets him free. The third act sees the now pregnant Zaida attempt to thwart Gonzalo's departure through a spell concocted with her servant Haxa. The spell fails and Gonzalo bids her goodbye, leaving her a half-ring that her child should use to identify Gonzalo later in life. Zaida then gives birth and celebrations are held. Act IV jumps forward seventeen years to Zaida's son Mudarra leaving for Cordova to meet and avenge his father. He converts to Christianity and murders Ruy Velázquez and burns his wife Lambra to death in her home.

*Infantes* thus stages three quarters of the action in Cordova and focuses on interactions between Andalusí Muslims and Castilian Christians. By granting erudite, classicist voices to Muslim Andalusí characters whose roles were all but erased in the most recent historiographical rewritings of the *SIL materia* in sixteenth-century chronicles, *Infantes* contradicts both contemporary nationalist historiographies based upon religious and racial homogeneity and literary maurophilia. The play's centering of al-Andalus and medieval Iberia's racial diversity is complemented by its rewriting of classical precedent, which permeates the language of characters of all social strata, from royalty, military captains to servants and from Andalusis to Castilians. These individuals are suspended in a futuristic, theatrical time, rather than the tenth or sixteenth century; a temporal clash that elicits not nostalgia but an ethical response from the audience. By fusing classical and medieval tradition, *Infantes* also puts into practice the ambition Cueva outlined later in his treatise *Ejemplar poético* (1609) to develop a heterogeneous Spanish theatre. *Infantes'* innovations in theme and style are, finally, undergirded by its philosophical and ideological concerns. Far from mourning the past, the plot pivots on temporal change, with characters reflecting upon how their pasts have the

ability to shape their futures if harnessed correctly. This forward look is absent from prior rewritings of the *SIL materia* and exposes the act of rewriting literary history as potentially revolutionary; a practice later taken up by Lope de Vega and the Romantics.

The basic condition of *Infantes*' creation — being the first staging of the *materia* in the early modern period — is therefore fundamental to an understanding of the play. It is also worth asking whether any of the purported markers of modernity are borne out by *Infantes* as one of the very first early modern medievalisms in a form alien to the Middle Ages. William Egginton proposes the early modern period marks a departure from the Middle Ages not because “subjectivity” emerged but because our experience of space changed: Europe had shifted from a medieval way of disclosing the world in magically-charged spaces of presence as spectacle (2003: 37) to a conception of space as empty, transformable and, crucially, theatrical, which revealed to us “our sense of spatiality” (Ibid: 6). This diachronic analysis is a convenient litmus test for Egginton’s theory. Neither the “subjectivity” nor “theatricality” thesis holds up, however. *Infantes* is, firstly, not a clear break with medieval models of performance, identity or selfhood. Chapter One has already explored how the *SIL materia* is presented in medieval chronicles as a curated narrative of even more curated meta-narratives; a tendency that increases from one chronicle to the next. The ballad tradition is moreover evidence of the way multiple voices shape and reshape the same poem; a poetic quality evident from the *romance*'s very form as a border text. What is new in Cueva’s day is the public theatrical mode, and the staging of a narrative — thus far anchored in the past — making it present and suspenseful. The difference is not that the *materia* is

spatialised — as it very likely already had been by oral poets to smaller crowds — but that it is now performed consecutively to large audiences and that it is heterogeneously reworked through being amalgamated with classicist tropes. This temporal and stylistic displacement opens up the signifiatory potential of the *SIL materia* as not only a cipher through which a past is configured to serve ideological goals in the present, but also one that points towards a future in which it can be repeatedly recreated to different ends.

As with the ballads explored in Chapter Two, the fusion of form and content thus holds a particular and hitherto unexplored symbolic value in *Infantes*; one that would have been all the more evident for audiences in 1579. I will now analyse how *Infantes* rewrites Castilian literary-cultural history firstly in its portrayal of al-Andalus, then in its formal experimentation by fusing classical and medieval modes that creates a suspended, fantastical timescale, and, finally, in its plot that rewrites the *materia* into a parable of harnessing the past for the future. I conclude that the productive potential of medievalism emerges in this play's cultural, stylistic and temporal hybridity, elements that interact not only with the playwright's sociocultural present but also open up creative possibilities for the future.

### **Cultural Hybridity**

The first way *Infantes* unveils the productive nature of medievalism is its culturally hybrid rewriting of the *SIL materia*. The relegation of the familial conflict in Burgos to an *argumento de la tragedia* unseen by the audience and the focus on a Cordovan societal milieu replete with emotive, learned Andalusis is prescient in the play's

composition and reception context of late-sixteenth century Seville. Seville is widely acknowledged to have been the most pressing embodiment of the “cuestión morisca” and from 1570 received most of the displaced *moriscos* who were expelled from Granada after the Alpujarras War (1569-1571), triggered by Philip II’s repressive *pragmática* of 1567 forbidding *morisco* customs.<sup>3</sup> By 1572 thousands of enslaved north African Muslims had also arrived and were forcibly converted to Christianity to obtain freedom (and were also referred to as *moriscos*), which then “gradually created a social image which associated the terms “morisco” and “slave” to such an extent that free *moriscos* felt the need to clarify their status when appearing in public” (Fernández Chaves and Pérez García 2012: 83-84). Municipal efforts towards assimilation after this influx failed, particularly after the deportations from Granada, as a local *morisco* rebellion plot was uncovered in 1580 although it was soon quashed (Perry 2005: 121). Critics have debated the place of *moriscos* in sixteenth-century society, ranging from the location of dissenting, sympathetic attitudes towards *moriscos* in literature to the conviction that *moriscos* were Muslim and did not want to assimilate.<sup>4</sup> Luce López Baralt gives a balanced view by studying *morisco aljamiado* literature, which constructs a hybrid *morisco* culture rather than one of clear difference or otherness (2009: 27).<sup>5</sup> By the late sixteenth-century, Seville was moreover the locus of transatlantic trade with the Americas; a dominance that had turned into a monopoly by 1543 (Elliott 2006: 109-110). Economic prosperity as a result of empire also led to significant demographic

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<sup>3</sup> See Michel Boeglin (2010).

<sup>4</sup> For the former hypothesis see Francisco Márquez Villanueva (1991) and for the latter see L. P. Harvey (2005).

<sup>5</sup> See Mercedes García-Arenal (2009) for a synthesis of scholarship on *aljamiado* literature, which is evidence of resistance to enforced assimilation. Writing before Cueva’s time was the Mancebo de Arévalo, whose *aljamiado* works dealt with Islamic belief and practice (Harvey 2005: 170-193), leading him to take a prominent role in crypto-Islamic society (Catlos 2014: 287).

expansion, making Seville Spain's largest city by 1600 (Wilson Bowers 2013: 17). The importance of Andalusí influence over Castilian futures in both war and peacetime in the play must therefore be considered in light of Seville's increasingly multicultural milieu.

By underscoring the racial and cultural hybridity of medieval Iberia, *Infantes* not only reflects its diverse sociocultural milieu of performance but also contradicts recent historiographical precedent available to the playwright and his audience. In the wake of 1492, the sixteenth century saw "the first construction of a historiography of a 'national' or 'protonational' character. In it the Islamic epoch in Iberia was portrayed as an alien parenthesis, now closed" (García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2013: 5). This tendency is evidenced by the rewritings of the *SIL materia* in the *Estoria del noble cauallero el Conde Fernán González con la muerte de los siete infantes de Lara* (henceforth *NCFG*) (1511) and the *Crónica general de España* (1541) (henceforth *CG*), by Florián de Ocampo, also available to balladeers like Sepúlveda.<sup>6</sup> Despite Ocampo describing himself as a mere "recopilador" in his works' titles, *CG* "responded explicitly to the perceived cultural backwardness of Spain and attempted to set up the Spanish kingdoms as rivals to the classical empires of the ancient world" (Samson 2006: 342).

The suppression of interracial interaction is evident in *NCFG* and *CG*, two rewritings of the *materia* not yet compared with each other, let alone with *Infantes*.<sup>7</sup> Although

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<sup>6</sup> Menéndez Pidal cites *NCFG* as Cueva's primary source, without a comprehensive comparison (1971: 125-126). Icaza endorses this view and points out it was printed in Seville (1953: xliii).

<sup>7</sup> See Geraldine Hazbun (2008) for an analysis of Cueva and Lope's use of Ocampo's *CG* in their rewritings of the stories of Bernardo el Carpio and Sancho II for the stage. *Infantes* has only been briefly compared to the *EE amplificada* and *C1344* by Manuel Cuenca Cabeza (1990).

it is not possible to concretise Cueva's sources, it is important to briefly contrast them to Cueva's *Infantes*, as *CG* and *NCFG* would be the most recent accounts with which his lettered audiences would be most familiar. Both *CG* and *NCFG* firstly depart from medieval precedent by recounting their versions of the *SIL materia* as coherent wholes for the first time, uninterrupted by other historiographical material.<sup>8</sup> Both *CG* and *NCFG* present distinct portrayals of Castilian-Andalusi relations to the *EE amplificada*, *C1344* and *Toledana*. For example, all three medieval chronicles have Ruy address Almanzor in the letter convivially with a variant of "amigo que amo de todo mio coraçon" (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 218), omitted from *NCFG* and *CG* which begin the letter with only "A vos Almançor de mi Ruy Velasquez salud" (Corfis 2011: 33; Ocampo 1541: fol. cclxii). The letter in *NCFG* and *CG* makes no mention of Viara and Galve being "mucho mios amigos" as in the *EE amplificada* (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 219). *NCFG* and *CG* also eliminate the "tregua" granted to the *infantes* in battle by the Andalusis, found in all medieval chronicle rewritings. *NCFG* and *CG* thus consistently avoid cooperation between Castilians and Andalusis. They also end with Mudarra's baptism, a detail absent from the *EE amplificada* which is otherwise closer to *NCFG* and *CG* than the *C1344* or *Toledana*. *Infantes*, by comparison, augments the role of Andalusi characters akin to the *C1344* and *Toledana*; a rejection of recent chronistic rewritings that silence Castilian-Andalusi cooperation.

*Infantes'* departure from recent historiography might then lead us to situate the play within the sixteenth-seventeenth century literary vogue of "maurophilia," first

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<sup>8</sup> For *NCFG* see Ivy A. Corfis (2011: 28-46). For *CG* see Ocampo (1541: fols. cclxi-cclxvii).

coined by Georges Cirot (1944) and well-studied by Marquéz Villanueva (1982), López Baralt (1992), María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti (1989), Barbara Fuchs (2009), Christina H. Lee (2015), and Javier Irigoyen-García (2017) amongst others. It is characterised by the romanticised characterisation of usually noble or royal Muslims. The anonymous *Historia del Abencerraje y de la hermosa Jarifa* (1561) is often described as the maurophile novella *par excellence*. For Claudio Guillén it “offers a vision of peace and unity against a background of past wars between Christians and Moslems, while connoting contemporary struggles and religious conflicts” (1971: 178). Maurophile literature is often viewed as “little more than a cunningly concealed literature of dissidence” to *morisco* marginalisation (López Baralt 1992: 278). Fuchs also reads maurophilia politically:

Far from idealizing fantasies, the texts participate fully in the urgent negotiation of a Moorishness that is not only a historiographical relic but a vivid presence in quotidian Spanish culture. (2009: 5)<sup>9</sup>

Lee challenges Fuchs’ formulation of maurophilia as “as an alternative vision of the Spanish nation” (2009: 8) and instead contends that maurophile works like *El Abencerraje* “always underline the cultural difference of the Moor” as a “foreign subject” (2015: 187). Lee’s corrective is timely, for it underlines the exoticism inherent in the portrayal of Muslims in works set in the fifteenth century, from *El Abencerraje* to the *romancero morisco nuevo*. It is, however, anachronistic to describe Andalusis as “foreign Moors” in medievalisms that are set earlier, including the ballads studied in Chapter Two, *Infantes* and, later, Lope’s *Bastardo* (1612). These depict powerful Andalusis who enter into peaceful and adversarial

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<sup>9</sup> See also Irigoyen-García (2017) on the appropriation of ‘Moorish clothing’ by the early modern nobility to demonstrate their class sartorially.

relationships with Castilians. The unsuitability of maurophilia to denote earlier medievalist *comedias* therefore exposes a major critical lacuna: scholars have overlooked the fundamental epistemic difference between what it means to rewrite late-medieval Granada in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, and what it means to rewrite the tenth-thirteenth centuries, including rewritings of the *SIL materia* and the stories of Bernardo del Carpio, Sancho II and the Cid. These stories present distinct power dynamics governing relationships across the Castilian-Andalusi border. I therefore propose that the medievalism of *Infantes* reaffirms Andalusis as a historic presence, rather than as an othered, exotic absence upon which to project sociocultural fantasies.

Readings of *Infantes* in its sociocultural context are thus far insufficient.<sup>10</sup> Scholars have only tentatively explained the play's unusual opening in Cordova.<sup>11</sup> Walter Cohen meanwhile perplexingly denies *Infantes* any contemporary resonance, suggesting "relations between Moor and Christian produce not national resonance so much as local color" (1985: 222).<sup>12</sup> Others have read into *Infantes* a critique of Islam and Andalusis: for Harry Sieber, Ruy Velázquez "acts like devious Moor" (1973: 220). Aaron M. Kahn follows Sieber, concluding that "Cueva cautions his

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<sup>10</sup> For Anthony Watson, only "in a very general sense" does *Infantes* reflect Philip II's reign (1971: 80). This hypothesis is more tenable for Cueva's other medievalist plays, namely *Comedia de la libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio* (1579) and *Comedia del rey don Sancho, y reto de Zamora* (1582), which depict monarchical figures.

<sup>11</sup> Margaret R. Greer briefly connects the play's portrayal of Andalusis to its contemporary context in the conversation between Almanzor and Bustos about *tocino* (1999: 477). Juan Matas Caballero notes the importance of "la proyección de esa escenificación en un momento histórico en el que estaba muy presente en el recuerdo la reciente -en 1568-1571- insurrección de los moriscos en las Alpujarras granadinas" (2015). In *Infantes*, "se observa también, aunque sea tímidamente, un planteamiento del conflicto socio-político y religioso entre el cristiano y el moro" (Ibid). Matas Caballero's assumption of interracial conflict is not borne out by the play's portrayal of Andalusis.

<sup>12</sup> Cohen exemplifies how limited synchronic analyses of medievalisms are: he argues *Infantes* endorses aristocratic hegemony yet "inadvertently [places] aristocratic ideology in an unflattering light" (1985: 227), a reading that ignores *Infantes'* relation to prior rewritings of the *SIL materia* that in fact critique the nobility.

audience about the dangers of Islam and interacting with Muslims” (2008: 55). This reading is founded on Almanzor’s “malicious behaviour towards his captive Gonzalo Bustos” (Ibid: 53), which disregards the former’s clemency.

Carvalho conversely highlights Viara and Galve’s respect for the *infantes* and their admirable behaviour (1988: 92). Yet Carvalho still reads the failure of Haxa’s incantation as the triumph of Christianity (Ibid), a religious sub-text absent from the scene. Watson comes closest to what I argue to be Cueva’s presentation of Andalusis, noting that *Infantes* does not “argue the moral rightness or wrongness of [its] characters’ actions to any great extent” (1971: 80). Its moral ambivalence stems from a complexity of character afforded indiscriminately to both Castilian and Andalusis. The plot might portray the *infantes* more positively (by excluding their offences on Ruy and Lambra, thus making Ruy’s vengeance more condemnable), but it also shifts the audience’s focus onto the lives and views of Andalusis Muslims. Cueva fails to present a world in which Christianity triumphs over Islam, and therefore includes al-Andalus in national literary history.

Simply setting a play in tenth-century Cordova with Andalusis characters is notable in 1579 given the ongoing social and religious repression of the *morisco* minority. Just twelve years earlier, the royal decree of 1567 “prohibited any use of Arabic either in speech or in writing, [...] eliminated Arabic surnames, distinctive Morisco dress and adornment, music, baths, slave ownership, bearing of arms” and other practices (García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano 2013: 50). From the cast list to the *argumentos* of each act, the play’s paratexts underline the majority Andalusis milieu: eight of the eleven characters are Andalusis, with four qualified as either *moro* or

*mora*, likely to ensure the right costumes were used. In the context of the 1570s, dressing *a la morisca* “was considered a sign of high social status in Iberian society” (Irigoyen-García 2017: 8). Cueva also staged al-Andalus before the apogee of *comedias* featuring Muslim characters, which Irigoyen-García locates at the turn of the seventeenth century.<sup>13</sup> In 1579, then, such costumes were less common and would in fact connote nobility for an ‘Old Christian’ audience in Seville. Only towards the very end of the play does a character voice what the audience have witnessed for the past three and a half acts:

**RUY:** Si la vista no tengo perturbada,  
gente estraña es aquélla o yo me engaño;  
y esto no puede engañarme en nada,  
que bien claro se ve en el traje estraño. (IV: 113-116)<sup>14</sup>

Ruy Velázquez notices Mudarra arriving with his Andalusi retinue in “el traje estraño.” Yet difference is only noted by the treacherous villain: his judgment of “estraña” is incongruous by this point, given the bulk of the action features characters in such dress, and Gonzalo Bustos while in Cordova made no mention of it.

As well as normalising Andalusi costume, the play’s setting underlines Cordova’s socioeconomic ascendancy. *Infantes* opens at Almanzor’s palace where it remains until part way through the final, fourth act. Almanzor’s opening speech to his vassals upon hearing of their victory against the *infantes* highlights the opulence of

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<sup>13</sup> Irigoyen-García hypothesises this was driven by “the necessity to make use of the abundance of Moorish clothing derived from the game of canes” (2017: 80).

<sup>14</sup> All quotations are from José Cebrián’s 1992 edition in the format Act: Lines.

Cordovan Islamic custom. Although the *infantes* are dead, they will be ceremoniously preserved as follows:

**ALMANZOR:** haré una caja tal, que en sus labores  
y en esmaltes sea una  
en todo el mundo, y no se iguale a ella  
la de Meca en riqueza ni en ser bella. (I: 26-29)

Later, too, the sacrificial respect granted to their fallen foes is underlined through ceremony with Almanzor instructing the vassals: “Haced que a la Mezquita vayan luego, / adornen los altares con piadoso encienso” (I: 151-153). At the end of Act II, Almanzor also stresses his socioeconomic superiority by way of contrast with Gonzalo’s meagre “casa”:

**ALMANZOR:** y a mi palacio ven luego,  
porque quiero darte allí  
cartas para ir de aquí  
a tu casa y tu sosiego. (II: 293-296)

Andalusi wealth and social status is ubiquitous and a director would be free to emphasise it through costume and setting. The power and reach of al-Andalus is also made clear in its reconfiguration for an early modern audience as a global empire. Almanzor mentions “la felice Arabia” (I: 22) and “Meca” (I: 28), and even calls Viara “griego” (I: 41), which geographically conflates Ottomanness and the character’s classical erudition that comes to the fore in Act II. Galve too anachronistically references the empire in relation to Viara’s prowess:

**GALVE:** Celebrando el valor de vuestra espada,  
por donde es estimada  
y temida de todos los humanos  
la nación otomana. (I: 62-65)

Viara then confirms his Ottoman origins when questioning “¿De qué los claros hechos qu'ennoblecen / la nación otomana?” (II: 47-48). Galve’s description of Almanzor as “cuchillo de cristianos,” which Kahn reads as anticipating his “malicious behavior” (2006: 237), in fact points to al-Andalus’ cross-border influence over Christian-Castilian affairs, as an instrument *of* Christian Castilians against each other. Tenth-century Andalusis are thus framed as an ongoing, powerful presence from tenth-century Cordova to sixteenth-century Spain and the Ottoman Empire, imbricated within Castile not simply because of territorial ambition but because of Castilian necessity.<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the ceremonial aspects of Islam, its theology is never qualified as heretical. Almanzor describes the Andalusí success in battle against the *infantes* not as a result of their physical prowess, but as a reward for piety: “habiendo recibido / del gran Alá tan célebre vitoria” (I: 7-8). In their battle report, Viara and Galve profess regret and respect for their fallen foes, thus configuring Islam as a penitential religion rather than gratuitously violent. For example, religious language is used to express regret rather than justify violence by Viara, stressing its horrors rather than their glory in victory:

**VIARA:** Querer, gran Almanzor, hacer memoria  
 tan por extenso de la horrible guerra  
 que con los siete Infantes ya tuvimos,  
 pide no ingenio de la humilde tierra,  
 sino de aquel lugar que la victoria

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<sup>15</sup> Despite Spain’s victory over the Ottomans at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, by creating a genealogical link between the power of tenth-century al-Andalus and the Ottoman Empire in 1579 *Infantes* would also likely have evoked “the strange anti-climax of the post-Lepanto years” whereby “the Spanish-Ottoman struggle died away in a stalemate” (Elliott 1963: 234). An early audience would be reminded of ongoing Ottoman economic and militaristic power and the history of Castilian-Andalusí interdependence.

por milagro de Alá, sacro, emprendimos. (I: 43-48)

Zaida also makes several invocations to “Alá” in her dialogues with Bustos which are not deemed as incompatible with their interracial and interreligious relationship.

When they part, Zaida wishes him well:

**ZAIDA:** Ruego Alá, Gonzalo Bustos,  
que sea cual lo desees  
y qu'en tu tierra te veas  
libre de tantos desgustos. (I: 375-378)

She makes several other similar references, including “¡Vaya Alá en tu compañía!” (I: 419) and “¡Alá te acompañe y guíe, / bien de mi alma y consuelo!” (III: 188-189). Gonzalo never rebukes these remarks, allowing Zaida to have the last word. By contrast, in the next chapter we will see how Lope de Vega’s play rewrites this relationship to have Gonzalo Christianise his Andalusí lover through language.

Alongside costumes, setting and unproblematised references to Islam, *Infantes* crafts well-rounded Andalusí characters of all social strata. While some argue their portrayal to be negative, the Andalusí figures are as morally upstanding as those found in the medieval chronicle rewritings. The Almanzor of *Infantes* is a complex, cruel yet empathetic character whose ultimate role is to enable Gonzalo to acknowledge the truth of what befell his family and thus face his future beyond Cordova. In Act I he agrees with Galve’s praise of the *infantes*: “¿Quién te podrá contar la valentía / de los infantes y su ayo fiero?” (I: 111-112). Almanzor then voices his own awe:

**ALMANZOR:** ¡Rara virtud y heroica valentía!

¡Hazaña digna de inmortal memoria  
 que esculpida estará en el alma mía,  
 aunque en mi daño, su honorosa historia!  
 ¡Oh jóvenes gloriosos!, ¿quién sería  
 el que no os dé, aunque muertos,  
 la vitoria a todos, que la vida habéis rendido  
 y eterna gloria y nombre conseguido? (I: 167-174)

What follows in Act I is Gonzalo's appeal to Almanzor for freedom, to which the King responds by sharing Ruy's letter with him which builds mutual trust. *Infantes* has Almanzor cogently rebuke Gonzalo's complaints by taking an external perspective on their situation:

**ALMANZOR:** Aunque te puse en prisión,  
 entiende, Gonzalo Bustos,  
 que tu prisión y disgustos  
 no es falta de corazón;  
 ni dirán los que lo oyeren  
 que esta culpa ha sido mía,  
 ni falta de valentía,  
 si la causa y fin supieren;

que si no guardé el decoro  
 al mensajero seguro,  
 no por eso soy perjuro,  
 si eres cristiano y yo moro;  
 después desto, ¿quién te dio  
 seguro de tu venida? (I: 231-244)

Almanzor maintains that any criticism of his actions as "perjuro" does not hold because of their distinct religions. He sets himself apart from Christian-Castilian morality and urges Gonzalo to see him as an independent figure with his own religious laws; a perceptive explanation for sixteenth-century Spain and Seville in the wake of the failed projects of *morisco* assimilation. While religious difference is maintained and permissible, *Infantes* does allow for intellectual assimilation.

Almanzor's speech is also peppered with classical references, making him not only socioeconomically superior but educated to the level of a sixteenth-century scholar:

**ALMANZOR:** ¡El nombre de Almanzor en voz sonora  
se canta desde Tetis al Aurora! (III: 226-227)

Here he avails of classical tradition to reinforce al-Andalus' global resonance, "Tetis" being a Greek deity and "Aurora" Roman. Some have argued that Almanzor is unreasonably cruel, predominantly based upon his treatment of Gonzalo at the banquet in Act II. Yet in this scene and others he in fact aids Gonzalo Bustos through a process of revelation, as will be explored below, and is thus more morally ambiguous, as per Watson's reading.

Viara is perhaps the best example of how *Infantes'* presentation of Andalusis belies the politicised analyses such as Sieber's (1973). Manuel Cuenca Cabeza notes that in Cueva "Viara [...] tiene aquí una preponderancia desconocida" (1990: 78), while Rinaldo Froldi even suggests his speech "manifiesta la concepción de vida del propio poeta" (2013: 35). Viara is a social commentator and one of the few characters aware of his life's trajectory. Like Almanzor he is educated in the classics: he delivers a soliloquy in Act II in Italianate *tercetos encadenados* — rather than the Spanish *redondilla* that predominates elsewhere — and describes a preoccupation with time and his social position.<sup>16</sup> Viara laments his status, wealth and duty, a universalised concern not specific to the Andalusí milieu that may then also speak to Cueva's contemporary Spain:

**VIARA:** Con levantado y favorable vuelo

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<sup>16</sup> See Cebrián (1992: 207) for a breakdown of *Infantes'* versification.

de mi pobreza y de mi humilde estado  
 soy subido del bajo suelo al cielo. (II: 1-3)  
 [...]
 ¿De qué me sirve agora el gran renombre  
 de general, si todos me aborrecen? (II: 33-34)

Viara's reflection on the status of nobility is moreover never expressed by his Castilian counterparts, which for a contemporary audience could evoke the critical portrayal of Castile's nobility found in prior rewritings.

A character central to Castilian-Andalusi relations in the play is Zaida. Her relationship with Gonzalo is mutually consensual, distinctive amongst rewritings of the *SIL materia* thus far: the play's *argumento* merely states Zaida "había tratado amores con Gonzalo Bustos" and no mention is made of Almanzor granting her to him (Cebrián 1992: 214). Almanzor only hears of their relationship from Haxa once Zaida is pregnant, which disproves Greer's hypothesis that the play pivots on the "exogamous exchange of women" (1999: 472).<sup>17</sup> The entire third act focuses on Zaida's pregnancy and acceptance of her loss of Gonzalo. Zaida is joined by her servant Haxa, who aids her in an incantation to prevent Gonzalo's departure. For some their portrayal amounts to lazy stereotyping or even maurophobia on the part of Cueva, as Eva Lara Alberola's reading contends: "estas mujeres son musulmanas y, a causa de ello, es esperable en ellas esta conducta mágica," while Gonzalo's Christianity "supone una protección ante las malas artes de estas hechiceras étnicas" (2010: 149). Lara Alberola's view overlooks the play's layered context: that of *morisca* women in 1579 and Muslim women in tenth-century al-Andalus, as well

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<sup>17</sup> Cuenca Cabeza also highlights their consensual relationship: "un diálogo donde se manifiesta la admiración mutua y el dolor de la amada ante la separación" (1990: 68).

as the preponderance of magical practices amongst both medieval and early modern Christian Iberians.<sup>18</sup>

Sixteenth-century inquisitorial records in fact attest to both Christian women and *moriscas* being accused of love magic.<sup>19</sup> Zaida and Haxa's spell is thus not simply "esperable en ellas" but was likely to have also been conducted by Christian women in Spain at that time. María Tausiet also notes the frequency of love magic as a literary trope in the early modern period, as well as evidence of both women and men resorting to it (2013: 58-98). In medieval Castilian literature, too, "roughly equal numbers of men and women [...] perform magic" (Corry 2005: 205). For a sixteenth-century Spanish audience looking back to the tenth-century, magic was thus not gendered or indeed racialised.<sup>20</sup> Zaida and Haxa's incantation does not mark them as Andalusis, which is something Perry identifies as an anxiety in early modern Spanish literature: "[there existed a] sexual basis for Christian fears of Jewish and Morisco pollution through witchcraft, not only through giving women power over men and thus inverting gender power positions, but also through threatening to control male sexuality" (1999: 43). Perry overlooks the magical practices of both Christians and Muslims, both medieval and early modern, and the contents of Zaida's spell.

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<sup>18</sup> Act III does not specifically evoke the practices of medieval Andalusis. There is little in the medieval Arabic grimoires to prove incantations being recited by women, although women's use of 'magic' for healing purposes is documented (Guthrie 2001: 71-75). In both medieval and early modern Iberia, unorthodox, non-Christian beliefs and practices permeated the lives of Christians of all social strata, so it cannot solely connote Muslim heterodoxy (see De Souza 2021).

<sup>19</sup> See María Helena Sánchez Ortega (1991) and Yvette Cardaillac-Hermosilla (2005).

<sup>20</sup> Evidence is lacking for "fully developed European witchcraft or brujería" in inquisitorial records in most areas of early modern Spain, although individual practices by both genders have been recorded (Monter 2013: 273). Both women and men were accused in the seventeenth-century Zugarramurdi witch trials (Henningsen 1980: 27).

Its language reveals that Zaida's motives go beyond sexual control of Gonzalo, indicative of what Sánchez Ortega's detailed linguistic study of love magic demonstrates: that "the presence of a suitor represents more of a material necessity than a truly amorous one" in most incantations (1991: 61). Zaida is socioeconomically motivated, given she admits at the start of the scene:

**ZAIDA:** De un temor inhumano  
 combatida me veo  
 que déste solo salen mil temores:  
 temo mi altivo hermano. (III: 14-17)

Her only concern is her brother, Almanzor. Nowhere does she mention Gonzalo by name; she instead bemoans the abstract concepts of "una eterna memoria" (III: 1) and "el duro Amor" (III: 6). Zaida then obliquely references the fact that "ardo en un solo un deseo / de donde nacen todos mis dolores" (III: 18-19) without revealing what it is she seeks. Zaida's lament is unspecific, and her subsequent incantation can thus be interpreted as a desperate attempt to control her future within her social milieu, rather than a desire to keep Gonzalo in Cordova. This is confirmed in the second scene of Act III when her pregnancy is revealed, after which an audience must retrospectively consider that she resorts to the incantation out of concern for herself and her unborn child, rather than to manipulate Gonzalo nefariously.

