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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS
Department of Romance Languages and Literatures

Dissertation Examination Committee:

Nina Davis, Chair

Daniel Bornstein

Robert Henke

Stephanie Kirk

Eloisa Palafox

Michael Sherberg

THE MODEL PRODIGAL: JESUIT SCHOOL PLAYS AND THE
PRODUCTION OF DEVOTION IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE, 1565-1611

by

Brandan Leigh Grayson

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

In this dissertation I examine the relationship between early modern Jesuit theater and the construction of religious practice in the Spanish Empire. I focus upon plays that reinterpret the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son to argue that the Society of Jesus utilized the stage to acquire religious authority over the domestic sphere and to promote paradigms of masculinity that would halt imperial decline. Chapter One sets forth a theoretical framework for this discussion by employing performance theory to establish that theatrical productions often dialogue with the social issues of their day. It reviews the historical context of Jesuit theater to assert that these plays emphasized the benefits of sincere religious devotion, a goal important to the Society and to Tridentine Catholicism. The second chapter examines the prodigal figure's journey in Pedro Pablo de Acevedo's *Comedia Caropo* (Seville, 1565) and *Comedia Filauto* (Seville, 1565), Juan de Cigorondo's *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (Puebla, 1586), and Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (Soria, 1611). These plays characterize this journey as a spatialized rejection of virtuous paternal authority, after which the prodigals are adrift in a morally contested social sphere. The representation of public space as morally dangerous communicates a need for youth to obey pious elders. Onstage, this includes obedience to a counselor figure who mediates the son's return home. In Chapter Three, I argue that the counselor's performed moral superiority works to legitimate the Society's religious authority over the domestic sphere. Chapters Three and Four then explore the corrective advice offered by counselor figures as they mediate the prodigals' repentance. I conclude that Acevedo's plays encourage noble youth to steward their

patrimonies well by guarding them from lower-class parasites. Cigorondo's work addresses the historical concern for idle Creole youth by depicting diligent study and economic productivity as requisites of male virtue in colonial New Spain. In Castile, Salas's work critiques the decadence associated with Philip III's court and posits membership in the Society of Jesus as a fulfilling alternative for youth seeking to realize a virtuous masculinity. By interrogating the construction of religious virtue in these distinct texts, I ascertained that this group of plays reworks the Parable of the Prodigal Son in order to address the immediate concerns of the Society of Jesus. Through the counselor figure these works strive to acquire clerical authority over the domestic sphere, and through the corrective advice offered to prodigal figures these plays seek to shape male behavior in a way that will advance the interests of both Church and Empire.

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To Christopher Anderson,
for teaching me to delight in Spanish literature.

Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter One	13
Chapter Two	65
Chapter Three	119
Chapter Four	177
Conclusion	239
Works Cited	247

Introduction

Scholarly histories of early modern Spanish theater generally focus on the secular *comedia*, identifying two periods as critical to its development in the Iberian Peninsula. First, they note the contributions of early dramatists, such as Juan del Encina (1468-1529), Bartolomé Torres Naharro (1485-1530) and Lope de Rueda (1510-1565), whose works dialogued with the neoclassical aesthetics of the Renaissance as they incorporated popular elements for audiences from the court to street crowds, paving the way for commercial theater in seventeenth-century Spain. Second, they single out the formative influence of the dramatist Lope de Vega (1562-1635),¹ who called for a new poetics based upon appealing to the common man as well as to society's elite.² The practical and artistic forces at work during these historical moments propelled theater in Spain from small-scale performances in private residences and town squares to the full-fledged art of the *comedia* performed in commercial *corrales* for mixed audiences, a genre that became "the popular entertainment form for more than a century" (Greer 238). While critical focus on the national stage during these two time periods is well-deserved, modern scholars have largely overlooked the other major theatrical traditions that proliferated in the latter half of the sixteenth century, particularly religious drama. Although these performances did not enjoy the massive urban audiences that flocked to see secular works staged in seventeenth-century playhouses, their importance to Spanish culture should not be underestimated, given the frequency of their productions and the diversity of their audiences. In this dissertation, I focus upon this understudied area of Spanish theater with

a thorough investigation into representations of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son in Jesuit school plays written from 1565-1611.

Established by Ignatius of Loyola in 1540, the Society of Jesus began producing school plays soon after it founded colleges in the Spanish Empire. Communities were readily receptive to the Jesuit educators, and by the 1570s there were at least thirty schools on the Iberian Peninsula whose enrollment numbered in the hundreds (O'Malley 225). Each of these schools produced several plays a year and invited students, their families, city officials, and visiting dignitaries to attend. Jesuit brothers quickly realized that the stage provided a valuable platform from which to communicate with these crowds, and they capitalized upon the opportunity to deliver spiritual "medicina" to a wider public (Acevedo, *Metánea* 113). Despite Jesuit dramaturges' stated intent to influence the public's behavior through their work, scholars in the North American academy have long neglected the large extant corpus of Jesuit plays on the grounds that they were not written "*primarily* for their entertainment value," and thus lack in sophistication according to the dramatic aesthetics of their time (Ruggerio 118).³ Such modern critical valorization of this extensive, widely performed canon of work unfortunately has left the considerable cultural influence exerted by this popular theatrical tradition largely unexamined by North American Hispanists, although a small cohort of scholars in Spain has begun substantive investigation into the Jesuit school plays.⁴

Recent theoretical approaches to literature argue compellingly the need to examine the cultural function of texts by acknowledging that they maintain a complicated relationship of mutual influence with their historical contexts. The nature of this

relationship has its roots in the school of New Cultural History which draws from the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, Norbert Elias, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu to assert that texts, including literary ones, do not reproduce an objective reality in their discourse. Rather, they offer interpretations of reality that are shaped by