The circumstances of the incantation also suggest that it is not necessarily a premeditated, threatening spell. Zaida ends her lament disoriented, as Haxa's response proves: "¡Señora! ¡no lo entiendo! / Véote padeciendo" (III: 35-36). Zaida then admits "lo que mi premio mágico procura" (III: 47). Despite conjuring "el Huerco fiero" Zaida does not specify "los que en él están" (III: 44-45). It is a rushed

appeal to unnamed spirits for which she is reliant on Haxa, who then begins by summoning “¡Ministros de Averno / a quien la luz hermosa / del claro y rutilante Febo ofende!” (III: 53-55), while Zaida responds using different terminology, generically appealing to “piedras, raíces, plantas, yerbas, aves” (III: 67); an unspecific patchwork of customs. Haxa ends the incantation by tying a knot in a cord, an item we can only assume she had with her already. The incantation equates tenth-century Andalusí magic to that which was concomitantly condemned amongst both Old Christians and *moriscos* by the sixteenth-century Inquisition.<sup>21</sup> An audience is encouraged to draw connections between the two sociocultural situations and thus racial difference is not emphasised. Moreover, the spell’s improvised nature and Zaida’s practical concerns dispel any possible nefarious motives.

The final Andalusí of note is Mudarra, introduced at the start of Act IV in a conversation with his mother, Zaida, from whom he departs on good terms. Upon arrival in Castile, Mudarra frames Andalusí cultural traditions as a postponed reward for fulfilling his obligation to avenge his father: “y no creeré 'Alcorán ni veré zambra / hasta vengarme dél y doña Lambra” (IV: 63-64). The “zambra” was in fact a sixteenth-century “dança morisca, en rigor zambra” (Covarrubias 1674b: fol. 213). *Infantes* anachronistically introduces Mudarra as a *morisco*, an association that inflects his subsequent behaviour. He arrives in Castile with vestiges of his life in Cordova, accompanied by Viara and Andalusí soldiers. Mudarra relies on Viara’s advice, whom the audience by now trusts as a result of his wisdom and loyal vassalage to Almanzor in previous acts. Mudarra’s lack of confidence is evident in

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<sup>21</sup> Haxa’s cord also evokes Fernando de Rojas’ *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* (1499), in which Celestina, a Christian woman, performs a similar magical rite.

their dialogue in which they complete each other's quatrains (IV: 131-143). Mudarra identifies as Muslim in Castile, repeatedly referring to *Alá*, while his father Gonzalo addresses his retinue as "valientes moros" (IV: 157). Mudarra's Andalusí identity is emphasised at every opportunity, which together with the preponderance of references to Islamic belief and practice make the forthcoming question of conversion more contentious.

Mudarra proves his "firme deseo ardiente" (IV: 181) to join his father and avenge him in Islamic terms, "Alá es buen testigo" (IV: 185). In response, Gonzalo urges Mudarra to convert yet betrays his individualistic motives:

**GONZALO:** Que no es guardar el decoro  
a caballero Estimado  
que, siendo yo bautizado,  
me conozcan hijo moro. (IV: 205-208)

Gonzalo Bustos' sole concern is his reputation as a "caballero." Mudarra counters this by professing his loyalty to Islam:

**MUDARRA:** Yo soy moro de nación  
entre moros engendrado  
con moros siempre criado. (IV: 212-214)

Gonzalo then exercises his parental authority and convinces him to convert based on familial affiliation:

**GONZALO:** ¿Qué razón será, hijo mío,  
ser yo, tu padre, cristiano,  
y tú, mi hijo, pagano,  
aunque lo sea el Rey tu tío? (IV: 225-228)

Mudarra's conversion is thus framed as an act of filial "obediencia" (IV: 239), the melancholy consequences of which will be thematised by José Somoza three centuries later, to be discussed in Chapter Five. Conversion is thus triggered by interpersonal conflict rather than internal conviction. The same is true of Viara, who soon follows Mudarra in conversion — not before voicing similar protests — solely in order to remain his loyal vassal.

The partial nature of their conversion is hinted at in Mudarra's confrontation with Ruy Velázquez, whom he accuses not only of treachery but of being "enemigo de ley" (IV: 380), rather than "*nuestra* ley." Ruy notices this mistake and retorts by calling him *moro*, to which Mudarra self-professes his Christianity: "Cristiano me nombro y digo" (IV: 367). Gonzalo suggests the baptism now take place, owing to Ruy's scepticism and Mudarra's anger. Mudarra agrees:

**MUDARRA:** Luego que se cumpla el plazo,  
 en este lugar te aguardo,  
 donde mi brazo gallardo,  
 verás, y a lo que te aplazo.  
 ¡Con esto vamos, señor,  
 a darme cristiana ley! (IV: 393-398)

Conversion is not only spurred on by familial loyalty but by Mudarra's desire to use his "brazo gallardo." In contrast to the denigration of Ruy Velázquez for doubting Mudarra's conversion in the *Toledana*, *Infantes* frames conversion as an inconvenient obstacle to the necessary vengeance, as it allows Ruy to taunt Mudarra needlessly with his Andalusí identity. The valence of Mudarra's religion has already been exposed by Gonzalo as reputational and social rather than an intrinsic moral deficiency; something also underlined by the laudable behaviour of Viara, Galve and Almanzor earlier in the play. Mudarra's identity is thus reconstructed in Castile for

him to serve effectively as the son of a “caballero estimado.” Baptism here is blatantly a result of external social pressure rather than a matter of internal conviction, which together with the insinuation of Mudarra as *morisco* challenges both the validity and necessity of conversion in Cueva’s contemporary Spain; an irony that Lope will expand upon in his *tragicomedia*. *Infantes* therefore rewrites the *SIL materia* by centering its narrative on Andalusí Cordova and its inhabitants, while Mudarra’s revenge and conversion are painted as obstacles to his beneficial involvement in the Castilian dispute in Act IV. Rather than participate in a maurophilia that romanticises noble Andalusí by virtue of their similarities to Castilian nobles and royalty, *Infantes* allows for Andalusí religious difference and socioeconomic superiority in sixteenth-century Spain.

The importance of the play’s racially and religiously hybrid milieu anticipates Cueva’s treatise the *Ejemplar poético* (1609) which expounds the importance of a heterogeneously composed literature. This reading is, however, novel: most read the *Ejemplar* as nationalistic, with Inoria Pepe Sarno interpreting Cueva’s critique of Roman poets Bavius and Mevius as symbolic of a sub-par “verso extraño” (1996: 430) and claims that Cueva was against any foreigner who “intenta amenazar su autonomía de juicio” (Ibid: 431). Close scrutiny of the treatise’s language undermines this view: soon after Cueva goes on to describe the task of present-day poets as the adaptation of the ancients:

introducimos otras novedades,  
de los antiguos alterando el uso,  
conformes a este tiempo y calidades. (III: 517-525)<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> All references are taken from Icaza’s edition (1973) in the format epistle: line number.

The *Ejemplar* therefore does not frame Spanish literature as beyond the influence of other cultures and in fact calls for the adaptation of foreign aesthetics. It calls not for an individualistic literature but one that is open to outside influence:

Mas la invención, la gracia y traza es propia  
a la ingeniosa fábula de España,  
no cual dicen los émulos impropia.

Cenas y actos suple la maraña  
tan intrincada, y la soltura della,  
inimitable de ninguna extraña. (III: 598-603)

To create a national theatre, an amalgamation of styles or a “maraña tan intrincada” is needed. Cueva in fact suggests “la imitación en tiempo conveniente / es lícita” (II: 427-428). For Cueva, a laudable literature is only achieved through the reworking of multiple literary forms, ranging from the popular to classical Greek and Latin, the symbiotic nature of which he expounds in the context of Roman sermons:

Por este modo fue el sermon romano  
enriquecido con las voces griegas,  
y peregrinas, cual lo vemos llano. (I: 139-141)

A hybrid literature open to outside influence is thus “enriquecido.” I therefore challenge Icaza’s assertion that the *Ejemplar* borders on xenophobic when Cueva espouses a unique “fábula de España” (1953: xiv). “Fábula” can also mean collective, oral stories, much like the *SIL materia*, which is open to recreation by multiple voices.<sup>23</sup> Here he extends the idea of a “fábula” to include both the popular and the classical.

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<sup>23</sup> Two of Sebastián de Covarrubias’ definitions of *fábula* connote oral storytelling: “Significa el rumor, y hablilla del pueblo, y lo que comunmente se dize, y se habla en el de algun particular, o cosa acontecida. [...] una narració artificiosa, inuentada para deleytar” (1674b: fol. 3).

### Literary Hybridity

Connected to the innovative staging of tenth-century al-Andalus in *Infantes* is its status as a literary experiment that for the first time fuses together medieval literary-cultural heritage with Renaissance Humanist precepts to foreground a return to, and innovation of, the classical, as per the *Ejemplar*. Cueva's *Infantes* can thus be described as "a compromise between his humanistic training and his theatrical instinct" (McKendrick 1989: 53). The context of Seville was not only influential culturally but also intellectually on Cueva, who formed part of the academic circles led by Juan de Mal Lara.<sup>24</sup> He was the first to introduce the structural innovations of Senecan tragedy, Italian metrics and a mix of erudite and vernacular linguistic registers to the Spanish stage (Froldi 2013: 50). Edwin S. Morby underlines "the existence of strong neo-classical elements in Cueva's own plays, elements which have been further obscured by Cueva's obvious non-conformance to neo-classical rules of form" (1937: 383-384). No scholar has however unpacked Cueva's complex fusion of an Andalusí setting and Islamic belief with medieval vernacular and classical literary traditions in *Infantes*. I propose that *Infantes* not only utilises the past to comment on the present, as in its rewriting of the *SIL materia* to focus on Cordova, but also melds it with classical precepts to demonstrate how the past can be productively reused for the future.

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<sup>24</sup> "La educación de Juan de la Cueva fue de tipo humanista, formada en la Universidad de Sevilla, entonces dominada por la personalidad de Juan de Mal Lara" (López Fonseca 2014: 291).

*Infantes* was produced against a backdrop of evolving attitudes towards ancient civilisations and the Middle Ages, although the latter were not yet denoted as such. The sixteenth century saw a renewed interest in time, chronologies, and the spread of calendars and clocks (Bourdon 2017: 49-50). When it came to reusing the classics, “not only does the Renaissance temporality cast an admiring look towards the past, it is also a realisation of the indisputable superiority, in the field of knowledge, of the present time” (Ibid: 51). Ottavio Di Camillo charts the evolution of modern interpretations of the Spanish Renaissance, from Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz and Menéndez Pidal’s belief in the influence of the Middle Ages over the period, to José Antonio Maravall’s *Antiguos y modernos* (1966) which traces the emerging sense of progress amongst sixteenth century Spanish intellectuals (1996: 363). Di Camillo does however admonish Maravall’s misconception of Humanists as nostalgically and conservatively returning to the past in reusing the classics (1996: 372). Such a thesis is easily disproven not only by literature such as Cueva’s but also by Spanish Renaissance thinkers who conceived of their era as distinct, including Cristobal de Villalón, whose 1539 *Ingeniosa comparacion* is one of the earliest attested advocations of “modern progress” in Spain: “hace ver cómo la humanidad [...] va atesorando las riquezas intelectuales de todas las edades, aumentándolas con nuevos descubrimientos y observaciones” (Serrano y Sanz 1898: 68).

The productive nature of early modern Humanism and medievalism is also confirmed elsewhere in Europe. In Italy, Robert Black discerns how “a return to classical authors or classical language was connected with an antipathy towards contemporary aristocratic society dominated by courtly mores and hierarchical values” (2010: 36). In early modern England, Mike Rodman Jones stresses the

productive and anti-conservative nature of medievalism which “existed in a kind of tension between destruction and generation, inspiration, and adaptation” (2016: 90). Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood analyse the amalgamation of classicism and medievalism in European Renaissance art: the period saw an “apprehensiveness about the temporal instability of the artwork, and its re-creation of the artwork as an occasion for reflection on that instability” (2020: 13). It is thus necessary to resituate Cueva’s works not only within a Humanistic recreation of the classics but also within the panorama of European ‘early modern medievalisms’ whereby the past is recalled not only to expose the present’s superiority, but to demonstrate the hold the past has over the future, and how this can be harnessed. Cueva is able to cultivate a temporally unstable and thus plastic theatrical time not only through the disjointed events of *Infantes* but through the play’s very construction: its stylistic, linguistic and cultural references to past eras and traditions that paradoxically enable the characters to look forward.<sup>25</sup>

This is primarily achieved through an amalgamation of versifications. Versification is inseparable from time in the play, as it dictates the pace of each scene. Cueva departs from the traditional octosyllabic verse of the *romancero* and instead uses *redondillas*, as well as “el lenguaje altisonante encajado en octavas reales llenas de pompa clasicista” (Wardropper 1955: 151). Classicist, Italianate verse forms are most often utilised in the play’s soliloquies, exemplified by Viara’s speech at the start

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<sup>25</sup> Christian Biet and Christophe Triau’s idea of theatrical time as “mobile, discontinuous, it can slow down, accelerate or disappear [...] and the spectator will be bidden to a great game of decoding based on her acceptance (or non-acceptance) of the conventions” can thus extend to the traditions *Infantes* renovates (2019: loc. 751).

of Act II which Greer identifies as Stoic in its philosophical underpinnings (1999: 474). It begins:

**VIARA:** Con levantado y favorable vuelo  
de mi pobreza y de mi humilde estado,  
soy subido del bajo suelo al cielo.  
Nací de padres pobres, fui criado  
en una honesta medianía, sujeto  
a la disposición del veloz Hado. (II: 1-6)

Almanzor's lone reflection on Gonzalo in Act III Scene IV exhibits the same ideological clash that preoccupies Viara; namely the relationship between human agency and intangible forces of "vuelo," "Hado" and "fortuna":

**ALMANZOR:** Al padre puse en libertad sabrosa  
no recelando su invencible pecho,  
ni el valor de su mano poderosa  
que me podrá poner en duro estrecho.  
Seguro estoy. Fortuna rigurosa  
favorable m'ha sido, y su despecho  
ha vuelto en piedad y amor conmigo,  
pues vencí tan magnánimo enemigo. (III: 236-243)

Almanzor is able to reflect upon the consequences of his decisions with a self-assuredness that is rooted in his acknowledgment of "fortuna rigurosa"; as a pitiless force in the face of which humans must nevertheless act. Classical philosophy is thus harnessed by both characters not only to look back on their past actions but meditate on what might befall them next.<sup>26</sup> The soliloquies' ideological content is doubly reflected in the verse form: far from gratuitous "pompa clasicista," the

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<sup>26</sup> The primacy of the present in the Renaissance was rooted in Stoic ideals. Bourdon gives the example of Michel de Montaigne who drew "upon the Stoic heritage, the past is no longer; the future has not yet come and is only in the making. All that remains is a history to be written today" (2017: 55).

*tercetos encadenados* are a cumulative rhyme scheme (ABA, BCB, CDC) that similarly look back while consistently building to the future in a forward motion.

An alternation between classicist and Spanish verse forms is also crucial for the forward motion of the plot. After Viara's soliloquy in Act II a *canción* in *redondillas* is performed by an entertainer at Almanzor's court. It connotes popular tradition with a seemingly irrelevant plot.<sup>27</sup> It tells of a woman spilling water on her cousin, who "sintiéndose fatigado de sed, de amor y calor" (II: 84-85), implying a post-coital situation. She douses him with water on purpose, "no se esquivaba aunque se estima" (II: 88). The *canción* is a microcosm of the reuse of tradition in the play, which is not simply entertaining or nostalgic but rather impels the characters forward. In this case Gonzalo emerges from the comfort of Zaida's love in Act I, upon which water is figuratively spilled, anticipating the harsh truth Almanzor compels him to recognise. The repeated refrain "el cántaro todo encima" (II: 91) accelerates the pace and facilitates the emotional release of the meal. Versification transitions induce action later in Act IV, when Ruy Velázquez's mental anguish in the face of Mudarra's vengeance is expressed in *redondillas*: "¡Confuso estoy y alterado! ¡No sé qué camino siga!" (IV: 401-402). Soon after the action proceeds only once Mudarra delivers a measured prayer in *octavas*, "¡Éste es el sitio!, ¡por aquí estoy cierto / que ha de ir huyendo el bélico concierto!" (IV: 439-440). Neither the *redondilla* nor the *octava* is

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<sup>27</sup> The extent to which Cueva drew on popular poetry is hard to ascertain. Francisco E. Porrata inconclusively examines the presence of the *romancero* in the play: the banquet scene in Act II echoes the ballad "Convidárame a comer;" Haxa also quotes the "Romance de Conde Claros" in conversation with Almanzor in Act III; Act IV echoes "A caza va don Rodrigo" (1972: 120-123). *Infantes* contains so many details attested by the chronicles as well as innovations, that pinpointing an exact source — as with any rewriting of the *materia* — is impossible.

confined to a role of action or reflection; both forms are multifaceted and necessary for the play's progress.

In addition to the interplay of Spanish and classical verse, *Infantes* also interweaves classical intertexts with the *SIL materia*. Morby first identified the "pervasive influence" of Senecan tragedy in Cueva (1937: 384), while Menéndez Pidal specifies that the cannibalistic undertones of the revelation of the *infantes'* heads at dinner were inspired by Seneca's *Thyestes* (1971: 564).<sup>28</sup> Morby also notes that like Seneca, Cueva's monologues "look backward to preceding events and forward to events to come" (1937: 385).<sup>29</sup> Cueva's plays also make use of "the pursuing ghosts of Senecan tragedy" (1937: 388), which also permeate *Infantes'* structure: the tragedy that befell "Siete infantes" in battle is excluded from yet is central to the rest of the action. The play's generic designation is therefore perhaps a misnomer: *Infantes* is not a tragedy in itself, but rather a demonstration of how a past tragedy (that of the *infantes* that is not staged) can be put to productive use for the future, whether that is the literal past of the play's characters or the literary-cultural tradition available to the sixteenth-century playwright.

The same ethos can be identified in the brief classicisms that pepper the characters' speech. These do not simply represent gratuitous erudition but have a symbolic function in the plot. As noted above, their use by Andalusí characters like Almanzor evokes Andalusí Muslim global reach and knowledge in the face of increased *morisco*

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<sup>28</sup> For a detailed comparison see Greer (1999: 473-474).

<sup>29</sup> I would not over-determine Seneca's influence on Cueva, as Morby does by suggesting that the 'revenge' trope came from Seneca. Greer also suggests it was appealing because of a new Renaissance crisis of the aristocracy (1999: 478). Both readings dislocate *Infantes* from earlier rewritings of the *SIL materia* in which vengeance is central.

marginalisation. Interspersed classical references also represent the characters' effective reuse of the past to alter their own trajectories. A prime example is Zaida and Haxa's spell, a source of which Menéndez Pidal identifies in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue (1971: 124). In this scene both the women — by using traditional magical practice — and the playwright — by utilising classical tradition — are aiming to change the future of both the individual and medievalism. A final example of productive classicism comes at the start of Act IV: addressing Mudarra on his departure, Zaida uses a classical frame of reference to process her past and look forward:

**ZAIDA:** Ceres con rica y fértil opulencia  
 ha diez y siete veces el granero  
 del labrador solícito colmado,  
 y Baco se ha otras tantas coronado.  
 Bien instituido vas de todo hecho  
 y con gente que todo el caso entienden. (IV: 5-10)

Her fertility and Mudarra's successful rearing in Cordova are figuratively approved by Ceres and Bacchus, Roman gods of agriculture.

To what end, then, do “la poesía y los sentimientos populares coexisten con el arte erudito” (López Fonseca 2014: 292) in *Infantes*? The play's amalgamation of the *SIL materia* with classicism is intrinsic to its conceptualisation of early modern medievalism and its justification of it as a productive literary mode. Not only does the classicist cadence of *Infantes*' medievalist characters allow them to express how their own past affects their futures, but the stylistic blend of past tradition enables an audience to witness the expansive limits and potential of rewriting extant literatures. For a contemporary audience, fusing medieval literary tradition with the

classics would make its status as a rewriting more obvious and constructed than the chronicles and ballads that came before. These classical-medieval hybrid characters are situated in a more self-consciously fictionalised time, somewhere between past and future.

A useful parallel to Cueva's invention of theatrical medievalism as a hybrid amalgamation of multiple past traditions is — somewhat surprisingly — Bertolt Brecht. Jonathan Dollimore explains how Brecht's rewriting of Shakespeare, "helped to produce real historical insight into Shakespeare's plays and his culture. [...] Brecht appropriates the past for the present while remaining committed to the past as different" (1989: xlv). Brecht also transforms the past to engage with its influence over the future:

For Brecht the sense of a deeply inadequate present historical moment combines with a non-nostalgic wish to know rather than relive the difference of the past, learning from it being a precondition for understanding and being able to change the present. (Ibid)

The same could be said for Cueva: by combining hitherto unlinked past literary-cultural traditions, he alienates his audience from both and forces them to reconsider them anew, as a present undertaking, informed by different literary modes of expression. The future is not only Cueva's multicultural present, challenged by the play's diverse milieu. It is also what will come next, and this is the play's primary ideological concern: it constitutes a series of episodes where characters must harness the past in order to shape the future.

### Spectres of/for the Future

The action of *Infantes* complements the valence of its stylistic innovations: characters harness their pasts to look towards and change the future. There is not a sense, as there is in the chronicles and subsequently in Lope's play, of the past being subjectively recreated every time it is invoked. Instead, here the past *is past*, and it is the impetus not only for *Infantes'* characters but also the playwright to look to the future and innovate, for better or for worse. In each scene characters reflect on what has gone before and what will happen as a result. This contrasts to prior rewritings in which the narrative unfolds chronologically, without the characters being conscious of their place in a temporal trajectory.

The very opening of *Infantes* depends upon a past — namely that which occurred before the action unfolding in Cordova — and thereby cuts out the first half of the story found in earlier rewritings. The *argumento* tellingly begins “quedando muertos los siete infantes”; a continuous tense that highlights the past's ongoing relevance for the action that unfolds (Cebrián 1992: 217). Kluge rightly identifies the importance of *Infantes'* dislocated opening:

The conspicuous nonpresence or indeed nonexistence of the very characters *which most spectators and readers would assume to be the play's protagonists* points [...] to an underlying conception of the heroic past as something which is not alive anymore: as something that is irretrievably past and therefore, essentially, an object that pertains to the sphere of historiography. (2020: 280-281, emphasis mine)

Here Kluge paradoxically recognises the importance of audience expectation while decrying the *SIL materia* as “irretrievably past,” when it is a living tradition open for

innovation in ballads and now theatre. Time is thus central to *Infantes* but not in the way that Kluge suggests; I conversely propose that *Infantes* makes a stylistic and thematic case for harnessing past tradition as a productive way to transform the future by depicting characters who work through their immediate pasts, rationalise them and move forward.

The opening scene, discussed above, features Almanzor hearing of the battle from Galve and Viara. Rather than revel in the victory, Almanzor responds with a quick transition into the present tense, making orders for the battle's ceremonial commemoration and Gonzalo's freedom:

**ALMANZOR:** Haced que a la Mezquita vayan luego,  
adornen los altares con piadoso  
enciense, y rociad el santo fuego  
con sangre humana en culto religioso.  
De la cárcel do vive sin sosiego  
Gonzalo Bustos, luego presuroso  
me lo traed aquí, que con él quiero  
serle piadoso en su desastre fiero. (I: 151-158)

Almanzor's *octavas reales* are confined within a scarcely altering rhyme scheme, underscoring the speed with which he foresees events moving as a result of the victory. Almanzor then impels Gonzalo to recognise how the past will alter his fate. When Gonzalo is removed from his cell in Act I, Almanzor invites him to dinner instead of explaining what happened to the *infantes* then and there, and reminds Gonzalo: "Ten en Alá confianza, / que todo se hará bien" (I: 319-320). Gonzalo immediately agrees, "¡Iré a gozar tal privanza!" (I: 322), impelling the action forward rather than back to a historiographical-style narrative.

The banquet in Act II is a ceremony constructed for Gonzalo to recognise the past and move on from Cordova. Before the heads are revealed, Almanzor questions Gonzalo to compel him to recognise true emotion, and the latter eventually recognises his sons' fate and what he must do next:

**ALMANZOR:** En esta captividad,

¿Ser libre querrás, amigo?

**GONZALO:** Señor, comiendo contigo  
cierta está mi libertad.

**ALMANZOR:** ¿No te congoja ni pena  
otra cosa en este estado?

**GONZALO:** Mis hijos me dan cuidado  
más que mi dura cadena.

**ALMANZOR:** Si es eso tan importante,

¿Recebirás gran placer

si te los hago traer

a todos siete delante? (II: 112-123, emphasis mine)

Gonzalo is unable to recognise what true "libertad" is beyond the treat of a dinner beyond his cell. Almanzor encourages him to recognise his "congoja," "pena" and "placer," as well as the past that is haunting him, "más que mi dura cadena." There is also an obvious grammatical disjunction that Gonzalo fails to recognise: while Almanzor's language is certain, "*Recebirás gran placer / si te los hago traer*," Gonzalo then responds "*me fuera sumo remedio*" (II: 125, emphasis mine). They are on two distinct temporal plains, or levels of knowledge, as Almanzor responds and continues to speak in the present and future tense, rather than hypotheticals. Gonzalo's ignorance of his family's fate is then underscored by a strange diversion in their conversation. While Almanzor promises to bring Gonzalo's sons before him, he also asks him whether he has enjoyed the meal, to which Gonzalo responds he missed the "sabor de tocino" (II: 138). Gonzalo's trivial diversion and his refusal to push Almanzor for knowledge about the sons that supposedly "me dan cuidado" (II:

118), therefore go some way towards explaining Almanzor's sinister final words, that "recibiré gran placer / que puestas delante ti" (II: 160-161). The "placer" Almanzor claims to feel instead stems from a frustration with Gonzalo's apathy and would come about once Gonzalo shows real emotion in light of the truth.

Indeed, as soon as Gonzalo confronts the severed heads, he snaps out of his delusion: "Rey, ¡ya he visto mi fortuna / y mis últimos desgustos!" (II: 187-188). "Fortuna" holds sway over Gonzalo's future which only now is he able to consider through a lament for his sons. For Cuenca Cabeza, Gonzalo's ensuing lament is "la escena de mayor carga dramática" (1990: 78). Yet this "carga dramática" is undermined by both the style and content of the speech. Gonzalo dissonantly continues in the same metre and ABBA rhyme scheme with which Truhán jovially sung the *canción*, keeping the same fast pace. Gonzalo's lament is redolent of the same scene in the *C1344*, in which he describes his son's public renown as noble knights. *Infantes* takes this deindividualization to the extreme: Gonzalo is distanced from his sons, whom he refers to as "los siete Infantes de Lara" (II: 180), a public epithet that speaks to their abstract role in the play as a memory. He then goes on to lament them *en masse*, without so much as mentioning one son individually:

**GONZALO:** ¿Dó vuestros famosos hechos?  
Hijos, ¿dó vuestras hazañas?  
¿Dó las belicosas mañas?  
¿Dó los invencibles pechos? (II: 196-199)

¿Qué enemigos combatiendo  
hubo en valor tan constantes,  
que al nombre de los Infantes  
no revolviesen huyendo? (II: 212-215)

Gonzalo is preoccupied with their public, collective identity, unsurprising to an audience who has witnessed his supplication to Almanzor in Act I, in which Gonzalo never once mentions his family, only his own personal suffering. The only person addressed individually by Gonzalo is Nuño Salido, the eighth head, from whom he unrealistically demands answers for their loss: “dame cuenta / de esta dolorosa afrenta” (II: 224-225). He then reflects:

**GONZALO:** ¿Qué ciega ignorancia es ésta,  
que a muertos pido respuesta  
de mi extraña desventura? (II: 233-235)

Gonzalo finally recognises his blindness in conversation with ‘Nuño’ and it extends to his prior ignorance towards the entire situation. Gonzalo should have been able to foresee their fate, given he read Ruy’s letter planning the deaths of the *infantes* in Act I. Gonzalo is thus unable to look forward and use the past —whether the letter or his knowledge of Ruy’s capabilities, given he ordered his imprisonment — to interpret the future and predict its possible repercussions without Almanzor’s guidance and the disturbing ceremony that makes impossibly present the now-dead *infantes*.

Almanzor’s positive role is, meanwhile, evident by the end of Act II. He agrees to free Gonzalo, upon seeing him finally exhibit sadness and rage:

**ALMANZOR:** Consuela tu desconsuelo  
el cual me lastima y mueve  
de suerte, que me conmueve  
a sentir tu tierno duelo. (II: 284-287)

Almanzor's behaviour towards Gonzalo after the lament underscores what Matas Caballero has called his "paradoxical" characterisation: "Almanzor es presentado con la imagen de un hombre con una paradójica mezcla de innecesaria crueldad y de generosidad de espíritu" (2015). His "innecesaria crueldad" is a necessary act of gradual revelation to dispel Gonzalo's self-imposed ignorance. Almanzor's paradoxical role is akin to that of the playwright: he controls the reinvocation of the story and demonstrates the benefits of working through the past.

Hermenegildo rightly noted that the *infantes'* deaths influence more than just Gonzalo in *Infantes*: "el espíritu de los Infantes sea quien está invadiendo y vivificando los móviles que impulsan a todos los personajes" (1973: 293). The same past can be reused to different ends, yet not all characters agree to its transformation. Mudarra's desire to avenge his father and the *infantes* in Act IV is one such example. Mudarra leaves Cordova and explains to his vassals how his mother "me ha contado el mal y afrenta" (IV: 45) that befell his father Gonzalo Bustos, stressing the vicarious nature of his quest. By now, the lives of the *infantes* and his father's past are stories told to Mudarra, in the same way the audience has received the events that took place prior to the action of *Infantes*. *Infantes* draws on the chronicle technique of embedded narratives, although here the focus is not on the veracity of Zaida's account — which is never voiced on stage — but what Mudarra does with this information, and whether it is justified.

Gonzalo notably objects to Mudarra's interpretation and response to their family history, and he twice breaks up the increasingly agitated confrontation between his son and Ruy Velázquez:

**GONZALO:** Tente, hijo no te ofrezcas  
tan ciegamente a tu ira  
[...]  
Sí, mas no te ensoberbezcas.  
Pon en la vaina el espada. (IV: 369-373)

Sosíégate, hijo, un tanto  
de esas culpas y disculpas  
y vamos donde tus culpas  
laves con Bautismo santo. (IV: 381-384)

Gonzalo codes Mudarra's ignorance of the family past as blindness, just as he did during his own imprisonment. Gonzalo is more concerned with Mudarra's conversion — or social assimilation — and shows no interest in avenging the *infantes*. Gonzalo's apathy towards Mudarra's vengeance is concordant with his reluctance to recognise their deaths in Cordova. Once again, the Andalusí influence, whether Almanzor or Mudarra, is necessary to spur on a future that even Ruy Velázquez recognises to be inevitable.

The traitor Ruy Velázquez is depicted as curiously repentant in a panicked soliloquy recited in fast-paced *redondillas*, which constitutes the entirety of Act IV scene V:

**RUY:** ¡Ay triste!, bien claro veo  
la maldad que cometí  
cuando a los Infantes di  
A los moros por trofeo. (IV: 409-412)

Ruy professes regret and resolves to flee to Barbadillo. Mudarra confronts him with violent threats, although Ruy reacts only passively and resigns himself to an inevitable death, “no me atrevo / sustentar la batalla al enemigo” (IV: 443-444). Ruy's attitude in these final moments is unique to *Infantes* amongst other rewritings of the *SIL materia*. Furthermore, to an audience familiar with either the medieval or

early modern chronicle rewritings it would appear as though Ruy knows he is destined to die. Ruy's language reveals him to be disempowered by time itself: "Seguro tiempo y diestro aguero llevo" (IV: 441). Even Mudarra is surprised at his behaviour and questions "¿No te defiendes? ¿Esta es tu braveza?" (IV: 457). Mudarra and his men then kill a defenceless and apathetic Ruy.

Mudarra then sets his sights on Lambra. Her appearance for the first time in Act IV is disorienting for an audience who have not yet heard her speak. Lambra's influence and role in the deaths of the *infantes* remains obscured: she is only mentioned once before by Mudarra in Act IV Scene I, although he fails to describe her involvement in his half-brothers deaths. Lambra's lament betrays no acknowledgment of her prior actions (IV: 473-496). Yet Mudarra persists and accuses her of treachery, "que yo vengo de los Infantes" (IV: 503-504). Lambra responds "Si en ese pecho el gran valor aspira / de tu padre, usarás de más templanza" (IV: 505-506). Ruy had similarly plead for Mudarra's good nature prior to his death, calling on him to exercise "piedad" (IV: 453). Lambra's plea also calls into question Mudarra's connection to the family by suggesting he is not exercising a family trait, "templanza," an accusation that holds even more weight in light of Gonzalo's lack of enthusiasm for Mudarra's revenge earlier in Act IV. Lambra then continues to berate Mudarra, imploring "Desnúdate de saña" (IV: 509), a loaded turn of phrase which implies that his behaviour is in fact nothing but a mere role he is 'wearing' without proper justification. After Lambra finally announces her own death, "yo ya muero" (IV: 512), Mudarra is still bloodthirsty and unsatisfied:

**MUDARRA:** Parte de la maldad por esta vía  
se va pagando, y no cual yo deseo

y cual espero ver; que el ansia mía  
 más castigo demanda y más trofeo.  
 Claros Infantes, cuya valentía  
 en la inmortalidad escrita veo,  
 ¡recebí esta venganza, que declara  
 que nació del valor de los de Lara! (IV: 513-520)

These final lines of the play have Mudarra address the *infantes* as Gonzalo Bustos addressed Nuño Salido's lifeless head in Act II. Mudarra talks to his half-brothers in the present tense, this time without their bodily presence, and thereby reinforces their status as the inescapable history of the Lara family that has led to the play's violent denouement. "Claros Infantes, cuya valentía / en la inmortalidad escrita veo" appears a prophetic interjection by the playwright acknowledging the now concrete textualization of the *materia*. Yet these final words are inconclusive and sit uncomfortably with the audience: Act IV provides a lasting comment on the paradoxical presence of the past, and its haunting yet unstable, mutable nature in the eye of the beholder who can refashion it to shape the future, as Mudarra has done in his murderous spree. The behaviour of Ruy and Gonzalo, as well as Lambra's late appearance, mean the possibility remains that Mudarra's actions are based upon an incorrect, rewritten form of the past. Cueva's play thus ends ambivalently: the past can be productively reworked to justify actions in the future, yet it can also be manipulated to extremes.

In addition to demonstrating how the story of the *infantes* is refashioned and processed to affect the futures of the Castilian faction, including Mudarra, other pasts are invoked by the play's Andalusí characters to shape their futures, some of which have been gestured to above, including the use of classical referents by Zaida to preface Mudarra's departure. Viara is another good example: his lament has

already been analysed as a paradigmatic example of Andalusí erudition, particularly stoicism, and social commentary. Viara explores how his own personal history has shaped his present and ponders how both might affect his future. In recounting his childhood he notes how one moment can change one's entire trajectory: "siervo nació y libre fui en una *hora* / regí la gente que en Mahoma adora" (II: 10-11). His self-awareness extends to an acknowledgment that he used to despise poverty and the poor, but he now dislikes wealth and how his elevated status now makes him feel "tan trocado" (II: 18-21); out of place in a society in which his position makes him "aborrecido y enojoso" (II: 21-26). Viara finds the present uncomfortable:

**VIARA:** ¿De qué me sirve agora el gran renombre  
de general, si todos me aborrecen? (II: 33-34)

More than forty lines pass before Viara expresses his principal "queja": the potential futility of "los claros hechos que ennoblecen la nación otomana" (II: 36-37). He looks forward and wishes for a hypothetical situation in which "estuviera quieto y recogido / con mi posible, sin buscar entrada / en lugar a mis ritos prohibido" (II: 42-43). Viara's reflection enables him to synthesise his past and present and thus make a hypothetical plan for what will come next: perhaps the abandonment of his position in Almanzor's retinue. The soliloquy suspends the play's own time and encapsulates perfectly how personal pasts can be shaped and reshaped to determine the future on an individual level.

The transformation of the past is thus not only a stylistic but a thematic concern throughout *Infantes*. In light of Cueva's multifaceted invention of theatrical

medievalism, Francisco Ruiz Ramón's comments on the playwright's life and work are incongruous:

En un imaginario museo del teatro su estatua debería ser colocada en el umbral que separa y une lo antiguo y lo nuevo. Llevaría una venda en los ojos y tendría las manos tendidas hacia el futuro. (2000: 113)

*Infantes* disproves the hypothesis that this figurative statue would be wearing a blindfold: while Cueva might not know the future, he identifies the limitless potential — and indeed inevitable influence — of past tradition. Some four centuries later, Jacques Derrida too explored the ongoing, inescapable relevance of past ideas as spectres:

What does it mean to follow a ghost? And what if this came down to being followed by it, always, persecuted perhaps by the very chase we are leading? Here again what seems to be out front, the future, comes back in advance: from the past, from the back. (2006: 10)

For Derrida, the past or the “specter” is in fact the future: “it is always to come, it presents itself only as that which could come or come back” (2006: 48). The haunting spectre as a past concept, idea or tradition, literary or otherwise, encapsulates Cueva's futuristic medievalism both thematically (by presenting a series of characters working through personal pasts) and, more obviously, structurally (by reworking extant Castilian literary material through fusing it with classicist tropes). Any spectre's connection to the past is only partial, as Peter Buse and Andrew Stott note: “ghosts arrive from the past and appear in the present. [...] The temporality to which the ghost is subject is therefore paradoxical, at once they ‘return’ and make their apparitional debut” (1999: 11). Like Derrida's spectre, Cueva's treatment of past tradition creates a temporal disjunction that

demonstrates the productive, transformative and future-orientated potential of the past that in reality has no identifiable origin, just as the *SIL materia* lacks a concrete Ur-text. The *materia* is thus both “present and absent” in any rewriting and both “known” and “unknown” at the same time; a feature of Cueva’s radical rewriting and all those that are yet to come.

### Conclusions

It is notable that what sparked a critique of *Infantes* by its first scholars was precisely how Cueva fails to reflect earlier versions of the *SIL materia*, from a loss of the “argumento tradicional” and the inclusion of Act III, “inútil para la acción” (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 124), to a fundamental “falta de conexión dramática” (Hermenegildo 1973: 301). The next chapter will analyse a similar judgment on Lope’s play, where an anonymous hand interpolates another scene to complete the purportedly deficient rewriting that is his *tragicomedia*. If *Infantes* is considered on its own merits, as a reaction and rewriting rather than a mere staging of prior iterations of the *materia*, it is possible to unpack how Cueva formulates his revolutionary form of medievalism for the stage. It is through a patchwork of literary traditions, temporalities, poetic styles and versifications that *Infantes* reveals its decentred, heterogeneous nature that runs counter to the idea of ‘nation’ that was simultaneously being crafted in contemporaneous historiographical narratives that sought to propagate a culturally homogeneous Spain. The play’s focus on Cordova and development of Andalusí characters also attest to this.

Alongside reaffirming the power and ongoing presence of Iberian Muslims and the importance of a diverse Spanish theatre open to outside influence for a contemporary audience, the play's characters process their individual histories and use them to shape what might happen next. The events that play out within the suspended, fantastical timescale of *Infantes* thus mirror the productive reuse of the past as an omnipresent spectre at the level of ideology and poetic structure. Ultimately *Infantes* — perhaps more than any prior or subsequent rewriting of the *SIL materia* — exposes the openness and paradoxical modernity of medievalism as a literary mode. *Infantes* is looking forward, in both form and content; anticipating the new forms and uses it would be put to in the centuries to come.

## Chapter Four

### Tragicomedy as Social Commentary in Lope de Vega's *El bastardo*

#### *Mudarra, Tragicomedia (1612)*

The expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain at the behest of Philip III began in 1609 and lasted until 1614. In 1612, three years into this process, early modern Spain's most prolific dramatist Lope de Vega rewrote the *SIL materia* in the form of *El bastardo Mudarra, Tragicomedia* (henceforth *Bastardo*). Like Juan de la Cueva before him, Lope staged the tenth-century Cordovan borderland and Andalusi ascendancy against a backdrop of the marginalisation of the *morisco* community, whose struggle had intensified since 1579. After the War of the Alpujarras (1568-1571), the late-sixteenth century saw the dispersal of Granadan *moriscos* across Spain and their surveillance and repression by the Inquisition in their new settlements.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere *moriscos* did assimilate into their communities as well as resist Old Christian hegemony.<sup>2</sup> The attitudes of 'old Christian' Spaniards towards this minority were far from a monolithic adherence to the monarchical and Inquisitorial line, and competing ideas emerged in political and literary discourse in the years leading up to the expulsion.<sup>3</sup> *Bastardo* is part of this discourse, and I newly

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<sup>1</sup> Mercedes García-Arenal's study of the Inquisitorial trials of *moriscos* in Cuenca after the resettlement gives a glimpse into the everyday repression suffered by the minority in Castile (1978).

<sup>2</sup> See Trevor J. Dadson (2014) and William P. Childers (2021).

<sup>3</sup> Henry Kamen notes that voices critical of *limpieza* emerged towards the seventeenth century, such as Juan de Mariana and Agustín Salucio: "it was a struggle which deeply preoccupied civic and religious leaders, at the very time when Lope de Vega was active and Calderón was writing his earlier plays. The work of these dramatists must be viewed against a background, not only of traditional racism, but also of conscientious soul-searching among Castilian clergy and intellectuals" (1996: 24). Elsewhere Kamen cites the alternatives to expulsion recommended by Pedro de Valencia (1606) and Juan de Idiáquez (1607) (2014a: 203).

argue that its rewriting of tenth-century al-Andalus in 1612 contradicts the institutional racism of the expulsion by thematising the constructed nature of race and religion as identity categories.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, its depiction of the Castilian side of the border places special emphasis on the degenerate nobility, a critique of which emerged in the *Crónica de 1344* and in the cluelessness and superficiality of Cueva's Gonzalo Bustos. *Bastardo* gives the most damning portrayal of the Castilian *hidalguía* yet: all members of the Lara-Salas faction are constrained by a constructed notion of nobility, their adherence to which results in self-destructive behaviour.

Lope's play begins in Act I at the wedding of Ruy and Alambra in Burgos with conflict at a *tablado*. Alambra praises her cousin Álvaro's performance — yet there is no incestuous insinuation — who is then killed by the youngest *infante* Gonzalo. The events are discussed by Lope, Gonzalo's *escudero*, and Ruy's servant Mendo. Alambra is then followed to Barbadillo by the *infantes* where Gonzalo kills her servant Estebáñez. Meanwhile Constanza, another of Alambra's cousins, falls in love with Gonzalo. The act ends with Ruy sending the treacherous letter with Bustos, the *infantes* father, to Cordova to orchestrate the battle in which the *infantes* will die. The second act shifts to al-Andalus where Almanzor and his vassals receive Bustos. Ruy leads the *infantes* into the doomed battle while their tutor Nuño fails to dissuade them with bad omens and leaves. Lope accompanies the *infantes* but escapes in order to recount the story later. Alambra and Ruy confront Constanza who is

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<sup>4</sup> Although Antonio Feros avoids using 'racism' to describe the expulsion, he concedes that "one factor that permitted the *Moriscos* to be expelled was the Christian majority's essentialist characterisation of them" (2014: 64), which fits Geraldine Heng's formulation of racialisation discussed in Chapter One. John Beusterien cites Mary Elizabeth Perry (2005) who justifies talking of *morisco* racialisation, as they were strategically essentialised and denied privileges through the *limpieza* statutes (2006: 15).

distraught at the *infantes'* deaths. Bustos finds out and is set free from Cordova, granting half a ring to the pregnant Arlaja whose child – if male - should take it to Castile. Act III jumps forward in time: Arlaja and Gonzalo's son Mudarra is playing chess with Almanzor, whom he believes to be his father. He finds out his parentage from Arlaja and travels to Castile with his vassal Zayde. They meet Lope and Clara, daughter of Gonzalo and Constanza, with whom Mudarra falls in love. Mudarra meets his decrepit, blind father Bustos whose sight is miraculously restored. Mudarra kills Ruy and the play ends with a brief mention of his baptism and transformation into a vassal of Count Garci Fernández.

Lope's theatre and the *comedia* more broadly have long been dislocated from José Antonio Maravall's view that they convey only the ideas of the ruling classes (1975), or José María Díez Borque's more direct formulation of them as propaganda (1987).<sup>5</sup> In *comedias históricas* other than *Bastardo*, Veronika Ryjik finds a repurposing of the proto-nationalist medieval mythology of *neogoticismo* — which stressed an unbroken link between the Visigothic and medieval Christian Kingdoms — for collective unity in early modern Spain (2011: 35).<sup>6</sup> I challenge this idea with an analysis of *Bastardo*, a *tragicomedia* that takes a sceptical — often sardonic — view of collective identity predicated upon race, religion or a shared literary history.

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<sup>5</sup> See Walter Cohen (1985), John Beverley (1988), Melveena McKendrick (1989), Jonathan Thacker (2002) and Antonio Carreño-Rodríguez (2009).

<sup>6</sup> Ryjik's cogent defence of a "conciencia nacional" cultivated through the *corrales* notwithstanding, her argument hinges on a historiographical fallacy: that "el mito neogótico perdura en la historiografía medieval y con el tiempo se extiende por toda la Península" (2011: 10). The *EE amplificada* disproves that all medieval historiography monolithically conveys this ideology. Ryjik also anachronistically invokes the notion of 'Reconquest': "los pueblos peninsulares no sólo se vinculan entre ellos a partir del mito de descendencia de los godos [...] sino que comparten una conciencia de comunidad religiosa, reforzada por la constante presencia amenazadora del 'otro'" (2011: 11). This overlooks recent scholarship on its politicised origins amidst nineteenth-century nationalism and its status as a Castilian rather than cross-Peninsula project (see Eduardo Manzano Moreno (2000), Martín F. Ríos Saloma (2011), and Alejandro García-Sanjuán (2018)).

While in the medieval chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia* identity change can occur between defined categories, *Bastardo* renders these very categories flimsy, namely Christian-Castilian and Muslim-Andalusi, and reveals their constructed nature. *Bastardo* then goes beyond earlier rewritings by desacralising Christianity and Islam, exposing Christian morality as ineffectual through omens and having both Christian and Muslim characters resort to a classical frame of reference, akin to Cueva's play. It therefore conveys a scepticism towards the capacity of both religion and race to define a collective, a prescient — if jaded — statement in light of the racialisation and expulsion of *moriscos*. This analysis counters extant readings that propose the depiction of Muslims in Lope's *comedias* supports dominant discourses of racism, expulsion and Christian hegemony, such as Thomas Case's view that they "are very uncritical and patriotic and seem to respond to the need of the public to believe in their historical destiny" (1993: 69-70). In restaging a medieval story in which identity change is central and debated, *Bastardo* sets the tenth century against the exclusive politics of its contemporary Spain and thus departs from traditional models of maurophilia located largely in recreations of the late-medieval Kingdom of Granada.

Alongside its rejection of the capacity of race and religion to constitute stable collective or individual identities, *Bastardo* also destabilises its audience's possible literary-cultural memories by making obvious the rewriting of the *materia* on stage. While in Cueva's *Infantes* events take place off-stage and are then described by characters, *Bastardo* stages events that are repeatedly *retold* by characters all with differing viewpoints, augmenting the number of embedded narratives found in the chronicles. Lope also includes more anachronisms than Cueva, having characters

recite later ballads and poems to undermine the tenth-century setting. *Bastardo* was in fact composed in a form targeted at a larger and more socially diverse public than any of the rewritings of the *materia* considered thus far. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's work on the novel's capacity to create imagined communities, Ryjik proposes the *comedia* created an emerging *conciencia nacional*, facilitated by the growth of this public form of theatre in Lope's day (2011: 20).<sup>7</sup> I build on Ryjik's work by exploring how *Bastardo's* rewriting of the *SIL materia* destabilises its canonical position in the literary-cultural memory of a broader public. Lope's invocation of Castilian literary-cultural memory is ambivalent in its anachronism, a reading that challenges the idea that *Bastardo* merely rewrites history to entertain or memorialise.<sup>8</sup> *Bastardo's* radical rewriting of the *SIL materia* did in fact cause discomfort for its earliest audiences: appended to the autograph manuscript is yet another rewriting in the form of a short scene including Mudarra's murder of Alambra, deemed necessary by the anonymous interpolator. This analysis will show, however, that it is not Alambra's escape but Constanza and Clara who nullify the central tension found in earlier rewritings — the dynastic severing of the Lara family — and shift the focus onto what caused the nobility's downfall in the first place.

The answer, according to *Bastardo*, lies in the relationship between the individual and society. As well as maintaining and renovating the focus on race, religion and rewriting found in earlier rewritings, *Bastardo* newly uses the story of the *infantes* and Mudarra to expose the powerlessness of the noble individual in the face of social

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<sup>7</sup> See also Díez Borque on the growth of the *corrales* in this period (1978: 6-7). Maravall proposed that the large, diverse audience of the *comedia* led to "un efecto masivo" (1975: 222). This has been nuanced by Ryjik as the *comedia's* capacity to foment a *conciencia nacional*.

<sup>8</sup> See Susan de Carvalho (1988) and Antonio Sánchez Jiménez (2003).

forces. The Castilian characters are continually defined and judged by others, not only in their retellings of the play's story but in conversation and even in the play's accusatory title, "El bastardo Mudarra." This analysis builds upon Thacker's identification of the socially transformative potential of metatheatre in the *comedia*:

Metatheatre, by subverting role-play, by allowing the individual to choose another role outside his expected social role in Golden Age stage society and play it, presents the audience with a strategy for real social life. (2002: 16)

Rather than provide a productive strategy for its audience, *Bastardo* affords them a stark warning in its staging of a medieval Castilian nobility bound by constructed social expectation. Adherence to these norms can lead to death (in the case of the *infantes* and Bustos) or they can be exploited for personal gain (Ruy Velázquez and Alambra).

*Bastardo's* critique of constructed notions of nobility is foregrounded by its contemporary evolution from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. An increasingly urbanised, aristocratic elite began to take roles in the central administration, differentiating themselves from landed *hijosdalgo* who retained the legal status and privileges but did not necessarily hold wealth or power.<sup>9</sup> At the same time, essentialised notions of *sangre* and *limpieza* were still prerequisites for entry into this class, even if an illustrious lineage and reputation could be purchased.<sup>10</sup> In 1612 the category of *hijodalgo* was therefore beset with paradoxes:

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<sup>9</sup> As Maravall put it, "desde los castillos no se forman élites; desde las estructuras administrativas del Estado moderno, sí" (1979: 192). I. A. A. Thompson explains how at this time "*hidalguía* was socially prescriptive, a necessary though not sufficient condition for social esteem; but it was not necessarily related to any other criteria of eliteness – power, wealth, or even respect" (1995: 184).

<sup>10</sup> The justifications of royal *privilegios* "rested first and foremost on blood" even into the seventeenth century (Thompson 1985: 381). See also Maravall (1979: 44). These justifications could be

it was contingent enough to be transformed through political work, self-fashioned and bought, although its construction still relied on conservative, medieval notions of inherited *hidalguía* going back to Alfonso X's *Siete partidas* in which it is “nobleza que viene a los hombres por linaje” (1992: 196). *Bastardo* stages this tension by mocking their endogamy and exposing how their internal conflicts are spawned from adherence to *honra* and *honor*.<sup>11</sup>

It is, however, not a play that hinges on one man's restitution of or obsession with his honour, but its society is latently conditioned by it to its detriment.<sup>12</sup> In *Bastardo*, *honra* denotes a noble's inherited rank. *Honor*, meanwhile, is a nebulous concept achievable through actions. It is notable that neither *honra* nor *honor* is used to refer to moral goodness.<sup>13</sup> Both concepts are instead how the nobility defines and defends itself, which drives the play's tragicomic stance: *honra* and *honor* have no moral value and can be held by characters as treacherous as Ruy Velázquez. Their adherence to unproductive social constructs has precedent in the chronicle rewritings of the *SIL materia*, in which growing their socioeconomic status drives the noblemen to violence. Mudarra is the only individual who endeavours both to

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constructed by hired genealogists (Knezevic and Soares da Cunha 2019: 146), while powerful nobles could legitimise heirs and extra-marital spouses (Coolidge 2016: 83).

<sup>11</sup> *Bastardo*'s critique of the nobility could even be read in light of its playwright's own pretensions to join their ranks, although such a biographical reading overlooks the wider societal resonance for its earliest audiences. On Lope's reliance upon noble patronage see Elizabeth R. Wright (2001).

<sup>12</sup> Many Lopean *comedias* depict a threat to one man's honour predicated upon female sexuality, including *El castigo sin venganza* (1619) (Larson 2014: 1-2). Here it is not Ruy's *honra* but offences against his wife that require restitution, and Alambra's promiscuity is absent in contrast to the chronicles.

<sup>13</sup> A. Robert Lauer finds that in the *comedia*, *honra* is most often “associated with the idea of surplus, ambition, property, wealth, power, high office, war, and culturally-specific masculine values. This kind of honor is partly innate and partly acquired” (2014: 79), while *honor* can also be used in this sense too. Meanwhile, *honor* can also be configured as “internal good of the mind,” irrespective of social rank (Ibid: 83).

define himself and strategically self-fashion.<sup>14</sup> He attempts the former in conversation with his father Bustos, although he is ironically disguised as an anonymous “mancebo” from Cordova. He then attempts conversion and social assimilation in Castile, although he only shifts between pre-existing categories that are proven to be constructed insubstantially and/or dangerous for the individual to adhere to; namely race, religion and social rank. Mudarra’s swift transformation from Andalusí to Castilian is calculated and initiated by base desires; namely his anger at Almanzor for defining him “bastardo,” and later out of desire for Clara. The speed and flippancy with which he converts at the play’s close underscores this *comedia*’s tragicomic deconstruction of extant social structures. I therefore disagree with Amy E. Wright’s assessment that Mudarra’s role is “la rectificación de los males infligidos sobre la familia de los Lara queda paralizada frente a un sistema de patronazgo y parentesco” (2002: 205). Mudarra’s attempt to assimilate within this system exposes, and makes fun of, its ineffectual paralysis.

No assessment of *Bastardo* has in fact considered why it is a *tragicomedia*, and this designation is crucial in understanding its rewriting: a tragic story of loss and recovery through vengeance is undercut by a sardonic exposé of the social system in which the characters find themselves, and to whose values they ascribe. *Bastardo* most obviously diverges from prior manifestations of the *SIL materia* in its invention of Lope, Constanza and Clara, all of whom serve this purpose.<sup>15</sup> Noble endogamy is

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<sup>14</sup> Noted in Chapter One, self-fashioning is thematised in the chronicles and thus did not emerge in the Renaissance, as posited by Stephen Greenblatt (1980).

<sup>15</sup> Unlike Cueva’s *Infantes*, *Bastardo* is faithful to the chronology of both the medieval and early modern chronicle rewritings. Ramón Menéndez Pidal posits that Lope follows the *EE amplificada* or Ocampo’s *CG* until Act II (1971: 129). Eva R. Price suggests that two ballads, “Convidárame a comer” and “A cazar va don Rodrigo” are the final act’s basis (1935: 309). Carvalho adds that Lope likely knew a version of the *C1344*, which would explain *Bastardo*’s inclusion of the *tablas* scene at Cordova,

mocked through Clara and Mudarra's incestuous relationship which renders the Lara family's dynastic crisis moot. The Laras' vassal Lope meanwhile mocks the nobility's fatal obsession with *honra* and even abandons his own role as *escudero*, reflecting the contemporaneous demilitarisation of the *hidalguía* by the seventeenth century (Thompson 1985: 387). Thacker has called Lope a natural comedian, describing how his comic characters are given the power to "mould the world that surrounds them" (2008: 169). The only character able to do this in *Bastardo* is Lope, in ironic comments on the play's action. Indeed, "the heady appeal and power of comedy [...] surely stem from the bold stand it dramatizes against the forces of conservatism" (Ibid: 169). *Bastardo* takes the boldest stand yet in the *SIL materia* as a rewriting that both questions the norms of his contemporary society and the history that ostensibly led it there.<sup>16</sup>

Undergirding *Bastardo's* tragicomic social commentary of the nobility are, finally, the notions of worldly *engaño* and its obverse, *desengaño*, central intellectual preoccupations in early modern Spain as a result of the influence of Neostoicism. Otis H. Green translates *desengaño* as disillusionment, or "a sort of wisdom – the wisdom of the Stoic *sapiens*, or wise man of antiquity, who was fully aware of what constituted the *summum bonum*, the supreme good, and was utterly unenticed by everything else" (1970: 142). For the early modern Neostoics, what enthrals us to

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Gonzalo's blindness and Mudarra's conversion (1988: 93). There is no evidence as to whether Lope knew Cueva's *Infantes* or the anonymous *Los famosos hechos de Mudarra* (1583). By the seventeenth century, the *materia* circulated in innumerable forms — whether oral, written or performed — that determining sources for *Bastardo* is limited to conjecture.

<sup>16</sup> *Bastardo* also conforms to Gail Bradbury's tripartite definition of the *tragicomedia*, which features "the mixture of tragic and comic emotions [...], a mingling of noble and plebeian characters and a blending of the 'high' style appropriate to heroic literature with the 'low' style of comic genres" (1981: 103). Keith Whinnom discusses the provenance of the term *tragicomedia* and why it may have been used by Fernando de Rojas for *Celestina* (2007: 68-69).

*engaño* “is our fallen state and our refusal to subdue our passions and emotions with the correct use of reason” (Robbins 2005: 12). Jeremy Robbins views this kind of binary thinking as symptomatic of a broader European “epistemic crisis” of human perceptual fallibility (2005: 19).

Beyond the discourse of moralists and intellectuals, *engaño/desengaño* was exploited literally as a plot device in the *comedia*.<sup>17</sup> Lope in fact structures *Bastardo* around two instances of literal *engaño* and *desengaño*: the Lara faction by Ruy and Mudarra by his mother and Almanzor. Yet the significance of these two moments is parodically undermined by the responses of the *engañados*, the Laras and Mudarra, who are constrained by social models of identity. Full *desengaño* is not possible while the *infantes* are tied to *honra* and Mudarra is pulled by a variety of social forces: ostracisation because of his parentage, love, and social advancement in Castile, which make his Christianisation and Castilianisation unheroic and hurried. The same pessimistic attitude towards conversion will be taken up by Ángel de Saavedra and José Somoza in the nineteenth century. The *engaño/desengaño* paradigm therefore does not conform to the usual role it played for *comedia* audiences in 1612 and this is because *Bastardo* rewrites an extant story, the well-known *engaños* of which can no longer be exploited for dramatic effect.

Instead, by rewriting a well-known literary tradition, *Bastardo* can undermine collective identity markers and render the individual powerless for all to see, thereby constituting a theatrical process of *desengaño* for its audience. The

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<sup>17</sup> See José Roso Díaz (1999).

figurative scales fall from the audience's eyes as it witnesses the insubstantial nature of race and religion, the character Lope commentate in ironically lofty language on the fallible Castilian nobles and characters repeatedly retelling the play's story themselves. That the theatre can function as a forum for *desengaño* is attested to in Lope's 1609 speech, the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, in which he defends the *comedia nueva's* departure from classical models of theatre and considers theatrical truth and audience interpretation:

EngaÑe siempre el gusto y, donde vea  
que se deja entender alguna cosa,  
dé muy lejos de aquello que promete. (2002: 302-304)

This could equally be a description of *Bastardo*: expectations are set up to conform to public taste, "el gusto," in the play's deceptive similarity to extant manifestations of the *SIL materia*. A simple process of "entender" is thwarted by subverting these expectations. The audience would therefore leave the *corral* disillusioned, or indeed *desengañado*, after being prevented from losing themselves in a comfortable repetition of a well-known story. In examining how *Bastardo* compels its audience to reconsider all they once knew of the *materia* and how it engages with contemporary concerns, this chapter therefore challenges Carvalho's analysis that it simply encourages "sympathetic participation" from its audience in the characters' plight (1988: 94).

By exploring constructions of individual and collective identity through medievalist recreation, *Bastardo* also compels us to consider how 'early modern' such preoccupations were. Studies of early modern thought like those by Green and Robbins overlook medieval antecedents and make generalised conclusions about

early modern Spain and its literature.<sup>18</sup> This diachronic study has shown that as early as the thirteenth century were writers concerned with self-fashioning, metamorphosis and manipulation, as well as textual identity and historical truth. The medieval *SIL materia* therefore anticipates the existentialist preoccupation with the *engaño* inherent in socially constructed notions of identity that Lope's play and his theoretical speech deal with. The uncertainty or "culture of challenges and questions" that Robbins' claims for the early modern period (1998: 15) was in fact present in medieval chronicles as early as the thirteenth century. I will now explore how *Bastardo* rewrites the Middle Ages to expose the constructed nature of identity categories as well as the *SIL materia* as literary precedent. Finally, I analyse the play's denigration of the Castilian faction who fall prey to constructed notions of nobility.

### **Deconstructing Race: Language, Clothing and Religion**

Following Cueva, Lope continued to rewrite extant historical narratives, and not only staged medieval and classical material but also employed more recent history and staged a variety of Andalusí identities right up to 1492. *Bastardo* is usually considered amongst his *comedias históricas* that rewrite medieval chronicle material, including *Las mocedades de Bernardo* (1604) *El último godo* (1617) and

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<sup>18</sup> For example, Robbins suggests "Baroque culture was a culture of challenges and questions rather than one of settled assumptions and established answers" (1998: 15) and that in all Baroque theatre, "the individual is always conceived of as a social entity" (Ibid: 119). While these are useful frameworks to understand contemporary thought, they are disconnected from literary history, as noted by reviewer John Jones: "the process of questioning and doubt had started with the Reformation and the concern with appearance and reality and with the notion of *desengaño* was very much part of sixteenth-century thinking as evidenced, for instance, in *Lazarillo*" (2000: 251). I would trace this back further to the verbal *juego* of the medieval *SIL materia* and especially to the *Libro de buen amor* (1330), which notoriously thematises epistemological uncertainty (see, for example, E. Michael Gerli (2002)).

*Las almenas de Toro* (1620), yet most of these treat intercultural interaction predicated upon conflict.<sup>19</sup> *Bastardo's* borderland setting and focus on the construction of religious and racial identities will also invite comparison to Lope's so-called *comedias de moros* or *moriscas*, such as *La divina vencedora* (1603), *El cordobés valeroso*, *Pedro Carbonero* (1603), *El hijo de Reduán* (1604), *El primer Fajardo* (1610-12) and *El remedio en la desdicha* (1620).<sup>20</sup>

*Bastardo's* representation of tenth-century Castilians at the mercy of Andalusí power takes on a new valence for its first audiences who lived through the strongest evidence yet that the reverse power dynamic had taken hold; namely the expulsions of an oppressed *morisco* minority. *Bastardo* takes a tragicomic lens on race by demonstrating how it can be flexibly constructed through language and clothes. It then undermines the notion that monotheistic religion, whether Christianity or Islam, is a set of shared beliefs that can coherently define a collective. The play therefore points to the constructed and insubstantial reasoning behind the exclusion of the *morisco* minority.<sup>21</sup> Their otherness was justified through their racialisation, predominantly based upon their religious practice but also on their cultural practices including language and dress.<sup>22</sup> I therefore challenge the critical

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<sup>19</sup> Lope's only other *comedia histórica* to treat intercultural interaction not predicated upon conflict is *Los paces de los reyes y judía de Toledo* (1617) which follows Ocampo's *Crónica general* (1541) and thematises King Alfonso VIII's affair with Raquel, a Jewish woman (Acedo Castilla 1986: 20).

<sup>20</sup> *Comedia* genres are notoriously fluid and often anachronistic. Thacker underlines how "genre was being constantly abused, parodied and reinvented as a part of the essential cycles of the *comedia* that we can only partially reconstruct from this distance" (2010: 145). María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti describes *comedias de moros* as those portraying Muslims in conflict with Christians while *comedias moriscas* purportedly idealise the 'noble Moor' (1997: 489-492). Both designations constitute an unnecessarily dichotomous judgment on the portrayal of Lope's Muslim characters and one that will be refuted by *Bastardo*.

<sup>21</sup> Although *moriscos* were suspected to be cooperating with the French and Ottomans (Bunes Ibarra 2014: 39), their expulsion was also a conveniently timed concession meant to rouse a patriotic response after an unpopular treaty signed with the Dutch Republic in 1609 (Feros 2014: 60-61).

<sup>22</sup> Despite Philip II's 1567 *pragmática* forbidding *morisco* cultural practices, Old Christian authorities erroneously believed them to have been widespread until the expulsion (Benítez Sánchez-Blanco

consensus on the representation of Andalusis in the play, including Sánchez Jiménez's suggestion that the Arabic language in which Ruy's letter is composed "se aferraban los moriscos del siglo XVII, con su conexión cultural con una potencia enemiga y extranjera, supone una amenaza latente para la sociedad cristiana" (2003: 126). While *Bastardo* would have reminded a contemporary audience of Iberian *moriscos*, it presents Andalusis not as a threat but rather the very category of "Andalusi" — and thereby *morisco* — as slippery.

Any discussion of identity in *Bastardo* must begin with its title, "El bastardo Mudarra," at once an accusation of illegitimacy and a reminder of Mudarra's mixed heritage.<sup>23</sup> For Geraldine Hazbun, Lope's plays reveal the contradicting nature of (il)legitimacy: "the bastard hero is configured in a language of absence and essence, part and whole, building the impression that the bastard is defined by a series of contradictions" (2020: 202). I nuance this idea by focusing on how race is presented as a constructed social category alongside Mudarra's illegitimacy. *Bastardo* therefore goes beyond the positive framing of metamorphosis found in the three chronicles studied in Chapter One, in which Mudarra overcomes illegitimacy through baptism and/or adoption by Sancha, and in the ballad "Sentados a un ajedrez," in which he fashions his identity verbally.

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2014: 126-127). Others have identified *comedias* containing veiled critiques of the treatment of minorities. Thacker finds Lope taking an ironic stance on the issue of *limpieza* and portraying a *converso* sympathetically in *La pobreza estimada* (1597-1603) (2010: 33). Elsewhere I argue that Andalusi identity is a costume cast on an off at will in *Bastardo*, *El cordobés valeroso*, *Pedro Carbonero* and *El remedio en la desdicha* (De Souza 2019). A contentious presentation of race is notable in *El hijo de Reduán*, in which the eponymous character Gomel is mixed-race, like Mudarra. Reduán tells Gomel "Para ser lozano / un cristiano hidalgo es llano / que ha de tener algo moro" (Carrasco Urgoiti 1997: 493).

<sup>23</sup> The etymology of Mudarra reveals the term was applied "al mulo, hijo de asno y yegua," emphasising the character's mixed heritage (García Gómez and Menéndez Pidal 1951: 91). It can also denote the child of parents from different social classes (Ibid: 92).

Language is exposed as a contingent means of racialisation in *Bastardo*, with Andalusis and Castilians having markedly different approaches, akin to the medieval chronicle rewritings. Almanzor is the first Andalusí to appear in Act II, when Gonzalo Bustos has travelled to Cordova to deliver Ruy's treacherous letter. Almanzor's favourable depiction in *Bastardo* echoes prior rewritings of the *SIL materia* studied here, although its idiosyncrasies have not been unpacked beyond the character's emotional depth.<sup>24</sup> Prior to his introduction the audience hears in Act I that Ruy begins his letter to Almanzor with "Ruy Velázquez, castellano, / a ti, Almanzor, Rey supremo / de España, salud envía" (924-926).<sup>25</sup> Given Almanzor's historic conquests in Christian territory, his anachronistic description of "Rey supremo de España" reminds the audience of al-Andalus' potential for Peninsular-wide domination. This potential is confirmed in his speech to Gonzalo Bustos, in which he skilfully wields language to tread the fine line between Castilian and Andalusí:

**ALMANZOR:** Tus años, tu valor, tu entendimiento  
acreditaran, a no ser mi amigo,  
de este papel el dueño y el intento.  
No envidio a vuestro Conde, Alá es testigo,  
la bella tierra que en Castilla alcanza,  
aunque la miro yo como enemigo;  
no victorias sujetas a mudanza,  
ni riquezas opuestas a las furias  
de lo que puede la morisca lanza;  
no las montañas bárbaras de Asturias,  
poderosa defensa a nuestro rayo  
y sagrado laurel de sus injurias;  
que tenga, sí, por capitán, por ayo,  
a Ruy Velázquez, la mejor espada  
que tienen las reliquias de Pelayo.

<sup>24</sup> For Carvalho, Almanzor's treatment of Gonzalo Bustos "deepen[s] the characterization of the Moorish king" (1988: 89).

<sup>25</sup> All citations are from Delmiro Antas' edition (1992) in the form of line numbers.

Leeré la carta, alegre a su embajada,  
 como si el Miramamolín que adoro  
 me la escribiera; así su amor me agrada. (986-1003)

Almanzor's *tercetos* transform him into a *culto* Renaissance poet whose erudition extends beyond knowledge of Andalusí culture. Not only would the actor speak in Castilian, but he begins his speech by praising the values held in high esteem by the Castilian nobility thus far: "Tus años, tu valor, tu entendimiento." He denies coveting the Count's land, preferring to consider stoically the Count's domination over Castile as one of the "victorias sujetas a mudanza." In response to Gonzalo Bustos' classical praise of Ruy as "Pompilio Numa" and "Horacio" (981-982), Almanzor then retorts by erasing Ruy's Castilian identity by anachronistically likening him to "el Miramamolín" (1002), the fourth Almohad Caliph Muhammad al-Nasir (r. 1199-1213) famously defeated at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). While this looks forward to Andalusí defeat, by likening a Christian to a Caliph Almanzor blurs the boundaries between the factions thus far denoted as "cristiano" and "moro" in the play and slyly mocks Ruy's military incapacity. While coding Asturias' "montañas bárbaras" as foreign, he recognises Pelayo's victory and is even conversant with classical allusion like Bustos and likens the mountains to Apollo's "sagrado laurel" from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. *Bastardo* thus takes Almanzor's erudition further than Cuevas' *Infantes* in his encyclopaedic knowledge and dissolution of difference between Ruy and the Andalusis.

Almanzor's powerful speech has an immediate influence on Bustos: not only does he quickly submit to Almanzor, believing "en ser tu esclavo soy dichoso" (1052), but he decries Ruy Velázquez twice as "ese bárbaro engañado" (1034) and "un bárbaro

alevosa" (1039), an insult that explicitly connotes racial difference based on geographic origin, and fulfilling Ruy's potential to "tornarse moro" found in the chronicles.<sup>26</sup> Bustos takes this further when he meets Almanzor's sister, Arlaja, who arrives while Bustos laments his imprisonment. Arlaja is Bustos' willing "alcaide" (1138) because of "con qué afición mira tus cosas, cristiano" (1135-1136) and at no point does she find his Christian identity incompatible with her "afición." By contrast, Bustos denies Arlaja's identity as "mora" and then proceeds to rationalise — and thus racialise — her morally upstanding behaviour as Christian:

**BUSTOS:** Que, aunque eres mora, segura  
la comparación parece,  
puse nombre de ángel merece  
la virtud y la hermosura. (1149-52)

In the dialogue that follows Bustos reinforces his Christianisation of Arlaja:

**BUSTOS:** Ruego a Dios  
te pague tanta piedad.  
**ARLAJA:** El te dará libertad.  
**BUSTOS:** Yo la espero de los dos:  
Dél justiciar, y de ti  
por *piedad*; que una mujer  
*piadosa* bien puede ser  
*cielo* en favor para mí (1187-1194, emphasis mine)

Bustos justifies his desire for Arlaja by framing her in the Christian language of piety. From this point on Arlaja's language and identity shifts. When she returns at the end of Act II, now pregnant with Mudarra, she speaks Bustos' language: she exclaims "paciencia al cielo en tantos males pido" (2034), which exemplifies the power of individuals to construct the identity of another and thereby influence their

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<sup>26</sup> Sebastián de Covarrubias defines *bárbaro* as a name that "fingieron los Griegos de la grosera pronunciacion de los Estrangeros, que procurando hablar la lengua Griega" (1674a: fol. 85).

behaviour, the result of which is the kind of acculturation that the Romantics will write into the *SIL materia* in the following chapter. Both Castilian and Andalusí identities are thus constructed through language for Arlaja and Ruy respectively based upon their behaviour.

In Act III, Almanzor once more exerts his power by linguistically racialising Mudarra. The two are playing chess when they have a disagreement over the game. Almanzor loses his temper and declares Mudarra “¡Bárbaro, extraño / de nuestra sangre y nobleza, / y de nuestra misma ley!” (2093-2095). Once again, *bárbaro* is utilised to accuse a close relative of foreignness. Almanzor somatically and culturally demarcates Andalusí identity, constituted by “sangre,” “nobleza” and “ley,” and thereby racialises Mudarra as *bárbaro* on a whim; until this point Mudarra has happily grown up in Cordova to the extent of being considered “valiente” (2049). The power of language to constitute an identity — racial or otherwise — is confirmed by Mudarra’s subsequent conversation with his mother, Arlaja. After his Christian parentage is revealed, Mudarra laments the years that “he vivido en este engaño” (2107) and asks Arlaja, “¿quién soy?” (2110). Arlaja then tells his backstory from her perspective, after which Mudarra thanks her “por este desengaño tan honesto” (2223). The *engaño/desengaño* paradigm takes on a new valence in the context of the well-known *SIL materia*. A contemporary audience would not share in Mudarra’s *desengaño* and is instead made aware of how Mudarra’s identity is invalidated and re-validated in language by others, rather than a larger system of categorisation. True *desengaño* thus lies in *Bastardo’s* exposé of how behaviour and individual decision enables racialisation, and that this racialisation is done by others

in language, rather than geographic origin or cultural practices connoting an intrinsic identity.

As well as demonstrating how language can be used to racialise others based upon contingent behaviours, *Bastardo* deconstructs the solidity of “moro” and “cristiano” through its presentation of Andalusí dress. This is pertinent in light of the legislative racialisation of *moriscos* based upon sartorial distinctions which did not reflect real practice; indeed what Javier Irigoyen-García dubs “Moorish dress” “was closely related to the discourses of nobility and class distinction that affected Moriscos and Old Christians alike” in the early modern period (2017: 11). Such clothing was worn by Old Christian nobles to connote their social status in performative events such as *juegos de cañas*.<sup>27</sup> The notion that early modern texts “explicitly refer to and critique how Moorish clothing served as a sign of social mobility” (Ibid: 83) is pertinent for *Bastardo*, in which not only Mudarra but the *escudero* Lope dress *a la morisca* and underline its performative nature.

After being rejected by Almanzor in Cordova, Mudarra casts Andalusí identity as nothing more than a costume: “no quiero sus bárbaros turbantes” (2248). In recasting Andalusí dress — and, by extension, Almanzor — as *bárbaros*, after being subjected to the same insult himself, Mudarra acknowledges how contextually contingent race is, as well as the capacity for sartorial details to be racialised. Mudarra’s journey to Castile is spurred on not by an internal conviction, as in earlier

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<sup>27</sup> Irigoyen-García also finds in Lope’s poetry that the poetic “yo” is depicted “as a gallant Moorish rider in his early poetic works in his endeavour to be recognized as noble,” while during “the last part of his career [Lope] shows an increasing disengagement from aristocratic Moorishness that parallels the frustration of [the poet’s] social ambitions” (2017: 15-16).

rewritings, but his racialisation by Almanzor, and his assimilation is revealed to be strategic and partial: upon leaving Cordova he tells Arlaja, “el gusto te tocó, y a mí la afrenta” (2277). Once in Castile, Mudarra only adopts Christian-Castilian identity to the extent that it is demanded by others. He still speaks of “nuestros moros” (2405), hinting at his indelible connection to his birthplace, and travels with a Muslim vassal Zayde who continues to extol the virtues of al-Andalus (2404-2411). They then meet Lope, to whom Mudarra introduces himself as “un mensajero del Rey moro de Córdoba” (2420-2421). When he subsequently meets his love interest Clara, Constanza and Gonzalo González’s daughter, Mudarra strategically declares himself a Christian to assuage Clara’s fears of his “traje bárbaro”:

**MUDARRA:** Cristiano soy, que sólo en Dios confío;  
 presto veréis que el árabe turbante  
 y el africano capellar desvío (2527-2529)

Mudarra’s lines read as a stage direction, whereby the actor carefully removes his Andalusí costume piece by piece. His outfit also ironically points to the heterogeneity of Andalusí identity that can be both “árabe” and “africano.” Even Clara acknowledges his mutability, declaring “quien eres me pareces” (2548). For Hazbun, Mudarra’s “Muslim identity could [...] be seen as a kind of temporary one, almost a disposable cover for his Christian core” (2020: 239). Building on this notion of temporariness, I suggest Mudarra’s costume change signals how race itself can be cast on and off at will in *Bastardo*, a concept elaborated in other *comedias de moros* or *comedias moriscas*.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> See De Souza (2019). In Lope’s *El remedio en la desdicha* and *El cordobés valeroso*, Christians dressed in Andalusí clothing navigate Granada and Cordova respectively. In *El primer Fajardo*, the Castilian noble Juan Gallego wins a duel against the Andalusí Abenalfajar. He takes his name, becoming don Juan Fajardo, dresses in Andalusí clothes and dances the “morisca.”

Mudarra similarly controls his transformation when he meets his now blind father Gonzalo Bustos. The motif of blindness enables literal theatrical *engaño* and physical comedy (also undergirded by its possible cause being Bustos' adultery, explained in Chapter One), as Mudarra pretends to be an anonymous messenger. He speaks of himself in the third person to Bustos, describing 'Mudarra' as "entre cristiano y moro" (2713). He acknowledges the contingent nature of his identity and the possibility to be both or neither. Akin to his behaviour with Clara, Mudarra strategically adopts Castilian-Christian identity. He confesses in Castile that it was his fight with Almanzor which "animó su esperanza / de venir a ser Cristiano" (2748-2749). The use of "venir" underscores the spatial nature of "ser Cristiano": his exile has triggered change. Despite profusely claiming to be Christian-Castilian, Mudarra is racialised as Andalusí in Castile by Iñigo, the Count's servant — "le ha de quemar su casa, dijo, / porque es otro africano Rodamonte" (3019-3020) — further demonstrating how race is in the eye of the beholder. Whereas in the chronicle rewritings Mudarra eschews his Andalusí identity based upon his own internal conviction, in *Bastardo* he does so out of survival and desire.

Mudarra's strategic identity change through costume is put into sharp relief by the parody of the Castilian nobility appropriating Andalusí garb. While in 1612 dressing *a la morisca* connoted social status, *Bastardo* undermines its aesthetic power through Lope in Act III, who agrees to take Mudarra and Zayde to Bustos and the three enter the scene "en hábito de moros." Lope is presumably unaware of Bustos' blindness given his comically pointless disguise, but even if Bustos could see, Lope's history as a vassal of Gonzalo González means Bustos would likely have recognised

him. This is confirmed once Bustos' sight is restored: he studies the "Andalusi" Lope and declares "parece a Lope en extremo" (2789). Their interaction would no doubt provoke laughter amongst a contemporary audience. Lope proves his playful intentions once Mudarra and Bustos have recognised each other: "Con él vine disfrazado, / que para cierta venganza / conviene que venga así" (2797-2799). Lope plays on the similarity of the subjunctive "venga/venir" to the indicative "venga/r" and reduces the "disfrazado" Mudarra's arrival to avenge the *infantes* to a mere trope in literary history. Despite revealing his identity, there is no indication that Lope removes his outfit, so the actor would remain in costume until the end of the play. This is confirmed in the final lines, where after Mudarra's vengeance Lope announces: "¡Salto, bailo de presto, no soy moro, / Lope soy de Vivar, el asturiano!" (3065-3066). Here Lope underscores the power of costume to embody race: once again he must reassert his identity, lest the audience assume he is in fact "moro" based on his appearance.

The construction of race through language and costume is complemented by *Bastardo's* portrayal of monotheistic religion. References to pre-Christian and Greek and Roman mythology come together to create a secular framework within which neither Christianity nor Islam is capable of defining a collective.<sup>29</sup> References to Christianity do occur but until Bustos' imprisonment in Cordova in Act II these are largely confined to throw-away references to "Dios" or "cielo" in dramatic figures of speech. The secular authority of the Count replaces a religious moral framework in the first act, as he is the sole arbiter of Gonzalo González's murder of Álvaro,

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<sup>29</sup> While Lope sought to break with the traditional classical precepts upheld by his predecessors, notably Cervantes, Frederick de Armas notes how he paradoxically adorned his works with references to classical mythology (2014: 39-40).

Alambra's cousin. Gonzalo's vassal Lope blends Christian references with classical references throughout. One such instance is his ironic praise of Nuño's child-rearing skills:

**LOPE:** De Alejandro, Aristóteles se llama  
maestro, y del gran Ciro, Jenofonte,  
a quien la antigüedad venera y ama (250-252)

The comedy stems from Gonzalo's recent murder of Álvar, making such praise for Nuño discordant with his behaviour. Throughout the remainder of *Bastardo* Lope continues to fuse Greek and Roman mythology with natural imagery, such as his description of Clara in Act III as "único Fénix español" (2479). The use of Greek and Roman mythology and folkloric pre-Christian/Islamic references in speech is not, however, solely reserved for Lope. In line with his aforementioned erudition, we find Almanzor invoking the discourse of fate and fortune, encouraging Gonzalo "tolera con paciencia tu fortuna" (1051), which transcends both Christianity and Islam. Almanzor then later frames himself as Heracles after the death of the *infantes*: "yo quiero quitar siete cabezas / de la sierpe de Bustos, como Alcides" (1235-1236). Even Almanzor's vassal Viara employs a Roman frame of reference, describing "los cabellos cada cual pudiera / llevar a Marte por su clara esfera" (1468-1469) when planning the treacherous assault on the *infantes* with Ruy and Galve.

*Bastardo* also includes more references to pre-Christian omens than prior rewritings. This begins in Act II, with the imprisoned Bustos:

**BUSTOS:** Hemos dado en agüeros  
los castellanos allá  
corta mi prisión será  
si he de mirar los primeros;

que siendo la prima cosa  
 que después de mi prisión  
 he mirado, indicios son  
 de mi libertad dichosa (1119-1126)

His faith in “agüeros” is shared with “los castellanos allá,” although Bustos’ assumption is parodically undercut later in Act II with the Castilian *infantes* ignoring Nuño’s stark warning that “los agüeros que he visto / me han dado mortales señas” (1496-1497). Nuño then describes the emergence of reddish clouds, more birds and horses darting across fields (1514-1521). The omens are tellingly rejected by Lope, who admonishes Nuño with the play’s only reference to institutionalised Christianity until Mudarra’s conversion:

**LOPE:** En vano los aconsejos;  
 mayormente con agüeros  
 reprehendidos por la Iglesia  
 contrarios a nuestra fe  
 y a toda intención discreta. (1533-1539)

For an audience familiar with the *materia*, Lope’s defence of the Church is incongruous, given the omens will be accurate. This diminishes his criticism and, in turn, the dogma of the Church. Lope then ironically endorses omens in Act III: he greets Mudarra with “prevenido del cielo, que sabía / el bien de hallarte en este dulce día” (2466-2467). By de-emphasising the role of institutionalised Christianity and Islam while replacing them with local folklore and classical Greek and Roman references, *Bastardo* therefore undermines capacity of religion to form a shared identity. The play’s attitude towards Christianity culminates in the final scene in Mudarra’s brusque conversion: his proclamation “ya soy cristiano” (3070) comes not only after a marked absence of Christian doctrine but also after the play’s exposé of the constructed nature of Christian-Castilian identity in language and clothes.

This reading challenges Wright's assertion that Mudarra "es un moro ejemplar: noble de carácter sumamente ético, feliz y sinceramente convertido al cristianismo" (2002: 201). His conversion is not sincere but strategic and lacking the ceremony it is notably afforded in the chronicle rewritings in which the Count organises extensive festivities.

An audience may therefore be left wondering whether Mudarra's eventual conversion signals an approval for the cultural assimilation or expulsion of contemporary *moriscos*. No such answer emerges in this *comedia*: as Barbara Fuchs has noted for Cervantes' work, early modern writers had the capacity to expose the construction of identity categories and "[undermine] a collective identity based on exclusion and difference" (2003b: 3), thereby advocating for a degree of tolerance (Ibid: 98). While I take issue with the retrospective – and potentially anachronistic – idea that tolerance was advocated by early modern writers, particularly when they invoke the medieval period, *Bastardo* has a marked ambivalence towards collective, and not just individual, identity.<sup>30</sup> It becomes meaningless, rather than provoking an anxiety of sameness to an internal other, as Christina H. Lee has proposed (2015).

*Bastardo* therefore participates in the competing discourses on *morisco* identity, social position and their capacity to assimilate, which spanned prose, historiography, religious polemic and political writings at the turn of the

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<sup>30</sup> Fuchs overlooks the debate surrounding medieval *convivencia*. More nuanced is Maya Soifer's view which moves beyond the dichotomy of 'tolerance' and 'persecution' and reassesses the complexity of intercultural, interracial interaction in medieval Iberia: "whether as an interfaith utopia, or as a pale Christian imitation of the Islamic dhimma model, or as a sign of Spain's supposed exceptionality, *convivencia* has consistently failed on empirical grounds" (2009: 31). David Nirenberg (1996) has similarly shown how violence and exclusion do not preclude peaceful coexistence.

seventeenth century.<sup>31</sup> It challenges Feros' argument that after 1609 discourse hardened "into a single point of view" in support of the expulsion (2014: 62). Like *Bastardo*, other post-expulsion literary texts present a more ambiguous stance, including Cervantes' *Don Quijote* which "presented the fate of the exiles with some sympathy and compassion" (Kamen 2014a: 205). The same can be said for the work's continuation by Fernández de Avellaneda (Irigoyen-García 2016: 337). *Bastardo* intervenes in this debate not just through mere sympathy, compassion or caricature, however. It fundamentally destabilises the foundations upon which rhetorics of expulsion were crafted: essentialised identities based upon social custom, language, sartorial difference and religion.

### Storytelling and Anachronistic Intertexts

If a collective identity cannot be solidified through racial or religious categories, what about shared cultural heritage? By *Bastardo's* publication, the ubiquity of the *SIL materia* is attested to not only by extant rewritings — the ballad tradition in *cancioneros* and *pliegos sueltos*, early modern chronicles, Cueva's play and the anonymous *Famosos hechos* — but also in numerous brief references to its principal

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<sup>31</sup> Miguel de Luna's *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* (1592) crafts a *mudéjar* "contramito" to neogothicism (Márquez-Villanueva 1982: 527), see also James T. Monroe (1970: 10). Luna was also a translator — and suspected author — of the *Libros plúmbeos de Sacromonte*, a forgery in Arabic, Latin, and Spanish discovered in Granada from 1595-1606 which describes a prophecy of Saint John, evidence of the presence of Saint James in Spain and a belief in Mary's Immaculate Conception (García-Arenal and Rodríguez-Mediano 2013: 1). Positive literary portrayals include Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595) (see Childers ((2009)) and Mateo Alemán's *Ozmín y Daraja*, a rewriting of the medievalist work *Historia del Abencerraje* (1599) (see Mohamed Saadan (2021)). Some *moriscos* challenged the edict and were supported by *crístianos viejos* (see Dadson (2011)). Others pushed for expulsion, including Luis del Mármol Carvajal in *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (1600), likely because he stood to profit from their expulsion (Puglisi 2008: 156). Gaspar Aguilar's 1610 epic *La expulsión de los moros de España* framed the expulsion as a purging of 'bad humours' from Spain's body politic (Vélez-Sainz 2007: 243).

characters. A prime example is Quevedo's poem "En el ardor de una siesta" (c. 1597-1645), which suggests by this point the *materia* had been reduced to a turn of phrase (1981: 1128-1131).<sup>32</sup> It is important to keep the *materia*'s ubiquity in mind to anticipate an audience's horizon of expectations in 1612 and how *Bastardo* would either conform to or challenge this.

It in fact prompts a process of *desengaño* for its audience and undermines the *SIL materia* as a stable literary-cultural memory.<sup>33</sup> This is firstly achieved through an increased preponderance of embedded narratives — identified earlier in the medieval chronicles — or incessant retellings of the play's events by multiple characters, even when they have been staged. This technique is more frequent in *Bastardo* than in Lope's other *comedias históricas*.<sup>34</sup> Storytelling renders both the audience's memory of what has thus far been staged and their knowledge of the *SIL materia* unstable.<sup>35</sup> It also disrupts the Aristotelian unity of theatrical time and adheres more to what Barthes refers to as a narrative form of time that confuses

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<sup>32</sup> Other references to the *materia* before *Bastardo*'s publication include Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's c. 1535-1552 *Batallas y quinquagenas* (1989: 54), Diego Hermsilla's c. 1545 *Dialogo de los pajes* (1989: 33), Juan Arce de Otárola's c. 1550 *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* (1995: 417), and the Duque de Estrada's c. 1607-1645 *Comentarios del desengañado de sí mismo* (1982: 84-85). Lope also makes use of the *SIL materia* as a turn of phrase in in the c. 1598-1602 *comedia Los Benavides* (see Sánchez Jiménez (2003)).

<sup>33</sup> As noted in the introduction, Jan Assmann defines cultural memory as "that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (1995: 132); that is, there exists an intrinsic connection between 'repeatedly used texts' and the audience of these texts' 'self-image'. By 1612, *SIL* counts as a 'repeatedly used text' given its rewritings from the briefest of references to entire *comedias*.

<sup>34</sup> Storytelling occurs to a lesser extent in Lope's *Las almenas de Toro*: in Act III the siege of Zamora and Sancho's death are recounted by Enrique, a noble present at the battle (1971: 2616-2700). In contrast to *Bastardo*, Enrique narrates a recent, off-stage experience, rather than a general account of what the audience has already seen as in *Bastardo*. *El casamiento en la muerte* only occasionally refers to the back-story of Bernardo's imprisoned father, Sancho Díaz: Bernardo mentions in Act I "aquella antigua tema de que me des a mi padre" (2021: 78-79).

<sup>35</sup> By considering audience response as crucial in a reading of *Bastardo* as a rewriting of collective literary-cultural memory I concur with Catherine Connor's view of the *comedia* in which "la producción de significados es inseparable de lo que los espectadores llevan consigo al teatro y de lo que contribuyen en la interactiva producción teatral" (2000: 4).

consecutiveness and consequence (1975: 251), in line with Lope's rejection of the classical unities in his *Arte nuevo*. *Bastardo* is polymetric, and it is notable that longer instances of storytelling use the *romance* verse. Characters would thus resemble balladeers before a *corral* audience and their speech would destabilise the theatrical time scheme of the unfolding events even further back into an unspecific, literary past.<sup>36</sup>

The opening *tablado* scene is beset with retelling, establishing the uncertainty of the play's universe. Álvaro accuses Gonzalo of "blasonando el brío" (97), which Gonzalo writes off as a lie (111). Two conflicting accounts of Gonzalo's murder of Álvaro are then given, firstly by Alambra to Ruy: "¡con mi sangre tienen bríos / los hijos de mi cuñada!" (136-137). The *infante* Gonzalo then rewrites her version: "No todos; solo fui yo" (138). Gonzalo and Ruy then give two vague versions of the resulting altercation between them to vassals and the *infantes* (170-176). In the medieval chronicle rewritings there is no such debate as the events take place publicly. Their resultant uncertainty as to what happened is parodically underscored by their audience, Albendari and the *infante* Diego:

**ALBENDARI:** Las espadas han de ser  
las hojas deste proceso.

**DIEGO:** La verdad diga el suceso. (185-187)

Diego's words ironically encapsulate *Bastardo's* mocking of the nobility to which he belongs, who can only resort to violence for conflict resolution. Meanwhile Nuño

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<sup>36</sup> Only 28% of lines are in *romance* form (Antas 1992: 40). *Arte nuevo* also proves that the *romance* was judiciously used, because "las relaciones piden los romances" (2002: 309).

Salido misses the aforementioned fracas while flying his falcon, so Lope reports the events to him:

**LOPE:** Tiraban caballeros a un tablado  
que formó Ruy Velázquez mil bohordos  
con diestro brazo y con galán cuidado.  
Al aplauso y rumor, los aires sordos,  
cual suele al despedir la cuerda el arco,  
partiendo a un tiempo el escuadrón de tordos,  
cuando Álvar Sánchez, arribando al marco  
del tablado, quedó más arrogante  
que César con Amiclas en su barco. (257-265)

Lope's *tercetos encadenados* are obviously exaggerated ("mil bohordos") and interpretive in their incongruous reference to Lucan's *Pharsalia* (265), which reconfigures the opening scene as discordantly heroic for the audience. "Rumor" moreover reappears throughout *Bastardo* as a byword for information that has travelled and mutated en route. We soon hear Constanza report to Lope "A Salas todos se han ido; / ¿no dice el eco el rumor?" (546-547). Later Constanza also confronts Alambra with rumours of Ruy's treachery, "Esto dicen por ahí" (1758), alluding to the many anonymous voices who have retold the *SIL materia* through the centuries.

Much retelling is significantly left to Lope, a character who shares biographical details with the playwright: "nacé en el solar de Vega" (1551); "¡Lope soy de Vivar, el asturiano!" (3066). Through this pseudo-autobiographical figure *Bastardo* nearly breaks the fourth wall by alluding to the playwright's manipulation of the action through Lope's sardonic distance from and commentary on the events. In Act II he explains to Gonzalo his brothers' gallant preparations for battle, ending with a tongue-in-cheek depiction of Nuño Salido:

**LOPE:** No menos Nuño Salido,  
aunque viejo, en un castaño  
de moscas blancas teñido,  
salió del Jordán del baño,  
y así le llaman Salido.  
¡Ea! ¿Qué estás esperando? (1452-1457)

He then makes his status as an observer of — and objector to — the Castilians' heroism explicit:

**LOPE:** Siempre en batallas se halla  
un mensajero que lleva  
la nueva, y a dar la nueva  
salgo yo de la batalla.  
Ello no es de montañés,  
mas que yo no muera aquí  
debe de importar así  
si tengo de hablar después. (1694-1701)

Lope undermines the importance of noble valour — a point to be returned to later — and parodically reinforces the entertainment value of cowardice. His comic storytelling culminates when he meets Mudarra in Act III, when both reveal that they are mourning seven brothers. Lope is dressed “de cazador” and believes Mudarra and his men to be “Moros [...] en celada” (2418). In addition to their physical misidentification, a comedic undercurrent emerges in their excessively dramatic dialogue which leads to a resolution the audience already knows:

**MUDARRA:** ¡Quién tal pensara...!  
Pero de esos cristianos que encareces  
yo soy hermano (2448-2450)

The audience's knowledge undercuts any surprise or literal *desengaño* the scene could offer. Lope then tells Mudarra the backstory of Clara, Constanza and Gonzalo's daughter:

**LOPE:** Yace en la falda de este risco un valle  
selvoso de hayas, que a un solar dan sombra,  
donde vive una dama, cuyo talle,  
único Fénix español la nombra:  
cierran cipreses con funesta calle,  
de un verde prado la pintada alfombra,  
donde agora quedó del sol rendida,  
en un espejo de agua divertida. (2476-2483)

Clara's purported beauty is comically dissonant with her arrival, dressed as a cowherd in remembrance of her dead father Gonzalo: "Sale doña Clara, con un vaquero y un venablo," after which Mudarra and Lope continue to emphasise her "belleza extraña" (2499). Lope's retelling thus encourages the audience to take a critical view of the ironies inherent in scenes that might be otherwise construed as tragic or romantic and thereby reconsider where the tragedy of the *SIL materia* lies.

Alongside Lope's stories are more confounding instances of retelling of events that are not staged. The most significant is Alambra's servant Estebañez assaulting Gonzalo with the blood-filled cucumber. The incident is recounted second-hand by Gonzalo after he kills Estebañez: "¿Cohombro de sangre de mí? / ¿Tan grande afrenta a mi cara?" (472-473), leaving the audience to imagine what occurred. Alambra then explains both murders to Constanza from her perspective and infers that *infantes* "procuran mi fin" (487). Next the audience hears Constanza reject this interpretation in dialogue with Lope, blaming Alambra: "causarle un triste accidente / A Estebañez, su pariente..." (553-554). Yet another version is given to Ruy by his servant Mendo, this time off-stage: we join Ruy mid-conversation, pleading "Mendo, no me digas más; / que perdiendo voy el juicio" (606-607). Ruy encapsulates the audience's bewilderment, now unable to judge the events after multiple conflicting

retellings. This disorientation is only heightened with Alambra's description of the same event to Ruy which omits mention of the cucumber assault that provoked Gonzalo, as she explains only that "mata un hombre en mis tocas" (648).

Characters also deliver long retellings of the action in *romance* form, akin to the medieval chronicle rewritings. These unveil the construction of both the play's world and any recreation of the *SIL materia*, which is bound to be a creative act reminiscent of an already fluid tradition. The first instance occurs at the end of Act I, with Ruy convincing Gonzalo to go to Cordova as his envoy. Ruy gives an excessively detailed description of the events of his wedding, even to the extent of lamenting that it cost so much that "no hay en mi casa vajilla" (848). He convinces Gonzalo and could also convince an audience who have nevertheless seen the events unfold differently. Arlaja also retells the *infantes'* story to Mudarra at the beginning of Act III, also found in the *C1344* and *Toledana* but much expanded for the stage. Arlaja frames her speech as a well-known story, telling Mudarra: "no es posible que no sepas / que los infantes de Lara / fueron muertos a traición" (2158-2160). Both Mudarra and the audience must now engage their memory of the *SIL materia*, whether from *Bastardo* or elsewhere. Arlaja's bias is clear in her description of the "agravios de Gonzalico" (2168) which sanitises his murder of Alambra's cousin and servant.

Once again in *romance* verse form, Mudarra then retells Ruy's treachery in over fifty lines in Act III (2907 onwards); the validity of which is questionable given Mudarra's second-hand, biased source (Arlaja). Mudarra's rewriting emerges when he describes how Ruy conducted his deception:

**MUDARRA:** Pues que le enviaste con cartas  
a que le pusiera un moro  
el cuchillo a la garganta. (2920-2922)

The audience witnessed Ruy's Andalusí servant composing the letter earlier, under mental but not physical duress: Ruy only takes out a knife to kill him after the letter is complete. This detail is hidden midway through Mudarra's tirade and could easily reconfigure an unobservant audience's knowledge about the events of the play thus far. In response, Ruy adopts the same technique and tries to rewrite the narrative, suggesting Mudarra is deceiving him, declaring "¡Mientes, infame morillo!" (2959). The play ends with yet another story by Gonzalo Bustos, who confesses his prior actions to the Count, including having fathered Mudarra out of wedlock (3021-3032).

It is no coincidence that characters who retell have recourse to the *romance's* open discourse. They become *juglares* on stage, disrupting the Aristotelian unities of both time and action to tell a story in a mode that is comfortably familiar yet deceptively innovative. *Bastardo* is in fact the first Lopean *comedia* to contain more than 800 lines in the *romance* metre (Morley and Bruerton 1968: 322). This supports the notion that it is a metatheatrical experiment predicated upon layers of disorienting retelling. The overall effect is to leave the audience permanently on guard, cross-referencing the events of the plot and, unavoidably, prior rewritings of the *materia* they may already know. *Bastardo's* thematising of retelling is particularly effective in the *comedia* form, as the audience is aware of what it has and has not played out physically on stage. The embedded narratives, no matter how long, not only cause the kinds of "enredos" proper to plays that hinge on physical *engaño* but also

encourage the audience to take a critical perspective on storytelling and history, something it is also alerted to through the ironic and metatheatrical presence of the *escudero* Lope.

A challenge to the audience's memory of the events and *SIL* itself is also exemplified by *Bastardo's* inclusion of anachronistic intertexts. The first comes in Ruy Velázquez's allusion to Count Julián in his letter to Almanzor in Act I:

**RUY:** Y está seguro que, muertos,  
podrás entrar en Castilla  
sin defensa, y está cierto  
que otro conde Julián  
rinda a tu servicio el pecho. (947-951)

Ruy evokes the story of the Visigothic King Rodrigo who raped Count Julián's daughter La Cava. Julián then betrays Rodrigo by assisting the Umayyad conquerors from North Africa. Ruy uses Julián as a metaphoric intertext, casting Almanzor as the King of Morocco, yet the extent to which Ruy fits the role of Julián is left ambiguous in *Bastardo*. While both men avenge the dishonour of a female relative, the possibility remains that socio-political and economic reasons also drove them to treachery. In the case of Ruy, this becomes obvious in Act III: when out hunting he asks his vassals whether "¿Tiene Bustos por aquí / alguna hacienda?" that he can presumably take over (2832-2833). Ruy's incoherent re-use of Count Julián both obfuscates his motivation and aggrandises his actions by elevating it to the level of proto-national history, as Hazbun has argued (2020: 227). His selective rewriting

also misleads an informed audience by potentially invalidating their memory of the intertext.<sup>37</sup>

Ruy maintains this metaphoric allusion in the height of battle when he soliloquises on the events thus far:

**RUY:** Ea, doña Alambra, baña  
 en esta sangre tu pecho;  
 que esta venganza te ha hecho  
 segunda Cava en España. (1678-1681)

Once again, Ruy's allusion to the historic-epic tradition is *his own reading* of La Cava who, like the *SIL materia*, had been the subject of multiple rewritings in chronicles, ballads and *comedias*. The audience must again invoke their pre-knowledge of another story to interpret *Bastardo*. The possibilities are endless: if La Cava is read as Rodrigo's innocent victim, we cast Alambra in a more favourable light. Equally, a sceptical view of her actions would render her more complicit in the fall of the Visigothic Kingdom. Ruy's exploitation of yet more pre-existing literary tradition alongside the preponderance of general storytelling comments on the staging of the *SIL materia* via *Bastardo*, and the unreliability of any version. Invoking and rewriting King Rodrigo also amplifies the role Ruy played in the chronicle rewritings, in which he is a strategic re-interpreter of the omens.

As well as other medievalist narratives, *Bastardo* interpolates anachronistic poems and has characters gloss them. During Gonzalo and Constanza's courtship in Act II,

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<sup>37</sup> The onus placed upon the audience not only to look out for storytelling but invoke their prior knowledge of the *materia* is an early example of Christian Biet and Christophe Triau's explanation of theatrical performance "as the product of a collective dynamic. These productions become shared, though not necessarily harmonious, entertainment operations" (2019: loc. 30).

a “copla antigua” of no discernible origin is disguised by Gonzalo and Constanza within regular dialogue, beginning in line 1381: “puesto ya el pie en el estribo,” continued in lines 1386, 1396, 1406 and 1411 (Antas 1992: 147). By utilising a pre-existing *copla*, Gonzalo plays the role of the stereotypical late medieval-early modern courtly lover and glossator. He does the same when lamenting his certain death in battle: twenty-four verses of his soliloquy are a gloss of three lines of a Carolingian ballad on the Marqués de Mantua, beginning “¿Dónde estás, señora mía, / que no te duele mi mal?” (1724-1725) (Price 1935: 305). In both instances rewriting is triggered by overwhelming emotion, whether fear or love. Gonzalo’s two glosses are moreover performed in *quintillas* and *redondillas* respectively, rather than *romance*, which temporally marks them as seventeenth-century poetic innovations.

Elsewhere the *romance* is invoked to a similarly anachronistic effect. In Act III, musicians at Almanzor’s court sing the ballad “De las torres de Jaén,” featuring the well-known *romancero* figure Abenámár. Yet there is no record of this version which suggests it was invented by the playwright (Antas 1992: 176). Its performance thus demonstrates how it is possible to arouse the audience’s memory of the *romancero* using falsified means. The story does however largely follow Muhammad Ben al-Ahmar ceding Jaén to Fernando III Castile. Antas notes how:

La anacronía de relatar sucesos tres siglos posteriores al tiempo de la acción hay que entenderla en la visión actualizadora del teatro de Lope, que aproxima la historia al siglo XVII sin importarle otra mentalidad que la de su tiempo. (1992: 176)

The most blatant, provocative “anacronía” overlooked by Antas is the ballad’s reference to the Christian captain, “Martín Enríquez de Lara” (2067), possibly a descendant of the Laras featured in the play. That it makes no chronological sense for Mudarra and Almanzor to hear this story only serves to make obvious the play’s rewriting.

Back in Castile, the audience witnesses Bustos’ servant Páez sing another *romance* on the death of the *infantes* in the first person, playing the role of Bustos (2323-2350), which for Hazbun “evokes a more distant, and arguably more positive, layer of memory, one where the *infantes* exist in the collective memory” (2020: 234). The ballad is named “Convidárame a comer” by Menéndez Pidal who believes it to have had a “popular” antecedent, although *Bastardo* is in fact its earliest testimony (1971: 98). Páez anachronistically sings of the “campos de Arabiana,” attested to only in the early modern printed ballads and not the medieval chronicles. It stands discordantly in *Bastardo* next to multiple references to the battle taking place at Almenar (938, 1197, 1234, 1248, 1266). The musical interlude of Bustos’ servant dissonantly singing his life story back to him dislocates the audience from *Bastardo*’s linear temporal trajectory and signals the *materia*’s ubiquity and capacity for re-interpretation. *Bastardo*’s various medieval and early modern intertexts — even the briefest examples such as a line from Garcilaso’s Soneto X (Antas 1992: 169) — therefore resist an easy chronology of national literary history and challenges the solidity of this concept. *Bastardo* thus ruptures the identity of text as a safe repository of literary history and cultural memory.

Finally, it is also worth noting how surviving evidence of *Bastardo's* contested reception points to its subversion of its earliest audience's memory of the *SIL materia*. An interesting corollary of its rewriting is a new scene appended to the autograph manuscript in another hand (1612), later reprinted by Ignacio de Gálvez (1762). *Bastardo* leaves Alambra alive at the end, while Cueva and the chroniclers before him all have their 'Lambra' killed. The new scene reveals contemporary discomfort with the play's ending because it describes Alambra's murder by Mudarra via immolation (Carvalho 1988: 93-94). Carvalho, like other critics before her, believes the initial omission "weakens the work, for it leaves the original instigator un-punished, thus violating the audience's expectation of poetic justice" (Ibid: 94). Yet Alambra goes unpunished because the central tension of the medieval rewritings — the dynastic severing of the Lara clan — is undermined by Gonzalo and Constanza's relationship, and Clara serving as an heir; an issue I will return to later in light of the play's parody of the nobility. The amendment is therefore more usefully read as evidence of the *SIL materia's* ubiquity in literary-cultural memory and indeed of its readership's belief that rewritings of the *materia* are open to revision to conform to — or indeed confirm — their memories.

*Bastardo* thus constitutes a multifaceted deconstruction of formations of collective identity in its time, which speaks to its hybrid status as a *comedia histórica/de moros/morisca* and as the first rewriting studied here to confront a large and socially diverse public. Its audience is put through an active process of *desengaño*, as the *comedia* challenges its memory not only of prior rewritings of the *SIL materia* but of the play itself as it unfolds in the *corral*.

### Social Class and the Individual

The final part of *Bastardo's* social commentary — and the locus of its tragicomedy — is its exposure of the individual's adherence to class expectations. The behaviour of individuals thus enables the critical assessment of yet another formation of group identity: the nobility. Individuals are powerlessly admitted to this group by others, yet no one is able to thrive within it. The *infantes* and Bustos are dangerously devoted to their family ties and nobility; constructions that are easily manipulated by Ruy Velázquez and Alambra. The model of being a noble is so entrenched that it creates a crisis of blame and responsibility in *Bastardo*: individuals are unable to act without appealing to abstract forces. As per the play's deconstruction of race and religion, its commentary on individuals' adherence to formulations of social class is enabled by its tragicomic mode, with the *escudero* Lope's humorous commentating. This critique notably comes at a time of socioeconomic polarisation: the Spain of Philip III lacked a middle class and instead there was a "universal hunger for titles of nobility and social prestige" (Elliott 1963: 305-306). As outlined above, contemporary formations of social prestige or *hidalguía* were at once rapidly evolving, with the upper echelons transforming into "una 'clase política'" (Maravall 1979: 188), while those who sought social mobility still had to justify their status through medieval notions of *sangre* and *linaje*; notions placed under a critical lens in *Bastardo*.

The Castilians allow their membership of the noble class and its behavioural expectations to dictate their actions in the play. This firstly emerges in the value they place upon consanguinity. The focus on lineage is one shared with the medieval

rewritings of the *SIL materia*, which as well as depicting identity change is permeated with the language of *sangre*.<sup>38</sup> Family ties are exploited by the nobles to persuade others, beginning with Alambra's pleas to Ruy after her cousin's murder: "¡Ah, Rodrigo fuerte, con mi sangre tienen bríos, los hijos de mi cuñada!" (136-138). They are also a means of emotionally manipulating others, such as the *infantes'* appeal to *sangre* to calm Ruy Velázquez: "Pues, tío, ¿vos maltratáis / vuestra sangre de esta suerte?" (177-178). The Count then manages to quash Gonzalo González's rage by invoking his relationship to Alambra: "¿no advertís / que es doña Alambra mi prima, / y que quien mi sangre estima...?" (201-203).

Family ties can also prevent extreme violence: when confronting Ruy, Gonzalo González makes the inconclusive threat "si no fuérades mi tío, de mi madre hermano..." (157-158). The cracks in this value system soon begin to show, however, and it is Alambra who is most sceptical. She does not believe good character can be determined by lineage in conversation with Constanza:

**ALAMBRA:** mala elección has tenido.  
**CONSTANZA** ¿No es Gonzalo bien nacido?  
 ¿No es hijo de tu cuñado?  
 ¿No es doña Sancha su madre,  
 hermana de tu Rodrigo?  
**ALAMBRA** Por otras cosas lo digo  
 en que no imita a su padre,  
 porque es un mozo arrogante,  
 desvanecido, atrevido,  
 furioso y mal admitido. (425-434)

Here Alambra discredits Gonzalo based upon his actions, while for Constanza his family ties are enough to guarantee his nobility. Alambra loses faith in the system of

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<sup>38</sup> See Carolyn Bluestine (1982).

blood ties once her vassal Estébañez is murdered beneath her skirts by Gonzalo: “que por la sangre real / debiera tenerme en algo, / ya que no por ser su tía” (494-496). It is therefore significant that Alambra then orchestrates the revenge plot, pulling variously on the strings of blood ties and behavioural constructions of nobility, as we will see below.

*Bastardo's* overall disparagement of the nobility for their incessant focus on blood ties is made clear in its omission of Ruy Velázquez's severing of the Lara family's lineage. *Bastardo* instead has Constanza and Clara carry on the Lara line despite the *infantes'* fate. Bustos himself acknowledges how lucky he is to have his granddaughter: “que no me ha sido el cielo tan escaso / que no quedase de mi sangre prenda / que sucediese en ella y en mi hacienda” (2998-3000). Mudarra's traditional role as the familial avenger and continuation of Bustos' line is therefore nullified. Instead, he merely marries into the same family into which he was born by pursuing a relationship with Clara that falls under the third degree of consanguinity.<sup>39</sup> Although Mudarra is only her father's half-brother, repeated references to their relationship as niece and nephew underline its incestuous nature.

Their love story is thus comically undermined by their consanguinity which is also subject to Lope's gentle mocking. When Lope takes Mudarra to meet Clara, he assures him: “se concierta el pensamiento tuyo / con el de esta señora, y el tercero / debe de ser la sangre” (2513-2515). In light of the earlier behaviour of the Castilian

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<sup>39</sup> Covarrubias cites Alfonso X's first *Partida* which censures all incest up to the fourth degree, or between cousins (1674b: fol. 76).

nobility, their joint prioritisation of “sangre” suggests history is repeating itself.

Lope and Gonzalo then assure Clara:

**LOPE:** No te alteres, que el moro es medio hermano  
de Gonzalo, tu padre.

**MUDARRA:** Ya con esto  
podré pedirlos que me deis la mano:  
Bustos, mi padre y vuestro abuelo, ha puesto,  
señora, entre los dos deudo tan llano,  
que, aunque os pida los brazos, no es ofensa. (2517-2522)

Mudarra’s justification “no es ofensa” after emphasising their shared descent is highly ironic. This irony is then blatantly underscored by Lope’s assertion to Clara, “Que ves tu padre piensa” (2523). That their relationship is incestuous is all but confirmed by Lope: “que amor, que hace legítimos bastardos, / las sangres junta y matrimonio intenta” (2550-2551), the irony here being that there is only one “sangre.” In response, even Clara stresses their consanguinity: “tío que basta, y tío como un oro” (2555). A *comedia* director would be free to emphasise this humour physically on stage, particularly in the actions of Lope, who could use gesture and verbal suggestion to convey Mudarra’s physical resemblance to Gonzalo. The mocking of their relationship would be greater for an audience well-versed in prior rewritings in which an allusion to incest — Alambra’s desire for her cousin Álvar — triggers the murderous chain of events. By nullifying the central dynastic tension of prior rewritings with an incestuous relationship, *Bastardo* thus parodies the necessity even for the seventeenth-century *hidalguía* to justify their status via *sangre*, which also leads to their self-destructive credulity.

The Castilians of *Bastardo* are moreover devoted to abstract constructions of nobility and often define themselves and others in relation to immaterial concepts

such as *honor*, *honra*, *fama* and *valentía*, as well as the general notion of *hidalguía*. Akin to their misguided reliance on and exploitation of family ties, the nobility uses these concepts to manipulate others, justify their own actions and consequently avail themselves of personal responsibility. Ruy and Alambra become increasingly aware of the power of these concepts over their contemporaries, with the former learning from the latter. Early on, Alambra convinces her vassal Estébanez to throw the cucumber at Gonzalo by calling him “Estébanez famoso, [...] fidalgo valiente” (320). She later does the same to Ruy, undermining his masculinity and reminding him of his *honor* gained through military successes: “¿Tú eres hombre? ¿Tú, el temido / de los moros cordobeses?” (682-683). Ruy is aware of her manipulation and “la dulce lengua de engañoso estilo” (722) and is thus able to do the same to Bustos and his nephews to avenge Alambra. He begins by invoking the abstract notion of *hidalguía* alongside family ties to convince Bustos to go to Almanzor — “Si os place, Gonzalo Bustos, / ser hidalgo mensajero” (868-869) — which he agrees to immediately.

Ruy’s manipulation of the *infantes* is so effective because they believe wholeheartedly in these abstract constructs that their judgement of others is clouded, leading to their death. Early in the play Gonzalo calls Ruy “vos, la nobleza y honra de los godos” (797), placing his trust in Ruy’s biological *honra* or lineage. Gonzalo is also convinced by Ruy’s actions that have led to *fama* and tells Constanza in Act II:

**GONZALO:** No tiene el mundo, español,  
 Constanza, de mayor fama  
 que Ruy Velázquez, mi tío,  
 y ella sola hará que el moro

fronterizo pierda el brío (1350-1354)

In fact, Ruy's reputation amongst the *infantes* is so strong that he does not even need to ask them to come into battle with him as he did in the medieval chronicle rewritings. Here social expectation does all the work, with Ruy only having to subtly invoke the potential benefits to his own *honor*: "No puedo tener la espada / en ocio, porque envainada / no da honor, antes afrenta" (1252-1254). The *infante* Fernán is immediately upset by Ruy's plans to enter battle alone: "Aunque por valor indignos, / tío, por la sangre nuestra / de más honra somos dignos" (1259-1261). Once the battle commences, Ruy then resorts to biological notions of *honra* to guarantee the *infantes'* compliance. He declares "vos sois la honra de Lara," to which Gonzalo responds like clockwork "y vos sois la nuestra" (1591-1592). Even once Ruy's treachery is revealed on the battlefield, Gonzalo declares his allegiance to *honor* over life itself: "¡No el honor, la vida muera!" (1657).

*Honor, honra* and other facets of *nobleza* are not only dangerously exploited to manipulate others; the nobles also allow themselves to be openly controlled by them, to the extent that they no longer take ownership over their actions. After his initial murder of Álvaro, Gonzalo blames *honor* for his transgression:

**GONZALO:** Mira  
que el honor llama a la ira,  
ella al brazo, él al cuchillo;  
un primero movimiento,  
tío, no es culpa en el hombre. (142-146)

The abstract nouns "el honor" and "la ira" are thus personified as responsible, thereby undermining Gonzalo's agency. The very same tendency is exemplified by

Ruy Velázquez to avail himself of any blame for murder: he explains to his servants that the one who wrote the letter to Almanzor is dead “por negocios de mi honor” (957). He later admits to Constanza what drove his treachery: “Los villanos de mi honor, / hechos del moro pedazos” (1784-1785). Ruy therefore relinquishes power to the external force of *honor* controlled only by the actions and words of others; namely the *infante* Gonzalo’s violence and Alambra’s reaction.

Outsiders of the Lara clan emphasise the *infantes*’ positive attributes according to this codified model of noble masculinity, but their demise and internal conflict cast an ironic shadow over their praise. The strength of the construction of *fama* permeates to the Andalusí side, where it is ironically invoked in light of the *infantes*’ death and Bustos’ imprisonment. Arlaja, for example, tells Bustos that “sé tus cosas por tu fama” (1160). Galve too speaks of the *infantes*’ *fama*: “ni otra cosa la fama esparce al viento, / ni lleva al mar en sus doradas alas, / sino el claro valor de los de Salas” (1218-1220), while Viara then describes the youngest *infante* according to “cosas se cuentan de él, que el mundo admiran” (1226), a reputation that fails to save them from their imminent demise. Lope, by contrast, takes a more obviously sardonic perspective on the Castilian nobility’s adherence to *honor*, *honra* and *fama*. He ironically declares the *infantes* “honor del mundo” even though it was adherence to *honor* that caused their deaths (2437). We have also seen above how he flees the battle, preferring to “dar la nueva” than die for “honor” (1690-1697). Lope later justifies this to Mudarra, vehemently refusing to sacrifice himself for ephemeral notions of nobility: “no quise allí morir, ni ganar nombre / de leal hidalgo y noble caballero” (2464-2465). His final verbal “blow” to these concepts comes during Mudarra’s defeat of Ruy Velázquez:

**ZAYDE:** ¡Qué bravos golpes le tira  
el valeroso Mudarra!  
**LOPE:** ¿No ves que le dan favor  
sangre, razón, honra y fama? (2989-2992)

Lope cynically juxtaposes the ideological notions of “sangre, razón, honra y fama” to an intensely violent scene in which only Mudarra’s physical capabilities matter. Much like the *C1344*, in which Mudarra takes the role of the Count’s vassal, *Bastardo* too hints that the cycle of noble degeneracy is not at an end in the Count’s words: “tu venganza milagrosa /mayores premios en la fama espera” (3061-3062), although *fama* failed to save the *infantes*.

*Bastardo* abounds in anachronism, not least through the figure of Lope but through intertexts and brief allusions, so the play is brought to bear on the early seventeenth-century reality of its composition. Yet does that mean this pervasive disparagement of the nobility refracts a despondency on the part of the playwright to early seventeenth-century class formations? Earlier rewritings of the *SIL materia*, particularly the medieval chronicles, also compare the Castilian faction unfavourably to al-Andalus. *Bastardo* must therefore be read diachronically: in augmenting — often comically — the hapless Castilians trapped by *honra*, *honor* and social rank already found in its medieval antecedents, *Bastardo* in 1612 sardonically suggests this is what present-day formulations of nobility are based upon. Of all the characters, it is curious that it is Alambra who is aware of how constructed notions of nobility can be easily wielded to manipulate others. She is an anomaly in her refusal to believe in an essentialised nobility, in line with the play’s exposé of

identity models as broad as race, religion and cultural memory, which perhaps explains why she does not meet a deadly end after all.

### Conclusions

In the closing lines of *Bastardo*, Gonzalo Bustos jolts the audience out of the play's temporal trajectory by declaring it a rewriting of a "historia": "Aquí la historia acabe, al mundo rara / del Bastardo Mudarra y los de Lara" (3071-3072). Not only does he awaken the audience from "el mundo" of the story but he confirms its strangeness and uncertainty; a strangeness that the playwright Lope perhaps located in his sources which he thus considered useful tools with which to fashion a new social commentary. While the medieval rewritings were concerned with conversion and identity change, and what kind of identity change is more laudable, by the seventeenth century the individual does not have so much control. *Bastardo* exposes the social systems in which these characters operate and their constructed, even dangerous, nature, from race and religion to the nobility. In contrast to the medieval *SIL materia* which takes conversion seriously, *Bastardo* intimates that racialisation is unjustified and, ultimately, pointless. The play's sardonic tone and hurried ending anticipate the pessimism with which Romantic writers will transform Mudarra. Like all iterations of the *SIL materia*, *Bastardo* also reflects its status as a rewriting of a tradition that is becoming slipperier as the centuries pass. It uniquely fuses distorted layers of cultural reproduction, many of which are anachronistic to the *materia's* tenth-century setting, and thus exposes the audience to the unreliability of literature as a consistent and chronologically coherent repository of literary-cultural memory.

*Bastardo* stands out amongst Lope's *comedias* in its staging of a scepticism towards racialisation alongside the degeneracy of the nobility. McKendrick has argued that early modern playwrights in fact used honour as a way to explore notions of race and religion covertly: *honor/honra* "mimics not the sexual mores of the age [...] but the psychology of the age's obsession with *limpieza de sangre*. Since the real-life source of obsessional energy did not lend itself to stage enactment, a substitute had to be found" (1984: 322). *Bastardo* deals head-on with *limpieza* but similarly depicts *honra/honor* as a restrictive and ultimately hollow model for the nobility. It was able to do this — to be written, approved by censors and staged — because of its status as medievalism.

## Chapter Five

### The Fallacy of Return in Nineteenth-Century Medievalism

En donde tus dichas fueron,  
Solo hay recuerdos amargos;  
Y es el vivir de memorias  
El tormento mas pesado. (Saavedra 1834a: 241)<sup>1</sup>

These lines are part of a short *romance* sung in Ángel de Saavedra's 1834 narrative poem *El moro expósito* (henceforth *Expósito*), itself comprised of twelve long *romances*. Kerima, the work's heroine, hears the anonymously performed ballad echo through a rural idyll just beyond the city walls of Cordova. It warns her against idealising her past, encouraging her instead to embrace an unknown future. Kerima is one of many of the work's characters that dwell on the past to little avail, from the eponymous *expósito* Mudarra to its first-person narrator. Their experiences encapsulate how the past is treated not only in Saavedra's *Expósito* but also in contemporary writer José Somoza's *El bautismo de Mudarra* (1842) (henceforth *Bautismo*). In both of these nineteenth-century rewritings of the *SIL materia*, "el tormento mas pesado" is the realisation that memory is a construct, and thus to conceive of a Middle Ages that laid the ground for the present is nothing but a fallacy.

What then drove these pessimistic rewritings of the *SIL materia* in the mid-nineteenth century? To answer this question it is necessary to understand what happened to medievalism after it was taken up by the early modern playwrights.

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<sup>1</sup> All subsequent quotations are from Ángel de Saavedra, *El moro expósito* (1834a, 1834b).

The jump to the nineteenth century this thesis makes is a necessary one. Literary medievalism fell out of favour in the dominant artistic discourse of the eighteenth century, an era of neoclassicism in response to the Baroque ‘excess’ of the prior century broadly characterised by “a renewed emphasis on clarity of communication, respect for generic conventions, and the moral role of literature” (Deacon 2005: 307). When medievalism was taken up it came in the form of neoclassical theatre, such as Nicolás Fernández de Moratín’s tragedies *Hormesinda* (1770) and *Guzmán el Bueno* (1777), and Vicente García de la Huerta’s *Raquel* (1778). This does not mean, however, that medievalisms were not more widely reproduced. Rewritings of the *SIL materia* and other medieval chronicle narratives were still printed anonymously: the Madrid publisher Antonio Sanz had on sale “Historias en quarto [...] Del Conde Fernán González, y siete Infantes de Lara, pliegos cinco” in 1751 (Infantes 2014: 29). While the eighteenth century saw a dearth of authored rewritings by the erudite classes, the printing of the type of anonymous medievalist prose and ballads in *pliegos* already extant in the sixteenth century continued (Álvarez Barrientos 2005: 324).

A shift then occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century with a new scholarly interest in the Middle Ages, epitomised by Tomás Antonio Sánchez’s publication of four editions of medieval works: the *Poema de mio Cid*, *Libro de buen amor*, *Libro de Alexandre* and the works of Gonzalo de Berceo (1779-1790). Sánchez’s effort was an explicitly nationalistic one to publish “the best authors of our nation” (Álvarez Junco 2011: 160). The same aims underlined Hilario Santos Alonso’s *Colección de varias historias* published in Madrid (1767-1768 and 1780-1781), dubbed *historias*

*fingidas* for their references to earlier chronicles.<sup>2</sup> Santos Alonso also rewrote what is to my knowledge the only extant authored rewriting of the *SIL materia* from that century: *Historia verdadera y lamentable, de los siete infantes de Lara, con la de Mudarra Gonzalez, su hermano*, printed in Murcia in 1772.<sup>3</sup> This recuperative, more scholarly form of medievalism can be linked to political developments in that century, at the end of which “the structure of the state had changed, and it was increasingly felt that the different kingdoms had at last been unified” (Feros 2017: 155), alongside new theorisations of the ideas of nation, *patria*, and patriotism (Ibid: 173). To rewrite the Middle Ages in the late-eighteenth century was therefore to offer it up as a past for a modern, united nation.

The turn of the nineteenth century then saw a comparative boom in authored rewritings of the *materia*, beginning with two plays by the Catalan Francesc Altés i Casals, a transitional figure between neoclassicism and Romanticism: *Gonzalo Bustos* and *Mudarra González* (both c. 1818).<sup>4</sup> This chapter will analyse Saavedra and Somoza’s works not only as paradigmatic examples of nineteenth-century medievalism but as reactions to this discourse’s resurgence in that century. The literary return to the Middle Ages coincided with sociopolitical tumult in Spain: the fallout from the wars against Napoleon (1808-1814) and Liberalism’s changing fortunes through the first Carlist war (1833-1840) which brought “to the fore the many ideological divisions in Spaniards’ repertoires for understanding the nation-

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<sup>2</sup> For Víctor Infantes, Santos Alonso’s *Colección* was published “con el fin de fingir lo menos posible la historia, es decir mantener la veracidad cronística de las fuentes originales y la función moral edificante de su mensaje” (2014: 32-33).

<sup>3</sup> A play, *Mudarra González* (c. 1782), was also penned by Gaspar María de Nava, although it was never published or, presumably, performed (Cuenca Cabeza 1990: 27).

<sup>4</sup> See Manuel Cuenca Cabeza (1990: 28-29) who dates them to c. 1818.

state” (Ríos-Font 2005: 21). The (re)writing of Spanish history and particularly medieval Iberia became increasingly central to formulations of the modern state. This period also coincided with the pan-European Romantic movement, which from the late-eighteenth century saw writers and artists turn “back to the Middle Ages to find – indeed, to create – their own sense of who they were” (Simmons 2016: 103). This did not entail a homogeneous, positive view of the Middle Ages, the culture and history of which was reused to disparate effects in different contexts; Spain being no exception. Saavedra and Somoza’s works are worth studying in particular not only because they were composed in light of the conflicts of the 1830s and can be considered Romantic, but also because they reject what medievalism had thus far stood for, not only in the eighteenth century but also for other contemporaneous Romantic and liberal writers. They are the most overt examples yet of medievalist *counterwriting*, rather than solely rewriting, that challenges itself as a literary mode.<sup>5</sup>

Saavedra’s *Expósito* begins with its narrator’s praise of Cordova where the bulk of the action takes place. We meet Zahira, Almanzor’s sister, on her deathbed talking to Mudarra, a young *expósito* she has raised. She tells him he has a mysterious destiny to fulfil and he is entrusted to Zaide, his tutor. He also pursues a love interest, Kerima, whom he impresses at a tournament held to celebrate Almanzor’s son’s wedding. Kerima was conceived after her father Giafar, a high-ranking noble with links to North Africa, raped a Christian captive who then died in childbirth. Giafar intends to marry Kerima to a Tunisian suitor, and deceptively arranges a meeting

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<sup>5</sup> As noted in the introduction, Christian Moraru defines counterwriting as setting up a “‘rupture’ between themselves and what they redo — the literary past — as well as between themselves and the various hegemonic forces active at the moment and in the milieu of ‘redoing’” (2001: 9).

with Mudarra to oust him in the dead of night, when Mudarra in fact kills Giafar. Two *romances* then depict Zaide, to whom Mudarra has just confessed his murder, finally revealing the circumstances of the *expósito's* birth. Mudarra writes to Kerima to admit he has killed her father, which induces a serious illness in her. He then travels to Castile to avenge his own father Gonzalo Gustioz with Zaide, while Kerima stays in Cordova. Mudarra and Zaide are greeted by Gonzalo in Castile, who together with his friend Nuño recounts his past trials, from the former's imprisonment to the latter's travels. Mudarra wants to defeat Ruy Velázquez in a duel and a legitimization ceremony is arranged to enable him to do so. An entire romance is then taken up with Ruy's backstory, including the unfaithful machinations of his wife Lambra. Ruy is terrified to fight Mudarra and pays to seek solace in a corrupt Church. Mudarra beheads Ruy in the duel yet suffers a near fatal injury himself. Kerima miraculously appears on the battlefield and administers a medicine to him, after which he recovers to full health. Both are baptised in order to be married, yet in the final scene Kerima refuses Mudarra by proclaiming she cannot marry her father's murderer and resolves to enter a convent.

Somoza's short story *Bautismo* follows a similar geographical trajectory, beginning in Cordova with Mudarra's mother explaining the circumstances of his birth to him and apologising for his illegitimacy. She instructs him to meet his father although he is reluctant to leave his *patria*. He travels to Castile, accompanied by a retinue of Andalusí soldiers that he loses en route. Alone, he stumbles across a monastery where he finds a woman weeping for her dead sons. The woman tells him both Castile's and her own backstory, revealing that she is Sancha, Mudarra's father Gonzalo's wife. She knows her husband had an illegitimate child and is not upset.

Mudarra reveals who he is, and they go together to Salas to meet Gonzalo. Once there Mudarra suffers under pressure from both new ‘parents’: Sancha insistently persuades him to convert to Christianity, leveraging her own ailing health as a bargaining chip, while Gonzalo challenges his sons’ murderer Ruy to a duel in Mudarra’s name. Mudarra is reluctant to do it, fearing an unending cycle of vengeance and the reaction of Sancha, Ruy’s sister. He eventually kills Ruy in battle but is beside himself with grief and repentance. Back in Salas, Sancha continues to pressure Mudarra into baptism while Gonzalo plans to kill Lambra, Ruy’s wife, which Mudarra objects to. His father forces him to sign a contract that states he will not oppose his actions. Lambra happens to be captured in her own home by Andalusí soldiers and Gonzalo persuades Mudarra to tell them to kill Lambra, which they do after he reluctantly agrees. The final scenes depict Mudarra’s baptism, at which he breaks down and the ceremony ceases. Sancha finds out that he killed Ruy, and by the end Mudarra laments his actions triggered by “sumisión filial” (136).<sup>6</sup> The narrator explains both Sancha and Gonzalo soon die, while Mudarra remains a Christian in Castile and his descendants live on.

This chapter newly argues that *Expósito* and *Bautismo* rewrite tenth-century Iberia as a failure, not as a model to follow, which in turn exposes the shortcomings of contemporary constructions of medieval Iberia as the history of the emerging Spanish nation. At the centre of both texts is Mudarra, now an *expósito* or foundling in the Spain that had rewritten his story for centuries.<sup>7</sup> No longer can he

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<sup>6</sup> All quotations are from Somoza (1842).

<sup>7</sup> Sebastián de Covarrubias’ definition of *expósito* highlights the figure’s outsider status as well as their ongoing connection to the family that is lost: “el niño que ha sido echado de sus padres, ô de otras personas en los campos, ô en las puertas de los Templos desamparandolos a su ventura: y de

triumphantly convert, assimilate and solve internal Castilian conflict. Instead, in light of a nascent nineteenth-century nation state plagued by internal divisions, external aggression and contradicting narratives of national identity, his acculturation is framed as both failure and an abandonment, which in turn parallels al-Andalus' status in contemporary Spain. Saavedra's *Expósito* emphasises this problematic by ironically lavishing praise on an al-Andalus conceived as an exceptional, decidedly unislamic polity, all the while denigrating the racialised religious zealotry of North Africa, Castile's inescapable ties to which inhibit a satisfying resolution to the work. In *Bautismo*, meanwhile, Mudarra's conversion is coerced and ultimately fruitless, as he is left newly orphaned yet 'Christian' in Castile, mourning an Islamic identity that is ironically already effaced by a narrative that conceptualises him as a modern pacifist steeped in secular philosophy. The erasure of racial and religious difference is but one example of how both works unfold in an uncomfortable, uncertain temporality that is neither medieval nor modern; cyclical narratives that refuse to make concrete links between past and present. Medievalism has now transformed into a self-referential literary mode that both rewrites the Middle Ages and interrogates the very process of doing so.

### **Nineteenth-century Liberalism, Romanticism and Medieval Iberia**

The contemporary constructions of medieval Iberia that these two works contradict are rooted in the emerging Liberal political movement, comprised of the educated bourgeois who "elaborated a discourse at the core of which was the argument that

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ordinario son hijos de personas que padecerían sus honras , ô sus vidas si se supiese cuyos son" (1674a: fol. 275).

the Old Regime was both economically inefficient and unjust” (Smith 2016: 56). The war against Napoleon (1808-1814) had crucially fomented independence movements in Spain’s overseas empire which began to break away. The absolutist monarchy lost income as a result and “the bourgeoisie became increasingly aware that its interests [...] would be best served by a modern liberal state” that encouraged individual autonomy (Kirkpatrick 1988: 262). New visions of a collective, national identity were weaponised by Liberal elites to unify the Spanish regions against the French invader retrospectively. José Álvarez Junco argues that the idea of the war as one of national independence was a myth, given “national loyalty was based on cultural constructs created and internalised by the elites” (2011: 110), an idea bolstered by the doubtful extent to which civilians banded together with the military to assist in the war effort.<sup>8</sup>

Narratives of nationalism and the nation state were crafted in histories of Spain by the first generation of Liberal elites. The triumph over the French was discursively likened to the events of 711 and the subsequent ‘Reconquest,’ with historians including Francisco Martínez Marina and Álvaro Flórez Estrada and politician Agustín Argüelles holding medieval ‘Spain’ “to personify the national character and to found the defence of its freedom and independence on the Christian faith” (Álvarez Junco 2011: 147).<sup>9</sup> The medieval political apparatus, such as town councils and *fueros*, were also retrospectively constructed as anti-absolutist to fit the Liberal agenda to limit monarchical power (Ibid). The Liberal politico-academic vision for

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<sup>8</sup> See Charles J. Esdaile (2004).

<sup>9</sup> A tendency that would persist throughout the nineteenth century, in which “se va buscar el tiempo de los godos como manifestación de la predestinación de la nacionalidad Española y el Medievo como la época gloriosa de su configuración” (Sanmartín Bastida 2002: 83).

national identity was thus teleological and sought in a reconstituted, homogeneous Middle Ages — exclusive of Islam and Judaism — the origins of a newly unified nation-state fighting against a foreign invader.

Such a racially exclusive vision of national identity was also promoted by Liberal politicians in the Constitution promulgated in 1812 at the Cortes of Cádiz during the war. It constructed both a Spanish identity that incorporated Christianity (Perea 2018: 23-24) and a pan-Hispanic imperial identity in racial terms by granting citizenship (and thus suffrage) to those who could “trace their ancestry to the Spanish dominions of both hemispheres” (King 1953: 53). This notably excluded the large number of black Latin Americans and *castas*, or those of African descent.<sup>10</sup> This discriminatory conception of Spanish identity and history even extended to literature and art with the emergence of Romanticism. For Derek Flitter (1992), early Spanish Romanticism was influenced by its German counterpart, brought to the Peninsula before 1834 by Johann Böhl von Faber and typified by the works of Böhl’s daughter Cecilia and Agustín Durán.<sup>11</sup> Such Romantic historicism was defined by “a stress upon the spiritual power of Christianity, by an idealised vision of the Middle Ages, and by the vindication of Golden Age drama and popular poetry” (Flitter 1992: 48), a conception that once again erased Iberia’s multiconfessional, multiracial past.

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<sup>10</sup> Amongst those of African descent, citizenship could only be granted “a los que hicieren servicios calificados a la Patria, o a los que se distingan por su talento, aplicación y conducta” (*Constitución* 1812: 6). See also Marcela Echevarri (2015) and Sherwin K. Bryant et. al. (2012).

<sup>11</sup> Durán’s theoretical *Discurso* traces the origins of early modern theatre to medieval discourses of chivalry and suggests these ideals were persistent in Romantic literature (Flitter 1992: 34-37). Reference has been made to Durán’s *Romancero general* in Chapter Two, in the prologue to which he affirms that historical ballads evince a purely Christian, national literature: “considero los viejos romances sobre la historia española de la edad media, como los solos originales y libres de toda imitacion extraña, inclusa la que pudiera venirnos de los moros” (1877: xxvii).

Different yet equally as partisan formulations of national history were concomitantly proposed by Arabist historians. Unlike conservative Romantics and Liberals, early nineteenth-century Arabists did not frame medieval Iberia as homogeneously Christian; “the process was considerably more ambivalent, leading to hegemonic as well as alternative conceptualizations of the nation which recognized an incorporation of the other within the self” (Martin-Márquez 2008: 28). Arabists such as José Antonio Conde and Pascual de Gayangos extolled and assimilated al-Andalus into the history of the ‘nation’ but in doing so they also constructed an exceptionalist narrative. Conde’s *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* (1820-1821) is a case in point: it praises al-Andalus as superior to present-day Muslims and their culture, both of which are condemned as ignorant (Monroe 1970: 52). Conde’s work exhibits the beginnings of the scholarly myth of al-Andalus that was eventually transformed by Américo Castro into the well-known concept of *convivencia*, which was as nationalistic and exclusive as the arguments wielded by Castro’s detractor, Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz. Both “propagate the highly problematic claim of Spain’s uniqueness and self-sufficiency, with either Castro’s Arabs or Sánchez-Albornoz’s Visigoths cast in the roles of formidable gatekeepers who protect the unpolluted realms of the Peninsula against the “corrupting” European influences” (Soifer 2009: 27).<sup>12</sup>

For nineteenth-century Arabists like Conde it was however not external European influences but Muslim North Africa they sought to distance themselves from, which

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<sup>12</sup> Thomas Glick describes the Andalusí myth as “wishful thinking which seeks in some way to detach Al-Andalus from the general currents of Islamic civilization” (1971: 536).

had already been denounced as barbaric by eighteenth-century travel writers (Monroe 1970: 52). Susan Martin-Márquez demonstrates how such mythologies of al-Andalus were imbricated with nineteenth-century Spanish Colonialism in Africa: after France's invasion of Algeria in 1830, Spanish politicians "would seek to legitimize their participation in the European colonial project by emphasizing their unique relationship to Africa," grounded in al-Andalus (2008: 51).<sup>13</sup> Although the war with Morocco did not take place until 1859, Spain had held small colonies or "plazas de soberanía" in North Africa from as early as the late fifteenth century and it was the home of descendants of the *morisco* diaspora after 1609.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, throughout the early modern period networks of trade and slavery continued to bind Spain to North Africa. The anxiety of this ongoing economic and territorial relationship undergirded the exceptionalist Arabist narratives of al-Andalus, which were ready to accept and assimilate a 'Muslim Spain' but denied its cultural and historical relationship to modern Islamic communities.<sup>15</sup> Diverging from these increasingly dichotomised visions of medieval Iberia, *Expósito* and *Bautismo* craft a new medievalism at the centre of which is Mudarra, whose complex subject position challenges such simplistic narratives that either eradicate or assimilate al-Andalus into present-day Spain; narratives propagated by and available to those who would have formed these works' audiences.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> David Stenner also demonstrates how "Spain's 'rediscovery' of its Andalusian past actually served the kingdom's expansionist agenda amidst its collapsing empire in Latin America" (2019: 11). al-Andalus and the concept of a 'Hispano-Arabic culture' were later prominently weaponised under Franco to justify twentieth century Spanish colonisation in North Africa (Calderwood 2018: 167-207).

<sup>14</sup> See Eugenio Mariñas Otero (1998).

<sup>15</sup> This anxiety can also be considered a reaction to the Orientalised image of Spain created by foreign artists and authors in the early nineteenth century (Martin-Márquez 2008: 20-22, 41-42).

<sup>16</sup> Saavedra's work was published in Paris in 1834 with an audience of Liberal exiles in mind. Although the first printing of *Bautismo* is in Somoza's *Obras completas* (1842), he published other works in periodicals to engage in political debate in the 1830s and 1840s, including the *Revista de España y del Estrangero* and *Revista Andaluza*, run by moderate Liberals Fermín Gonzalo Morón and Alejandro Llorente respectively (see Rogelio Velasco (1988) and Borja Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2020)).

*Expósito* and *Bautismo*'s medievalism shares in the more radical tendencies of the Romantic movement in the 1830s, spurred on by that decade's ongoing political conflicts. While a Liberal Constitution was ratified at Cádiz in 1812, it was abrogated in 1814 after the restoration of the monarchy under Ferdinand VII and more conservative ideals took hold, driving many Liberals into exile. These exiles — including Saavedra — returned to Spain after Ferdinand's daughter Isabella ascended to the throne in 1833, her minority sponsored by more conservative Liberals.<sup>17</sup> Internal conflict persisted in the form of the first Carlist War (1833-1840), a civil war of succession between the Liberal-Centrist supporters of Isabella and her regent María Cristina and conservative, regionalist supporters of Ferdinand's brother, Carlos de Borbón (Lawrence 2020: 63-106). These seismic political changes are reflected in an evolving Romanticism, which no longer sought to idealise and simplify the nation's past but rather engaged in contemporary political events, such as the heavily politicised poetry and plays written against the Carlist cause in the 1830s (Fuente Monge 2013: 21).

Although this politically engaged literature cannot be reduced to a simple typology, it is fair to say Romanticism was spurred on by “the metaphysical crisis of the end of the eighteenth century and in what Kierkegaard called the 'rift in existence' which it produced” (Shaw 1963: 191). Susan Kirkpatrick argues for Romanticism's reflection of liberal political concerns, including market capitalism and the bourgeois state, as well as individual consciousness (1988: 260), a conclusion made

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<sup>17</sup> On the exile and return of Liberals in this period see Vicente Lloréns (1979).

earlier by Ricardo Navas-Ruiz (1970). An existentialist anxiety penetrates the oeuvre of many Spanish Romantics, notably in the social commentaries of Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837), and the works of José de Espronceda (1808-1842) and José Zorrilla (1817-1893), all anti-Carlists. This anxiety often manifests as irony and satire, which extended to the new medievalisms of the 1830s.<sup>18</sup> Composed amidst ongoing internal conflict over the nature of the Spanish state, *Expósito* and *Bautismo* evince an anxiety over the insufficiency of contemporary discourses of nationalism that exploit a partisan image of medieval Iberia. This chapter argues that these works rewrite the *SIL materia* to challenge medievalism from within, to contradict its earlier conservative formations studied by Flitter and instead offer up an ironic but also pessimistic view of medieval Iberia and its relevance for the present.

This analysis of *Expósito* and *Bautismo* deviates from extant critical views on both texts. *Expósito*, while less studied than Saavedra's later works (namely the play *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino* (1835) and poems of his *Romancero histórico* (1841)), is considered by many to be central to the Romantic movement, in contrast to Somoza whose work has barely received critical attention in the past two centuries. Saavedra's twelve-part poem primarily attracts attention for its portrayal of tenth-century Cordova. Edgar Allison Peers characterises *Expósito* as revival literature that extols Saavedra's native Andalusia (1923: 83-84). Peers' views are echoed by Nicholson B. Adams who believes "Saavedra is presenting noble and gallant Moors" (1968: 106). Neither of these views acknowledge the critical portrayal of

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<sup>18</sup> On Romantic irony see Donald E. Schurlknight (1998). Alongside Saavedra and Somoza's works, other more radical Romantics returned to medieval Iberia, including Larra in the novel *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* (1834), and Espronceda with *Sancho Saldaña o El castellano de Cuéllar* (1834). Zorrilla took up medievalism in the 1840s with the plays *Sancho García* (1842) and *El puñal del godo* (1843).

acculturation that takes place in the characterisation of Andalusis, and particularly Mudarra and Kerima who are of mixed heritage. They also overlook the ideological opposition constructed between idealised, Castilianised Andalusis and those who are explicitly denoted as North African.

Others have dismissed the importance of Saavedra's choice of setting, highlighting only what *Expósito* reflects of the nineteenth century. For example, Richard Cardwell surmises that the work's "Moorish setting, exoticism, medievalism, local colour, etc., while of literary interest, are in reality only Romantic trappings for central themes discussed in the poem," namely Mudarra's overall melancholy and existentialist anxiety (1975: 674). *Expósito's* negative outlook in fact extends to nostalgic evocations of the Middle Ages that either attempt to Christianise or acculturate al-Andalus; narratives that are also parodied through ironic juxtaposition. Álvarez Junco similarly rejects *Expósito's* recreation of al-Andalus as "superficial," limited to "references to Córdoba and Granada, and in particular references to the noble bearing of the characters and the ceremonious language that was supposed to derive from the Arab world" (2011: 172). Azorín gives the only appraisal of *Expósito's* humour, absurdities and incongruities, a facet of the text neglected by later critics but one central to *Expósito's* undermining of discourses of national identity based on the Middle Ages (1921: 112).

More recently, Jo Labanyi and Jesús Torrecilla have productively linked *Expósito* to narratives of nineteenth-century nation building. For Labanyi, *Expósito* exudes "a melancholic sense of loss for a past in which mobile and plural identities were possible," with authors such as Saavedra returning to al-Andalus "not because of a

backward-looking interest in the national past, but in order to elaborate a concept of the modern European subject” (2004: 229). Labanyi argues that Saavedra’s *Expósito* is melancholic rather than nostalgic, and therefore “keeps alive the hurt of the past as a motivating force” (Ibid: 242). I nuance this idea by suggesting *Expósito* does not give a melancholic vision of the past that laments the loss of al-Andalus, given the problematic and parodic opposition set up between ‘Castilianised’ or ‘Hispanicised’ Andalusis and those of North African descent. *Expósito* does not use al-Andalus as a basis on which to build a modern nation teleologically: it forges an uncomfortable, suspended time scheme in order to critique contemporary discourses that unproblematically return to an acculturated al-Andalus as foundational for the modern nation.<sup>19</sup> Torrecilla, meanwhile, sees a kinship between Saavedra and Mudarra, whereby “la idea de una España musulmana culta y tolerante le sirve para formular un proyecto alternativo de país, abierto y plural, que no está basado en influencias francesas” (2019: 57). Such an unabashedly positive reading of Saavedra’s al-Andalus once again fails to acknowledge the tension between Castilianised, acculturated Andalusis and North Africans who problematise these borders. Torrecilla takes *Expósito*’s erasure of race seriously, saying what is emphasised is Mudarra’s “condición castellana” (2019: 52), and in line with Cardwell and Álvarez Junco, he responds to Labanyi by claiming “a Rivas le interesaban más cuestiones políticas que raciales o culturales” (Ibid). In the analysis that follows it will become clear that the racialisation of Spanish identity is central

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<sup>19</sup> Labanyi points out the denigration of North Africa in Romantic texts but does not consider how this plays out in *Expósito*. Labanyi only suggests what it meant for Arabists like Conde: “North African Muslims are vengeful fanatics, by comparison with the cultured, tolerant Arabs of the Peninsula. This splitting of Arab culture into ‘our sort’ and ‘their sort’ would permit the involvement of Hispano-Arabic enthusiasts in the mid-century colonial project in North Africa without contradiction” (2004: 236).

to *Expósito's* contradiction of the conservative-Romantic impulse to erase difference and assimilate al-Andalus without acknowledging ongoing links with North Africa.

Extant appraisals of Somoza — and particularly *Bautismo* — are scarce. Somoza, a Liberal politician from Piedrahíta, is best known for his autobiographical *costumbrista* essays.<sup>20</sup> *Bautismo* is one of his only medievalist works and requires some rehabilitation: Peers considered it “disastrous” (2014: 154). Lomba y Pedraja, the first editor of Somoza’s works, similarly depreciated it and described Somoza’s Mudarra as “Aristóteles vestido de abate, con zapatos de hebilla y con alzacuello [...] no era de una impropiedad más chocante” (1904: vlxii). Ramón Menéndez Pidal also noted Mudarra’s nineteenth-century sensibilities: “Mudarra es ahora [...] un mortal privilegiado, poseedor de la ciencia y la virtud, sumido habitualmente en profundas reflexiones, que revelan el cultivado entendimiento y el filantrópico corazón del solitario de Piedrahita” (1971: 171). Both recognise what I will go on to argue is *Bautismo's* blatant modernisation of medieval Iberia, also found in *Expósito*: their timescales, at once medieval and modern, deny the reader any access to unproductive nostalgia. *Bautismo* rewrites Mudarra as both a neoclassicist and a pacifist, which Saénz Arenzana interprets autobiographically: “a través de las reflexiones de Mudarra, Somoza encauza su personal invectiva contra la violencia” (1997: 56). These attitudes Castilianise Mudarra as a nineteenth-century subject, erasing his Andalusí identity that is also parodically denied by a fanatical Christianity. Rodríguez Gutiérrez provides a rare comment on *Bautismo's* portrayal

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<sup>20</sup> See José R. Lomba y Pedraja (1904), Pilar Saénz Arenzana (1997) and Rodríguez Gutiérrez (2004). The nineteenth-century *costumbrista* “is a man about town, an observer who, with notebook in hand, takes in his surroundings in order to represent them as “slices of life” for his readers. Typically male and middle-class, the identity of the *costumbrista* narrator in many ways replicated the ideal citizen – the man of property – predicated by liberal ideology” (Iarocci 2005: 387).

of al-Andalus: “la tierra de moros es presentada como un remanso de paz, de honradez y de sabiduría” (2004: 371). While it is presented as infinitely preferable to the Castile Mudarra encounters, this chapter is the first to demonstrate how Castilianisation leads to fruitless assimilation. The limited scholarship on *Bautismo* does not answer the question of why it rewrites the *SIL materia* pessimistically, at once staunchly rejecting medievalist nostalgia and mocking the assimilation of al-Andalus into Castilian and thus Spanish history. I will now explore the two methods through which both works reject a teleological, nostalgic medievalism and challenge extant formulations of al-Andalus in national-Liberal mythologies: their time schemes and dissolution of racial difference.

### **Suspended Time and a Rejection of Teleology**

In conceptualising the medievalism of *Expósito* and *Bautismo* as examples of critical counterwriting, rather than nostalgic and nationalist, I argue that their narratives play out within a suspended timescale produced by a productive tension between past and present.<sup>21</sup> Akin to the chronicles, ballads and *comedias* before them, these works play with their audience’s possible memories and expectations of the *materia*. Yet more than any prior rewriting, here the reader is consistently made aware of each text’s construction through references to contemporary events and intertexts found in narrative digressions and footnotes, as well as an imposing author function — stronger in *Expósito* than *Bautismo* — that wields an uncomfortable power over

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<sup>21</sup> This tension is an increasingly prominent feature of medievalisms to the late-nineteenth century, in which works evince “un proceso doble: la conciencia de la aceleración del paso del tiempo, que aumenta la distancia del pasado, y el deseo de recuperarlo, con el convencimiento de que se pertenece ya a otra época” (Sanmartín Bastida 2002: 35). See also Carlos Reyero (1988: 8).

a rewriting of an extant tradition. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* are thus neither medieval nor modern; their readers “gain access, through a complex interplay of memory and anticipation, to a different quality of time: a time that seems to move in a cycle or spiral and is thus opposed to the irresistibly linear flow of the time of everyday experience” (Călinescu 1993: 187). They reject the teleological historical determinism typical of the Enlightenment, “the ascending but always finite line” (Rosenberg 1989: 322), as well as contemporary attempts to found a modern Spain on a constructed medieval Iberia. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* thus critically dissect medievalist narratives that posit medieval Iberia as a history for the present day.

The structure of Saavedra’s *Expósito* disrupts medievalism’s potential for easy nostalgia by making its present construction known to the reader. This is firstly evident in the presence of a narrator that critics have consistently read autobiographically as *the* author, from Peers (1923) to Torrecilla (2019). Yet the introduction of a narrator means that these works not only explicitly show *how* they rewrite but make obvious the subjective, presentist project of medievalism. In *Expósito* we are introduced to the narrator at the very beginning: the first 1834 edition omits Antonio Alcalá Galiano’s signature from the prologue and then goes straight into the first-person opening of the first *romance*. Although the prologue refers to the author and their achievements in the third person, this could also be read as a modest, self-conscious reflection by the author-narrator who goes on to lament his distance from home in *romance* verse:

Córdoba insigne!... ¿dónde tu grandeza,  
 Dónde está tu poder?... ¿Con quién su saña  
 Mostró el tiempo voraz como contigo,  
 Y la ciega Fortuna su inconstancia? (1834a: 3)

The boundaries between the paratextual material and the poem, as well as the past and present, are immediately blurred. The narrative voice uncomfortably switches between tenses, forcing the reader to consider two temporalities and once and question the gap between them. The purported tenth-century temporality of the *SIL materia* established in earlier rewritings is then disrupted by the narrator's references to a "hoy" that can only be the date of publication: as well as the opening remarks the narrative voice interjects to remind the nineteenth century reader of their reality, including the present-day location of Giafar's tower, "que hoy Campobajo llaman" (1834a: 56) and the fact that a monastery now stands on Mudarra's mother Zahira's tomb (1834a: 70). The most extensive digression takes place in the sixth *romance* when the narrator intersperses Nuño's recollection of his travels with a story of his own exile, "huyendo de mi patria y de la tierra" (1834a: 304). Although the narrator uses terms like *patria* akin to the medieval characters of *Expósito*, the voice importantly never clearly equates the two "patrias"; the connection between past and present is thus subtly eroded despite apparent continuities.

Further paratextual interjections that jolt the reader out of the medieval timeline come in the form of consistent footnotes in each of the *romances* that reference sources that the author-narrator has used and why, notably including Conde's *Historia* that is often quoted at length (such as 1834a: 441). A sequence of footnotes at the end of the first volume then makes reference to a *romance viejo*, Juan de Mariana's early modern chronicle *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, and one of Sepúlveda's ballads (1834a: 456-450). Although it is not unusual for the post-medieval rewritings to make overt reference to chronicle sources — the prologue to

Sepúlveda's ballads being a case in point — Saavedra's work is the first rewriting of the *SIL materia* to interweave sources in a pseudo-scientific way. It is also notable that one of these sources, namely Conde's *Historia*, typifies the kind of exceptionalist narrative that *Expósito* challenges with its representation of North African Muslims and their involvement in al-Andalus, to be discussed below. The most striking example of the work's construction is the narrator sharing its decision to omit the character of Sancha, the *infantes'* mother, in a footnote. The scene of Mudarra's legitimation ceremony, performed by Gonzalo Gustioz's sister, triggers a footnote whereby the narrator explains the rationale for discarding Sancha, "por ser figura que no *Expósito* hacia buen juego en el cuadro" (1834a: 462). The narrator judging characters in terms of the extent to which they "hacer buen juego" acknowledges the arbitrary nature of medievalism that holds no loyalty to prior forms.

*Expósito's* uneasy time scheme is also connected to the controlled dissemination of knowledge by the narrator. This is perhaps the most marked divergence from prior rewritings of the *SIL materia*: the narrator assumes no prior knowledge of a literary tradition and presents *Expósito* as both a rewriting and an innovation at the same time. A good example is the start of *romance* six, in which we are gradually introduced to the decayed castle at Salas through the arrival of an unknown group of "tres hombres, en tres mulas y embozados" (1834a: 258). Two are then described as "los dos raros y extraños personajes" (1834a: 259). Rumours of their arrival to the castle spread "entre el vulgo ignorante," and the reader alongside the villagers finally finds out their identity: Gonzalo Gustioz, freed from captivity, with Nuño and a *maragato* (1834a: 267-268). The reader is forced to share the ignorance of the population of Salas, an uncomfortable refusal of any prior knowledge they may have

of the *SIL materia*, which in turn reinforces the creative control of the inscribed author. Similarly, character names are often withheld to raise tension and dissociate the reader from prior iterations of the *SIL materia*; they are replaced with unspecific denominations such as “el bulto” or “el digno caballero.” This extends to the narrator’s treatment of Mudarra the *expósito*, of whose identity we are ignorant until the end of *romance* four, and whose identity changes depending on where we are in the text: he is known as *expósito* early on, and once he hears his life-story from Zaide the narrator begins referring to him with his proper name yet often slips and calls him “el huérfano” (Labanyi 2004: 240). The obvious narratorial control extends to the inconsistent treatment of Muslim characters, which will be elaborated on below: terminology shifts depending on which Andalusí is being described, such as in *romance* two in which Kerima’s father Giafar is in battle against Castilian troops which “cargan á los turbados sarracenos” (1834a: 53). All of this makes the narrator’s presence and control over the act of rewriting front of mind.

The literal mechanics of the *romance* form also enable the controlled narrative pace: in the *romance* verse the verb is often led to the end which leaves the reader waiting, even at the dramatic climax:

[...] Poco  
 Falta ya para enlazarse entrambas,  
 Cuando Kerima con horror los ojos  
 En la mano, que espera asir la suya,  
 Pone; da un alarido, aparta el rostro (1834b: 200)

The effect is one of raising expectations and dashing them, particularly in the wedding scene where we expect Kerima to take her beloved’s hand and commit to marriage. The very fact that *Expósito* is a long narrative poem comprised of

successive *romances* is culturally significant: the *romance* form is indelibly connected to narration of (hi)stories, as is made plain in Lope's *Arte nuevo* studied in the previous chapter. Moreover, by the nineteenth century the ballad tradition was ubiquitously known as a collective, open and renewable format that paradoxically retains a trace of its former self; those temporal boundaries it retains with a longer story beyond and its openness to both previous and subsequent balladeers. In *Expósito* the discontinuity between the open *romance* form and the overtly presentist nature of the rewriting, with power in the hands of one controlled narrator, ultimately unveils the construction of a nineteenth-century medievalist narrative. A further poetic technique that disorients and dissolves the continuity between medieval and modern is the pause or freeze-frame often used to narrate minute detail, such as the description of Gonzalo Gustioz's dilapidated castle: "inmóviles todos sin hablar parecen / Las figuras de un cuadro" (1834a: 378).

Not only are imposing digressions owned by the author-narrator function but the narrative itself is a series of long flashbacks to flesh out each major character creating a disorienting, cyclical narrative. This has already been gestured to by Margaret A. Rees who notes the preponderance of flashbacks yet does not link this to how *Expósito* thematises the construction of history in literature (2016: 109). The flashbacks enable the presentation of the story from multiple perspectives, akin to the embedded storytelling of Lope's *Bastardo*. The longest flashbacks are provided by Zaide in romances three and four, Nuño and Gonzalo in *romances* six and seven and Ruy Velázquez's backstory in *romance* nine. Within these flashbacks are nested yet further stories that further disrupt the possibility of a linear narrative, including within Ruy's story in which he digresses on his dreams for political domination

(1834b: 16). Zaide's flashback also includes disorienting asides, including a pause to compose himself at the start of *romance* four:

Así Zaide, al hallar en su memoria  
Que desastres y horrores le recuerda,  
Un momento de paz, con breve pausa  
En él un rato á descansar se asienta. (1834a: 151)

Soon after he digresses with a story of a Castilian Countess cured by a Cordovan doctor, and the conspiracy against the doctor at court (1834a: 158-159). The backstories narrated by the characters themselves are then juxtaposed uncomfortably against the narrator's voice, leading the reader to question where the latter's knowledge of these events has come from if it is not first-hand experience as it is in the case of the characters. The narrator's explanation of Giafar's background and motivations therefore emerges as untrustworthy (1834a: 52). The reader is left unsure as to the teleology of the unfolding events and the reliability of the imposing narrator figure in contrast to the embedded narratives delivered by characters themselves.

The work's characterisation of the communities of Castile and al-Andalus also reveals uneasy affinities and inconsistencies between the vision of an invented medieval past and the nineteenth century. The concept of a nation state with its roots in the Middle Ages is undermined by the multifarious, inconsistent possibilities toyed with in the medieval Cordova of *Expósito*. In the prologue to the first edition by Galiano, the *romance* form is called "una poesía nacional, y natural de consiguiente" and also "castiza y exclusivamente castellana" (1834a: xxviii, emphases mine). Yet throughout the subsequent twelve *romances* it is in fact al-

Andalus that is described in this “castiza” poetic form and described as the “nación,” while Mudarra’s home is inconsistently referred to throughout as “patria,” “nación,” “imperio,” “otro suelo” and “región.” The uncertainty as to Cordova’s remit and power emphasises how inaccessible and distant al-Andalus is in the present, rather than a concrete political entity whose identity upon which any modern Spanish nation can be founded. This tension is exemplified towards the end of the second *romance* where Mudarra wants to fight for the “patria” by Almanzor’s side in an expedition to North Africa:

Siente el Hagib el verle tan turbado,  
Y de sus burlas el penoso efecto,  
Y le dice amoroso: “Sé que anhelas  
A tu patria servir, lidiar cual bueno.

Esta empresa, que al Africa *Expósito* llama,  
Exigirá mas que valor, consejo,  
Y en Alá espero, que mi corvo alfanje  
No brillará desnudo ni un momento.” (1834a: 86)

al-Andalus is therefore mired with internal conflict and its borders are left frustratingly unclear throughout, as are the allegiances of Andalusis like Mudarra. A further example is the Castilian Nuño’s reflection on his Mediterranean travels when he was captured by “una armada galera berberisca” in Corfu (1834a: 303). The geographical indeterminacy as to the borders of the “imperio ilustrado y poderoso” (1834a: 254) makes its possible assimilation into Castile through Mudarra and Kerima’s conversions, as well as Zaide’s travel, have far-reaching and unaddressed consequences, the possibilities of which Spain was confronting in the early-nineteenth century with a renewed focus on North African colonisation. As will be shown below, the rewriting of the *SIL materia* as a narrative on a Mediterranean, imperial scale is not only decidedly modern and disorienting but also leads to a

critique of reconstructions of al-Andalus as an exceptional model within the Islamic world.

The uncertain boundaries of the nation are also reflected in the repeated theme of exile, from the narrator's own personalised lament to Cordova, his *patria* (1834a: 249), as well as the various itinerant characters he describes, from the travellers Almanzor and Nuño to the magician-astrologer who arrives from Dalmatia in the ninth *romance* to tell Ruy Velázquez's fortune and prefers not to "servir solamente á un soberano" (1834b: 26). The most direct references to *Expósito's* present context come when the narrator compares their own experiences exiled in Malta to those of Nuño.<sup>22</sup> This description includes an homage to those he met on the island, including John Hookham Frere, an English academic who is said to have broadened the author's literary interests. Interrupting Nuño's reminiscences of a medieval Malta with modern observations ruptures the tenth-century setting and moreover unveils experiences that condition the narrator's own telling of a purportedly medieval past. Descriptions of Castile are also imbued with the concerns of nineteenth-century Liberalism grappling with the formation of "un estado naciente":

Y en la que Arlanza con sus aguas mide,  
Un estado naciente, una conquista,  
Gobierno sin vigor, inciertas leyes,  
Crasa ignorancia á la pobreza unida,

Bandos feroces; mas tan noble brio,  
Constancia tal y tanta valentía,  
Que presagiaban la grandeza inmensa  
Que los cielos guardaban á Castilla. (1834a: 254)

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<sup>22</sup> The first-person narrative reflects Saavedra's own exile in the island, from which he in fact began writing *Expósito* in 1829 (Adams 1968: 105). It is nevertheless imperative to consider the narrator to be a character, rather than Saavedra himself.

By anticipating Castile's "grandeza inmensa," it is clear the narrator is looking back from the present. This is paradigmatic of the incongruity between medieval and modern; *Expósito* displaces the reader to somewhere in between, a suspended time where neither present nor history are certain. More obvious parallels emerge with the condition of nineteenth century Liberals, as studied by Torrecilla (2019), much of which is concentrated in the unfair imprisonment and treatment of Gonzalo Gustioz at the hands of Ruy Velázquez. *Expósito* is not, however, simply a vehicle for the concerns of an early nineteenth-century Liberal whose authorial voice penetrates the narration. Probing why the narrator holds such sway over the unfolding story, together with the poetic techniques they use from flashback to footnotes, reveals the reader is invited to examine and question how it has been constructed.

Somoza's *Bautismo*, meanwhile, employs similar structural devices and thematic discordances to make obvious the rewriting of the medieval in the nineteenth century. Saénz Arenzana describes how

La visión de un pasado romancesco le ha permitido verter, implícitamente, una crítica amable de los usos sociales, condenando la violencia, la incomprensión de las venganzas y la tiranía de las pasiones. (1997: 51)

Similarly, for Rodríguez Gutiérrez "Somoza está hablando de su España, la de las guerras carlistas, de violencia incesante, de venganza sobre venganza, de religión inquisitorial" (2004: 372). Yet neither questions why that might be: why does *Bautismo* rewrite the *SIL materia* to channel these presentist concerns and how does it conceive of medievalism more generally? In contrast to Saavedra's text, Somoza's work is far more direct in its ironic reconfiguration of Romantic medievalist tropes:

namely the lauding of a Christian medieval Castile or the acceptance of a civilised, exceptional Andalusi culture.

*Bautismo's* sardonic distance begins at the start of the text with a narrator giving us background in a subtitle to the *materia* about to be rewritten: "El bautismo de Mudarra: sobrino del rey moro de Córdoba, según nuestras crónicas" (100). *Bautismo* has already departed from chronicle precedent by beginning in Cordova and focusing on Mudarra, so an appeal to sources that are not followed is tinged with irony. The question of sources is also contentious: references in footnotes invoke historiographical discourse that is nevertheless undermined by the narrator's ambiguity. References abound to unnamed "crónicas," Mudarra is described to have lived in Cordova "por los años de 994" and the narrator explains that although he is the son of the Rey Hiscen's sister here, "otros dicen hermana de Almanzor" (101, emphasis mine). The *SIL materia* is reduced to hearsay and open for the emendation of a present narrator who consistently reflects on decisions made and gestures to sources used. *Bautismo's* footnotes moreover differ to those of *Expósito* in how they advance the plot. The details of Lambra's servant throwing a cucumber and the death of Nuño Salido are both confined to footnotes that supplement Sancha's retelling of her story to Mudarra (112, 113), uncomfortably marking it as incomplete and divergent in contrast to the texts that are being rewritten. The longest note to the text comes at the end, where for the narrator "es digna de notarse una antigüedad que refieren las crónicas respecto á la adopción de Mudarra" (136). The impersonal language at once absolves the narrator of creative control over the story while also creating an uncomfortable distance that marks the "antigüedad" as lost and the story itself as firmly belonging to the nineteenth century. The chronology of

the plot therefore exists in both spaces, the footnotes revealing the process of medievalist rewriting. *Bautismo*'s narrator also subtly interjects akin to *Expósito*'s, with emotionally heightened scenes often qualified with narrative exclamations. This occurs in the final baptism scene: "¿Quién puede describir la situación de esta mujer sensible al saber que su hermano pereció por la mano de Mudarra?" (135). Not only is the narrator diverging from sources, but this remark makes clear what has and has not been shared with the reader, whether it be a result of the narrator's (in)competence or decision.

A temporal disjunction between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century also manifests through the inconsistent depiction of the nation state. Like *Expósito*, *Bautismo* utilises a variety of terminology to refer to Castile and al-Andalus. al-Andalus is anachronistically assimilated into both "España" and "nuestra patria," despite "el rey Hiscen," Mudarra's uncle, on the throne in Cordova, "el centro del poder sarraceno" (100). "El resto de España" is then described as recognising Cordova's superiority in arts and sciences (100). A clear tension here emerges between "nuestra," "el resto" and "el poder sarraceno": the narrator tries to maintain present-day links between the nation state and al-Andalus but this strategy fails when the narrative commences an othering, Orientalising depiction of the latter. When Mudarra leaves his mother to seek out Castile the narrator describes him as "errante por la triste España, compadece la suerte de sus habitantes, entregados á lides inútiles, divididos en facciones insensatas, esclavos de pasiones frenéticas y de preocupaciones absurdas" (105). The list of abstract, ahistorical details is uncomfortably juxtaposed against the precise delineation of Mudarra's own life by his mother with which the story opens. When he arrives in

Castile, Mudarra then hears Sancha explain the history of her family in a proto-nationalistic way, which she admits “está enlazada con la de mi patria” (109). It is unclear whether she is referring to the boundaries of medieval Castile, medieval Iberia including al-Andalus or modern-day Spain. The blatant contemporaneity of past and present thus emerges in *Bautismo*'s narrative structure, the presence of a narrator and paratextual material, as well as anachronistic incongruities between medieval and modern geographies. *Bautismo* exposes the fallacy of drawing an unproblematic, teleological line between the Middle Ages and the society of its first audience.

### **Undermining Modern Memories of al-Andalus**

These texts are thus critical of the very literary mode they participate in; a criticism made manifest in their structure and narrative style. The reader is refused the comfortable nostalgia of a coherent Middle Ages by virtue of layered time schemes, imposing narrators and references to sources. The most pervasive element of medievalist critique is, however, located in *Expósito* and *Bautismo*'s portrayal of Andalusis. Both texts frame Mudarra's acculturation as fruitless, leaving him unrooted and abandoned as an *expósito* rather than successfully assimilated; thus amplifying the flippancy with which his conversion was treated by the early modern playwrights. Saavedra takes this further through the irony of acculturating and praising an exceptional al-Andalus while rejecting its connection to North Africa; a critique that speaks directly to the irony of nineteenth-century Arabists who embraced an 'Islamic Spain' while denying Iberia's Mediterranean links from the

Middle Ages to the present day. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* thus undermine past and present mythologies of Spanish identity, both individual and collective, racial and religious.

It is firstly worth asking why al-Andalus is at the centre of these two medievalist texts, given both Saavedra and Somoza at other times composed Castilian focused medievalisms, and what difference that makes in the context of Romanticism and medievalism more broadly.<sup>23</sup> Spanish Romanticism must be considered apart from the European panorama because its medievalism does not function as a relatively uncomplicated reconstruction of a stable, homogeneous and, crucially, Christian past that aligned easily with conservative modern discourses of nationalism. Upon assimilating this *topos*, Spanish Romanticism was doomed to be contradictory because of medievalism's imbrications with Iberia's multiracial past. Saavedra and Somoza highlight the untenable dichotomy of contemporaneous medievalist nationalisms — those that evoke a Christian, homogeneous past and those that idolise a fictional, acculturated al-Andalus — by demonstrating the fallacies of these discourses in their narratives. While Labanyi has argued Saavedra's *Expósito* is a forward-looking political statement that reinvigorates the relevance of medieval 'multiculturalism' for the present day (2004), this view fails to hold up alongside *Expósito*'s hostile depiction of North Africa and its racialisation of different types of Andalusis. Both *Bautismo* and *Expósito* ambivalently demonstrate how al-Andalus

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<sup>23</sup> Aside from his *romances históricos* (1842), Saavedra composed the poem *Florinda* on the fall of the Visigothic kingdom, appended to *Expósito* (1834b). Somoza also composed *El Purgatorio, Argumento de novela* which satirises the Abbot of Cluny Pedro Venerable, and *El capón*, set in the court of Ferdinand VI (Saéñz Arenzana 1997: 51).

can be rewritten to suit the ideological needs of the present and undermine these reconstructions by demonstrating their ultimate failure in their pessimistic endings.

Both works also notably focus on Mudarra, a figure who becomes increasingly prominent in rewritings of the *materia* from Cueva's play on.<sup>24</sup> In the face of a crumbling empire, nineteenth-century Spanish literature returns again to Mudarra as an Andalusí in Castile, evincing a fascination with al-Andalus' place within "España" that also prompted the rise in Arabist historiography. Yet this fascination also emerged at a time when Spain was looking forward to North Africa to reassert its ailing colonial dominance. To explain the recurrence of the story of a man of mixed heritage against the backdrop of the emerging nation state, Homi K. Bhabha's elaboration of cultural hybridity in light of postcolonial anxiety is instructive:

Hybridity is not a problem of genealogy or identity between two different cultures which can then be resolved as an issue of cultural relativism. Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority. (2004: 162)

Mudarra's racial and religious identities are hybrid, and hybridity, as Bhabha goes on to demonstrate, is inimical to the modern conception of the nation state that properly emerged in Spain post-1808 (2004: 213). Hybridity undermines the stability of colonial authority — in this case, the Spain that emerged from the

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<sup>24</sup> Alongside Cueva and Lope, other afterlives unstudied in this thesis attest to the increasing relevance of Mudarra in the *materia*: after Cueva came the anonymous *Los famosos hechos de Mudarra* (1583). Alfonso Hurtado Velarde's *Tragedia de los Siete infantes de Lara* (c. 1612) then expands on Gonzalo's imprisonment in Cordova and inscribes an idiosyncratic character, the Andalusí Queen Rojalana (Menéndez Pidal 1971: 143). Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón composed the now lost *Mudarra, Auto Sacramental* in 1635, as well as the *Comedia famosa el Rayo de Andalucía y Genizaro de España* (c. 1653), both focused on Mudarra. As noted above, the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries saw Nava's *Mudarra González* (c. 1782) and Altés' *Mudarra* (1818)

eventual triumph over the colonised al-Andalus — and the recurrence of Mudarra in literature thus enables a reflection upon the place of al-Andalus within the modern nation. For Bhabha the notion of cultural hybridity triggers colonial anxiety, hence it has to be assimilated (2004: 188). While in the medieval chronicle rewritings Mudarra becomes the focal point as a willingly converted, assimilated hybrid figure from the dominant Caliphate of Cordova, by the early modern period his conversion is problematised by Cueva and Lope as perfunctory and performative. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* take this further by pessimistically undermining his acculturation altogether: Mudarra is ironically Castilianised before he crosses the border, and his final conversion is marked as incomplete as a result of his ongoing familial and emotional ties to al-Andalus, which in the former text includes North Africa. These works therefore unveil the inconsistencies and unresolved discontinuities within a modern Spain that has thus far either rejected or only superficially recognised its Andalusí past.

As discussed above, critical appraisals of *Expósito's* representation of Andalusí view it as either nostalgic and adulatory (Peers (1923)), apolitical — even fashionable — and exploited only for presentist Romantic ends (Cardwell (1975), Rees (1997), and Torrecillas (2019)) or central to a positivist, renewed vision of the European liberal subject (Labanyi (2004)). These ideas are understandable: the narrative voice spends much of the first five *romances* praising Cordova as the seat of an “imperio” and Castile is later compared to it unfavourably. Yet what such readings fail to notice is the internal contradictions between the overt, excessive praise and the construction of clear boundaries of difference between strangely Castilianised Andalusí and those who are from, or have links with, North Africa. The

inconsistency noted above in the depiction of Cordova and al-Andalus, with various terms used from *nación* to *imperio*, is further evidence that *Expósito* ultimately exposes the ephemeral, constructed nature of any traditional, Liberal Romantic vision of al-Andalus that praises only those Muslims who are either open to Christianity or exhibit more secular philosophical beliefs. The fact that *Expósito* ends flatly, with the newly converted Kerima renouncing Mudarra's hand in marriage because he killed her North African father to whom she still holds allegiance, is the culmination of these contradictions. Medievalist narratives that praise al-Andalus while side-lining and denigrating North Africa cannot work comfortably for nineteenth-century national history and, consequently, collective identity. As a rewriting *Expósito* exposes these contradictions, exploiting the medieval to set up parodic contrasts to present-day discourse.

*Expósito's* counterwriting of extant medievalisms emerges in its depiction of al-Andalus' dependence upon and connections to North Africa. *Expósito* in fact begins by crafting a narrative of Andalusian exceptionalism that is then gradually subverted through contradiction, most prominently in its racialisation of Andalusis. There is a forcible dissolution of race in *Expósito's* depiction of mixed-race characters like Mudarra and Kerima, the inconsistent designation of Muslims (from "árabes" and "infieles" to "sarracenos" and "moros") and the consistent denigration of any Andalusian that has links with North Africa or has darker skin. Mudarra for his part is introduced as "blanco," and rides "una regua como nieve blanca" (1834a: 40), while Kerima's "blancas formas delicadas" (1834a: 45) are described, and how "nieve era su garganta, y alabastro los tiernos brazos y el sensible seno" (1834a: 61). The narrator moreover fails to grasp Mudarra's identity in his varying denominations as

“expósito” and “huérfano.” Labanyi importantly highlights that “a sign of the racial instability in the text is the fact that, despite its title *El moro expósito*, Rivas refers to the poem in its English-language dedication to a British diplomat friend as “my Castilian foundling” (2004: 240). This denotation of the text does not just evoke an uncertain instability but can in fact be read ironically: in the dedication the author-narrator hints from the outset that Mudarra will be portrayed as *Castilian*, his Andalusí identity erased; a fact that will determine his ultimately unsatisfying fate in Castile. Mudarra’s designation as the Castilian foundling evokes the impossible place of al-Andalus in contemporary formulations of Spanish history: abandoned yet still part of Castile/Spain; permitted yet simultaneously rejected from within. This is compounded by the narrator’s racialisation of Mudarra and his Andalusí retinue arriving in Salas as white Castilians. They are compared to “apacibles cigüeñas” that cross the African mountains to Iberia, looking for trees “para anidar en nuestro clima” (1834a: 333). This image encapsulates the assimilation of Andalusis who will make their home, “anidar,” on the Iberian Peninsula, while leaving any connection they may have had to Africa firmly in the past.

Once Mudarra is in Salas, the narrator then interestingly adopts Gonzalo Gustioz’s perspective by calling Mudarra “el hijo idolatrado” (1834a: 346), othering him based upon religion. Gonzalo Gustioz in fact has trouble accepting his son initially, given he is the product of an affair with “una infiel beldad” (1834a: 323). Nuño assuages his fears by suggesting Gonzalo’s influence and Zahira’s exemplary “caridad” means she probably converted to Christianity after he left Cordova (1834a: 324), an ignorance that reads ironically given the reader knows she dies a Muslim and thus displays the limits of acculturation. Despite being Castilianised physically and in

temperament, Mudarra is therefore never quite fully assimilated into Castile. His identity is still in question when Ruy Velázquez accuses him of being “de una infiel y un traidor el hijo sea” (1834a: 371) and despite his baptism he ends the text alone and despondent after the consequences of his actions in al-Andalus — his murder of Giafar which leads to Kerima abandoning him — catch up to him. Although Gonzalo is wary of the Muslim Mudarra and encourages his baptism, a tension emerges between the father’s desire for his son’s assimilation and the populous’ acceptance of Mudarra as an Andalusí Muslim, given local knights pledge their loyalty to him immediately (1834a: 353). Hints are thus present through the text, particularly in Mudarra’s interactions with the local population of Salas, that his Andalusí identity works across the border despite the acculturation insisted on by both the narrator and his father Gonzalo. This is also evident in the fact that only a legitimization ceremony, not a baptism, is required for Mudarra to avenge his father formally in a duel with Ruy Velázquez. It is sanctioned by the new Count Fernán González and notably codifies only Mudarra’s legal and not racial identity (1834a: 371-372). Indeed his baptism only becomes necessary when he seeks to marry Kerima in Castile.

Mudarra is also uneasily acculturated through hearing *romances* about Bernardo el Carpio sung by the “podenquero” he befriends, Vasco Pérez, which “inflame del cordobes la mente” (1834a: 392). These form an ironic metaliterary comment on how medievalist poetry has the power to acculturate, assimilate and craft subjective visions of national identity. A further facet of the limits of acculturation emerges in *Expósito’s* anticlerical sentiment and the exposure of hypocritical Christians. Ruy Velázquez is emblematic of the latter and is ironically criticised by the Muslim Zaide

for blaspheming when they meet (1834a: 371). The narrator then spends much of *romance* nine describing Ruy's ironic search for religious help in his upcoming duel, something only promised hollowly by a corrupt Abbot whom he bribes. Mudarra's baptism therefore cannot be viewed as a triumph, given the internal conflicts within the Church he ultimately enters into.

The fallacy of Romanticising al-Andalus and its inhabitants as white, morally upstanding and akin to their Castilian counterparts is ultimately disrupted by the presence and influence of Andalusis racialised as black or North African, most prominently Giafar. Any Muslim supporting Giafar or Ruy Velázquez is North African or black, such as the former's slave Muley (1834a: 199) and the suitor he finds for Kerima, Zeir, "el tunecino" (1834a: 206). While it is tempting to read blackness here as equated to amorality, given Giafar's political corruption and Ruy Velázquez's actions, this reading is scuppered by the lack of depth in Zeir and Muley's characterisations, who are not morally degenerate by association. What is, however, critiqued on moral terms is Islam: a strong current of Islamophobia undergirds the presentation of North African Muslims, while Mudarra and Zaide's religious beliefs are effaced or ignored. Cracks moreover emerge in this narrative of Iberian, 'moderate' Muslims as distinct from North African zealots in the uncomfortable scene of interreligious confrontation at the banquet in Salas between the local population and the Muslims who have come to support Mudarra. These internal contradictions serve to echo the racialisation of pan-Hispanic identity at the Cádiz Cortes in 1813, as well as the exclusive narratives of al-Andalus that permeate Saavedra's contemporary historiography and constructions of nationalism.

For example, Giafar in the second *romance* is demonised first and foremost for his “religioso zelo” (1834a: 57) and political contacts in North Africa. In a striking rewriting, Giafar is also the one who demands the *infantes’* heads rather than Ruy who seeks an unspecific revenge, and this demand is described by the narrator as “un negro crimen” (1834a: 175). Prior to this revelation Zaide in fact likens Giafar to Ruy, “era uno mismo el demonio que guiaba a ambos” (1834a: 167). Although this comment is often read to justify a purported egalitarian treatment of racial others in *Expósito*, as both a Christian and Muslim act as a villain, this overlooks the fact that in the ninth *romance* the narrator belabours the backstory of the poem’s second villain, Ruy Velázquez, which serves to justify his actions. Meanwhile no such exculpation is sought for Giafar who remains the rapist of a *mozárabe* and a zealot, despite being a prominent member of the Andalusí government. Giafar’s influence most ironically re-emerges in the final scene, with the newly converted Kerima pledging her loyalty to a father that has thus far been characterised as degenerate. In *Expósito* Islam and North Africa are central to conceptualise both a past al-Andalus and a present-day Spain. *Expósito’s* internal contradictions demonstrate the ultimate fallacy of acculturating or Castilianising al-Andalus and disregarding these elements.

The beginnings of a false narrative of moderate Andalusí exceptionalism emerge in the tensions between Cordova and “aquellas provincias del imperio” that have been affected by “un impostor sagaz” spreading fanatical Islamic doctrine (1834a: 84), as described above. Almanzor represents the bastion of moderate Andalusí beliefs — which are hardly elaborated upon — as he then leaves to quash the rebellion. Internal conflict amongst Andalusis is also evident at the dinner hosted in Salas for

Mudarra's arrival. One of his vassal Zaide's slaves, Caleb, insists the group follow Muslim teaching and not drink or eat pork (1834a: 413). After Vasco Pérez performs an Islamophobic ballad, Caleb is criticised by Zaide for "el zelo impertinente" (1834a: 423), although the narrator then contradictorily calls the ballad "impertinente" too. Vasco then dresses up as an Andalusí, mimicking Mudarra and Zaide. Further Islamophobic rhetoric is found in Nuño's description of the suffering of Christians "entre las bárbaras cadenas / del fiero musulmán" (1834a: 308) in Jerusalem when he recounts his travels there in front of both Zaide and Mudarra, while he praises the Mozárabe Egído he meets at the Dead Sea, who turns out to be Kerima's Christian grandfather.

The other side of this dynamic is the depiction of Andalusis as entirely unislamic, akin to their racialisation as white. Zaide's attitude towards Caleb above is a case in point. Kerima too is not only visually Christianised but all but converts by the time her father dies, as before her official baptism she is indoctrinated by a Christian governess once captured by her family (1834a: 243). Moreover, when Zaide narrates Mudarra's long history to him, revealing his parentage, we hear how he went to fight Castile and León and lamented religious conflict (1834a: 110). Zaide and the narrator thus implicitly advocate a secularism and eradication of religious difference, all the while Islamic "zelo" is shown to be a persistent commonplace in al-Andalus. Their faith is also erased through the omnipresence of the secular doctrine of fate and destiny. This is a trope ubiquitous in Romantic works and is exploited here to differentiate Andalusis from North Africans, evoking the way in which Cueva transformed his Andalusis into erudite classicists for the sixteenth-century stage. While the narrator does make occasional references to Islamic

doctrine and the Qur'an, often in footnotes, references to destiny, predetermination, and a somewhat secular *cielo* by both Christians and Andalusis are more pervasive. For example, Mudarra's vengeance on Ruy is coded as a predestined obligation by Zaide and his mother, while Mudarra's murder of Giafar is described as "solo su destino" (1834a: 226). The dissolution of religion into a universal morality is also demonstrated by Nuño's response to Gonzalo's anxiety over Zahira's religion and their affair, which to Nuño poses no issue because of Zahira's exemplary morality (1834a: 324). I therefore disagree with Peers' assertion that for Saavedra Muslim theology is *predicated on destiny* as it is envisaged by Mudarra: "this Destiny is made responsible for all the evils of life: for Mudarra's loss of his mother no less than for the 'accident' which results in Giafar's death" (1923: 119). This fatalistic outlook serves to erase and acculturate the Muslim identity of Mudarra and Zaide, which reads uncomfortably next to the obvious praise of Cordova's aesthetics and intellectual advancements which are conspicuously disconnected from Islamic culture. This does not, however, mean that *Expósito* is partaking in Arabist romanticisation by praising a constructed, homogeneous and Castilianised al-Andalus. *Expósito's* ending reflects how the *SIL materia* is unresolvable for the nineteenth century and how both Arabists and the first generation of liberal Romantics have cherry-picked the laudable aspects of Andalusí society and culture while effacing the realities of Islam and the extension of the *imperio* to North Africa, all of which persist and are unresolved in *Expósito*. Mudarra's conversion and murder of the North African Giafar deprives him of fulfilling his love, an uncomfortable ending that thus reveals the limitations of common, contemporary narratives of medievalism for the nineteenth century.

Like *Expósito*, Somoza's *Bautismo* pursues a similar technique by radically acculturating Mudarra from the outset, a process that only ends in his disillusion and abandonment. *Bautismo* also evinces a stronger anticlerical undertone which enables a sharper critique of attempts to assimilate and homogenise the Andalusí past, particularly given the illustrious achievements of its history outlined in the first few paragraphs (100). Yet Mudarra and his mother's acculturation are achieved ironically before the former converts. Their Islamic belief is replaced with a neoclassicist sense of predetermination, with Mudarra's mother telling him "otro destino te reserve el cielo, si favorece mis súplicas" (102). Although she presents her relationship with Gonzalo Gustioz as shameful, "desgraciados amores," this is on account of adultery rather than interreligious mixing (103). Universal morality therefore takes precedence over any religious or racial distinction. Mudarra himself is described in a pseudo-messianic yet secular way, "como el Dios de la luz y la armonía" (104) (Apollo), and "embebido en ideas de esperanza y Alivio para la especie humana" (105). He moreover espouses pacifist beliefs throughout the work and laments why morality and wisdom are incompatible with custom and tradition, praying to "maestros de la moral y la sabiduría" (122) instead of a specifically Islamic deity. Later in the duel against Ruy Velázquez the narrator poignantly criticises what joins the Christians together: "los de Velazquez combaten como caballeros enlazados por el parentesco; los moros como mancebos á quienes ha hermanado la virtud" (127). Once again Muslims represent a universal morality or "virtud"; their real religious and racial identity ultimately dissolved so that Mudarra is able to act as an outside observer, critiquing Gonzalo Gustioz's quest for revenge.

Religious difference is then paradoxically undermined by Sancha, a staunch Christian and the first person Mudarra meets in Castile. She offers him lodging based on their shared aristocratic status once she realises he is related to the Muslim King Hiscen, who once set her husband Gonzalo free. The praise of Mudarra's social status above all else is clear from the outset in the story's subtitle, "sobrino del Rey Moro de Córdoba, según nuestras crónicas" (101). Sancha goes on to tell Mudarra that she has accepted her husband's affair in prison because his mother was "una sensible mora del más alto carácter" (115). Sancha also inconsistently describes Andalusis as both "moro" and "agareno" (113) while elsewhere Castile is variously conceptualised as both "nacion" and "raza" (121). Mudarra goes on to confusingly refer to the sides of the family as "razas" (125) while Christians are then referred to as part of the same "specie." Racial difference is paradoxically underlined linguistically, in the language of emerging nineteenth-century discourses of biological racism, all the while it is dissolved ineffectively in Mudarra's conversion.

In the final baptism scene of *Bautismo*, Mudarra's conversion is depicted not only as forced but also as incomplete: when he returns to Sancha at the monastery after killing Ruy Velázquez — at the behest of a persuasive Gonzalo Gustioz — she tells him "no puede ser feliz tu infeliz madre si su hijo no es cristiano" (129). Mudarra is emotionally manipulated into converting to a religion that has thus far failed to keep the Castilian nobility in line, apart from the pious Sancha. The hollowness of the ceremony is underlined by her acceptance of Mudarra based on aristocratic lineage earlier in the text, given it is only when their familial ties are revealed that she insists on his conversion. The baptism ceremony that then takes place is inconclusive: Mudarra collapses out of anguish at the altar in light of his perceived amoral actions

thus far: “Cada acto de virtud y sumision filial me cuesta un delito y un delito inútil” (136).

Read in light of the final baptism scene, *Bautismo*'s ironic critique of contemporary medievalisms predicated upon the exclusion or romanticising of al-Andalus can also be found in Mudarra's mother's words earlier in the story. She explains that her son's destiny is to solve racial tension:

La real sangre de los godos corre por tus venas, mezclada con la de los monarcas africanos. Tal vez se te reserve la dicha de aplacar los odios de las dos naciones. Tal vez te deban un dia los afligidos mortales una paz y un sosiego permanente. (102)

Her inconsistent terminology makes the *SIL materia* a national rather than simply local story, with “los godos” set against “los africanos.” Her words encapsulate how Mudarra's hybrid identity and conversion have been continually rewritten, from the positivity of the chronicles to the more critical *comedias*. At *Bautismo*'s close, Mudarra's invented destiny and proposed political function cannot be taken seriously. It is rather a comment on the destiny made for him by successive medievalisms, and one that is no longer feasible in a nineteenth century where the Church has aligned to the conservative monarchy and corruption is rife. This is underlined when Mudarra's background and allegiance to al-Andalus proves decisive at the end, much like in *Expósito*: the Muslim soldiers who hold Lambra in captivity refuse to turn her over to Gonzalo Gustioz unless Mudarra agrees (133).

Set against this futile conversion narrative is *Bautismo*'s fervent anticlericalism and denigration of Castile that underlines its critical portrayal of Mudarra's unwilling

acculturation. Gonzalo Gustioz is immediately introduced by Mudarra's mother as "un adúltero" (101), while an anachronistic "triste España" is described as being plagued with inhabitants "divididos en facciones insensatas, esclavos de pasiones frenéticas y de preocupaciones absurdas" (105). Sancha moreover praises King Hiscen over her fellow citizens and relatives "que profanan de cristianos no teniendo mas ley que la perfidia" (108), which only strengthens the irony of her forcing Mudarra to renounce Islam. She also explains her sons' death as a result of a generalised barbarity in Castile, rather than any specific internal conflict. Gonzalo is the most obvious villain in *Bautismo* in calling for violent vengeance against Ruy, telling Mudarra: "los débiles arguyen y los fuertes vencen" (125). Mudarra then criticises Gonzalo because Ruy is his wife's brother (124). In her emotional blackmail of Mudarra, Sancha too is portrayed negatively as a Christian zealot (120), an interesting counterpoint to the extremist North African Muslims of *Expósito*. Even Gonzalo cannot tolerate his wife's extreme piety during the baptism: "Gonzalo la sigue turbado, ve á su hijo ya entregado en manos de los ministros del templo" (134). The story's final lines describe how "Mudarra perdió sus padres. Pero el huérfano cristiano fue siempre honrado y benéfico, y en él tuvo principio la ilustre casa de Amalarico ó Manrique de Lara" (136). The narrator here provides a final ironic flourish: we do not know whether Mudarra was indeed baptised, given the ceremony was interrupted by his fainting and confession to Sancha that he murdered Ruy. The idea of Mudarra being an "honrado y benéfico" noble is wholly ironic, given the same description can be applied to the amoral and bloodthirsty Gonzalo who causes Mudarra's final depression: "¡lo perdí todo sin salvar mi Inocencia! Amando la virtud he tenido que optar entre los crímenes" (136). Mudarra's story therefore undermines any easy, assimilationist narrative that seeks

to incorporate al-Andalus into modern narratives of Spanish identity retrospectively. *Bautismo* warns against the romanticisation of tenth-century Iberia, a narrative that is ultimately a failure, conducive only to its protagonist's abandonment within Castile, akin to *Expósito*.

### Conclusions

When analysed together, it is clear that both *Expósito* and *Bautismo* are critical counterwritings that challenge the position of medieval Iberia in the nineteenth-century Spanish national mythology through failed narratives of conversion and acculturation. In their focus on Mudarra's border-crossing and thus the centrality of al-Andalus to medieval Castile and modern-day Spain, they undermine conservative-Romantic discourses of medieval Iberia as anachronistically Christian. They also, however, pessimistically Castilianise Mudarra long before he crosses the border, and thus demonstrate how even those visions of the Middle Ages that incorporate al-Andalus as a multicultural utopia acculturate, erase and forget cultural plurality; a tendency common in nineteenth-century Arabism. By conceptualising Mudarra as the abandoned *expósito*, at once at home and excluded, these works chart a pessimistic journey to conversion.

As we come to the final texts studied in this thesis, it is apropos to consider how medievalism has evolved as a literary mode. Medieval Iberia is no mere passive, nostalgic backdrop as conservative theorists of Romanticism might argue. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* demonstrate that there is no seamless continuity between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century. Their visions of the tenth century exist only in the

present to paradoxically critique other rewritings of the period that seek to chart teleological connections between a historic past and a conflictive modernity. Saavedra and Somoza's works constitute a challenge for contemporary audiences steeped in the kinds of political, poetic and historiographical medievalisms that repurpose the period and its cultural production as intrinsic to national identity formation. A polyphony of self-referential medievalisms has thus emerged by the modern period in which the way the past is rewritten becomes contested terrain.

## Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer for the first time why the under- and inconsistently studied story known as the *Siete infantes de Lara* has been rewritten in Spain over almost six centuries and identify what resonance its rewritings have in their evolving sociopolitical and, crucially, sociocultural contexts from the Middle Ages to modernity. It also aimed to explore how its chosen textual corpus' status as rewritings or medievalisms inflect the stories it tells and how these works therefore engage with their earliest contexts of reception.

This corpus forms a case study through which I have traced varying, temporally specific attitudes towards race and identity in medieval Castile and Spain articulated through a recreated al-Andalus. The preceding five chapters have demonstrated what I intimated in the introduction: from the medieval chronicle rewritings to nineteenth-century medievalisms, to rewrite the *SIL materia* is to rewrite the indeterminate tenth-century borderland between Castile and al-Andalus where interracial interactions are both cooperative and adversarial and where identities can be fashioned and transformed. When the tenth-century borderland marked by Andalusian dominance is remembered after the colonial dynamic is reversed — and even forcibly erased, especially after 1609 — these texts invoke Iberia's midcoloniality and remind their audiences of a period in which identities were plural and shifting on an individual and a collective, proto-national scale. This enables these texts to interrogate contemporary formations of the same identities and borders. These formations range from incipient colonial dominance over *mudéjares* in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, to the marginalisation of Toledo's

Jewish community in the late-fifteenth. The early modern works then rewrite the *materia's* borderland in light of the increasingly exclusive politics of the Counter Reformation and Inquisition as well as Jewish and *morisco* forced conversions and expulsions. In response, the rewritings leverage the *materia* to either critique or articulate alternatives to contemporary formations of identity.

While each work reworks this borderland idiosyncratically in light of its form and context of reception, some developments can be charted through this diachronic approach. As early as the *C1344* is there a growing focus upon the hybrid figure of Mudarra and his conversion, something also attested to by rewritings omitted for study here.<sup>1</sup> The complete metamorphosis from Muslim-Andalusi to Christian-Castilian endorsed by the chroniclers is increasingly problematised from the early modern period on. Mudarra's conversion is his father's wish in Cueva's *Infantes*, while Lope's *Bastardo* decries religious and racial identity as socially constructed and relegates his conversion to one flippant line. *Expósito* and *Bautismo* meanwhile describe the after-effects which prove Mudarra's conversion to have been futile, leaving him abandoned yet acculturated in Castile. In so doing, these texts evince an increasing frustration with other formations of individual and collective identities that clash with the model offered up by the *materia* in all of its forms: the possibility of identity change but also the idea that the forms of identity one can change into and from are fluid and even unreliable.

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<sup>1</sup> See the bibliographical appendix. Chapter Four notes an increasing focus on Mudarra from the *comedia Los famosos hechos* (1583), and Chapter Five cited additional plays that protagonise him.

By analysing a *materia* that recuperates an earlier medieval setting, I therefore offer a new perspective on the period's postmedieval memory. The central three chapters nuance extant work on maurophilia and maurophobia in early modern Spain which has thus far been theorised based upon medievalist recreations of the fifteenth century, rather than the earlier period represented by the *SIL materia* which evinces a distinct power dynamic of Castilian subjugation and reliance upon al-Andalus. The rewritings of the *SIL materia* give a more powerful and less romanticised view of Iberian Muslims as dominant Andalusis upon which Castile relies both morally and practically, rather than as ennobled, although outnumbered, late-medieval Granadans.

To remember Castilian subjugation and Andalusian dominance has proven important enough to spur on the *SIL materia's* continual recreation. The motivation for remembrance through retelling was identified by Michel Foucault in the case of ancient and medieval stories, from Greek epic to Arabic stories like *The Arabian Nights*, whose "storytellers continued their narratives late into the night to forestall death" (2009: 322). This is well established in folkloristics and even in cognitive and pop-psychology: that retelling and in turn rewriting, from medievalism to urban legends today, are more often than not motivated by strong emotions, usually fear.<sup>2</sup> This goes some way towards explaining why the *SIL materia* has survived and generated so many recreative medievalisms, beyond its status as an open, anonymous form of discourse marked by *mouvance* and *apertura*. Looking back as

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Eric A. Havelock (1982), Jean E. Fox Tree and Mary Susan Weldon (2007) and Chip Heath and Dan Heath (2008).

they look forward in order to provide alternatives to present circumstance, these texts warn their audiences: lest we forget this form of the 'medieval.'

Through close readings, this thesis avoids wielding a large amount of evidence across vast swathes of history to make generalised conclusions on Spanish mentalities. Although the *materia* is rewritten to similar ends in each case, this does not prove large-scale disillusionment with Spain's organised policies of racial and religious homogenisation from the 1480s onwards. There were disillusioned voices in every generation, amply recorded by scholarship as noted in the preceding chapters on the *comedias* and Romanticism, and the *materia* is further proof of this disillusionment. Yet most of the texts studied were produced amongst a male elite to whom they were also often directed. A notable comparison therefore emerges between the rewritings by and for a privileged milieu, including the chronicles, some of the ballads, the *comedias* and the Romantic works, and the ballad recorded amongst the Sephardic diaspora in New York. While there is scant evidence for the *materia's* rewriting for its own sake, performed and received apart from the capitalist structures within which most of these post-medieval rewritings are imbricated, "El rey de los moros" still proves the relevance of the *materia* as a border text to articulate a distinct attitude towards identity formation in a triple diaspora.

This thesis also contributes to the emerging field of Spanish medievalism studies by identifying a shared discourse of rewriting in which the *SIL materia* participates. By leaving markers of their rewriting, each work reaffirms the status of the *materia* as a flexible and renewable literary-cultural phenomenon, rather than a fixed story that can be invoked to ground the past stably in the present. This study therefore

surpasses the archaeological, encyclopaedic studies of earlier philologists like Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1971) and Carola Reig (1947) by not only giving novel readings of each work in their first contexts of reception, but also by paying attention to the very act these texts perform.

The preceding chapters not only analyse how the rewriting of a pre-existing literary-cultural tradition emerges in these texts' internal structures but also externally, in the way in which their meaning is mediated by and often predicated upon their audiences' unstable and unpredictable memory of that tradition. The 'borderness' of the *materia* thus extends from its setting and characters to medievalism and rewriting as a literary mode. Mechanisms of medievalism necessarily differ depending on the literary form and time period, although no linear development can be traced in their rewriting. The chronicles are a case in point: while the *EE amplificada* and *C1344* retain internal markers of rewriting from references to sources and embedded narratives, the former technique in particular is suppressed in the *Toledana*. All four ballads allude to a story beyond their lines, even when the narrator is unsure of what this is, as in "El rey de los moros." In the *comedias*, meanwhile, rewriting is put to distinct uses: *Infantes* makes a case for a theatrical medievalism through a parable of harnessing the past for the future, while *Bastardo* demonstrates the unreliability of this past. By the nineteenth century, new forms of medievalism emerge in both literature and scholarship, against which the rewritings of Saavedra and Somoza react.

These medievalisms also share an inevitable playfulness; at times, but not always, activated by the audience's knowledge of the *materia* beyond the text at hand. *Juego*

embodies not only the different methods of constructing one's identity in the medieval chronicles but it also extends to the discourse of historiography as rewriting that looks to the future by entertaining its audience and thus encourages further rewritings. The ballads, meanwhile, playfully allude to and foreshadow a story beyond their boundaries, such as the selective knowledge and ambiguity cultivated by the narrative voice of "Sentados a un ajedrez." While Cueva's *Infantes* features a Gonzalo unaware of his own fate, it is Lope's *tragicomedia* that fully leverages the comedic potential of rewriting: the figure of Lope works as a commentator whose grandiose lines allude to the fact that he knows how the story will play out. By the nineteenth century, ludic retelling gives way to pessimism, and what is up for critique are other, contiguous ways of rewriting medieval Iberia.

I also set out argue that medievalism and rewriting challenge traditional periodisation and purported intellectual watersheds. Chapter One undermines the notion that medievalism emerged post-1492: the chronicles are medievalist in their rewriting of the versions of tenth-century Castile that preceded them. The utility of the term medievalism is thus called into question if what modern medievalisms rewrite are nothing but medieval rewritings, recreated by virtue of that period's open textual tradition. Traditional markers of modernity such as the emergence of subjectivity, theatricality or self-fashioning are also contested by this diachronic view. As early as the *EE amplificada* is there a concern for manipulation, flattery and verbal games in the formation of the individual. Furthermore, theories of postmodern repetition and rewriting as elaborated by Umberto Eco (1985) and Christian Moraru (2001) are challenged by this thesis' demonstration that even thirteenth-century rewriting is transformative and forward-looking.

Other approaches could nevertheless have been taken to the *SIL materia*: I could have updated Menéndez Pidal's work (1971) to the twenty-first century by taking a similarly encyclopaedic approach. Conversely, a shorter time period could have provided the grounds for a study of a variety of medievalist rewritings. A selective diachrony, however, has enabled this thesis to attend to the specificities as much as it has the bigger picture. Through fewer, closer readings it has been possible to ascertain a shared discourse of rewriting in these works' internal poetics. An exhaustive diachrony, by contrast, is dangerous in its disregard for the fluid *mouvance* or *apertura* of this medievalist *materia*, which results in lost texts that can only be hypothesised. Nor would a time-limited study on a variety of medievalisms do justice to the idiosyncrasies of the *materia* at hand: border texts that are focused upon identity change.

Much work remains to be done in the field of Spanish medievalisms. Studies are required on this *materia's romances*, as well as on seventeenth-century drama after Lope de Vega. The *materia* continued to be rewritten in twentieth- and twenty-first century Spain and was also transported through colonial networks to the Philippines where it was recreated in poetry, cinema and comic books.<sup>3</sup> Analyses of these works could bolster the emerging field of postcolonial (neo)medievalisms, which seek to answer how medievalisms that recall the history of a coloniser differ to those that recall local history.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Damiana L. Eugenio (1987).

<sup>4</sup> See Nadia Altschul and Maria Ruhlmann's forthcoming collection (2022) to which I have also contributed (2022).

This study has delimited the *materia* to longer texts, yet medievalism also exists in fragments and allusions, as gestured to in Chapter Four. A study of references to the *SIL materia* would yield valuable comparisons to the works studied here. Comparative work could also unveil competing discourses of the memory of al-Andalus, particularly across national borders to North Africa; work begun for the modern period by Christina Civantos (2017) and Eric Calderwood (2018). The *SIL materia* merits comparison to rewritings of other Castilian epic or chronicle stories, as well as to Andalusí, Catalan, Galician and/or Portuguese medievalisms.

Finally, the blurry boundaries of literary medievalism and scholarly medievalism can be interrogated through a comparative study of scholarship and editing practices. The similarities between scholarly medievalism and literary medievalism therefore beg the question of how different the task undertaken by this thesis is to the works that it studies. As David Matthews notes, “all medieval studies is also medievalism” (2015: 172). This thesis is therefore yet another link in the chain of rewritings that have taken up the *materia* for a new age.

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## Bibliographical Appendix

The *materia* of the *Siete infantes de Lara* in Castile & Spain, thirteenth century-present

### Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries

- \* c. 1274: *Versión primitiva de la Estoria de España*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* c. 1282-1284: *Versión crítica de la Estoria de España*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* c. 1289: *Versión amplificada de la Estoria de España*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* c. 1335: *Crónica abreviada*, Juan Manuel (historiography)
- \* c. 1344: *Crónica de 1344*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* c. 1400: *Versión interpolada de la Crónica General Vulgata or Interpolación a la Tercera Crónica General*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* c. 1460: *Refundición toledana de la Crónica de 1344*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* 1462: *Valerio de las historias escolásticas de España*, Diego Rodríguez Almela (moralistic prose work)

### Sixteenth Century

- \* 1511: *Estoria del noble cauallero el conde fernan gonzalez con la muerte de los siete infantes de Lara*, Anonymous (historiography)
- \* 1541: *Crónica general de España*, Florián de Ocampo (historiography)

- \* c. 1550 on: *Romances in cancioneros and pliegos sueltos*, Anonymous (poetry)
- \* 1551: *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la cronica de España*, Lorenzo de Sepúlveda (poetry)
- \* 1573: *Rosa española*, Juan de Timoneda (poetry)
- \* 1579: *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*, Juan de la Cueva (theatre)
- \* 1583: *Los famosos hechos de Mudarra*, Anonymous (theatre)
- \* 1592: *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae*, Juan de Mariana (historiography)

### Seventeenth Century

- \* 1612: *La gran tragedia de los Siete Infantes de Lara*, Alfonso Hurtado Velarde (theatre)
- \* 1612: *El bastardo Mudarra*, Lope de Vega (theatre)
- \* c. 1632: *El rayo de Andalucía y Genízaro de España*, Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón (theatre, two parts)
- \* 1635: *Mudarra, Auto Sacramental*, Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón (theatre, no copy survives)
- \* c. 1650: *El traidor contra su sangre*, Juan de Matos Fragoso (theatre)
- \* c. 1650: *Los siete Infantes de Lara, comedia burlesca*, Gerónimo Cáncer and Juan Vélez de Guevara (theatre)

### Eighteenth Century

- \* 1772: *Historia verdadera y lamentable, de los siete infantes de Lara, con la de Mudarra Gonzalez, su hermano*, Hilario Santos Alonso (prose)
- \* c. 1782: *Mudarra González*, Gaspar María de Nava, Conde de Noroña (theatre, unpublished)

## Nineteenth Century

- \* c. 1818: *Gonzalo Bustos*, Francisco Altés i Casals (theatre)
- \* c. 1818: *Mudarra*, Francisco Altés i Casals (theatre)
- \* 1834: *El moro expósito*, Ángel de Saavedra, Duque de Rivas (poetry)
- \* 1834: *A Romance History of Spain*, Telesforo de Trueba (historiography)
- \* 1835: *Los Infantes de Lara*, Joaquín Francisco Pacheco (theatre)
- \* 1842: *El bautismo de Mudarra*, José Somoza (prose)
- \* 1842: "Los siete condes de Lara," García Gutiérrez (poetry)
- \* 1853: *Los siete infantes de Lara: Leyenda histórica tradicional*, Manuel Fernández y González (prose)
- \* 1860: "Los hijos de Lara," Juan Arolas (poetry)
- \* c. 1865-1880: *Historia de los siete Infantes de Lara y de su hermano Mudarra* González, Anonymous (prose, reprinted 1885)
- \* 1896: *La leyenda de los siete Infantes de Lara*, Ramón Menéndez Pidal (study and edition of earlier rewritings, reissued 1934 & 1971)

## Twentieth Century

- \* c. 1909-1915: *Los siete infantes de Lara*, anonymous (chapbook)
- \* c. 1911-1950: "El rey de los moros" and other Sephardic ballads, Anonymous (poetry)
- \* 1914: *Salpicaduras histórico literarias: los Condes de Castilla y los Infantes de Lara*, Bernardino Martín Mínguez (prose)
- \* 1924: *Leyenda sobre la muerte de los Siete Infantes de Lara*, Anselmo Salva (prose)

- \* 1951: *Los siete infantes de Lara*, Obdulio Barrera Arango (theatre)
- \* 1951: *Las gestas heroicas castellanas contadas a los niños: el Rey Don Rodrigo, Bernardo de Carpio, Los Siete Infantes de Lara*, Ángel Cruz Rueda (prose)
- \* 1963: *Romanceros de los condes de Castilla y de los Infantes de Lara*, Menéndez Pidal (edition and study of *romance* rewritings)
- \* 1971: *Los siete infantes de Lara: Sinopsis de guión cinematográfico sobre argumento inspirado en antiguos romances españoles*, Julio Diamante (film script)

### **Twenty-First Century**

- \* 2015: “La venganza de los siete infantes de Lara”, *Olmos y Robles* (television episode)
- \* 2017: *Año 1000: la sangre*, Manuel Matji and Sergio Córdoba (graphic novel)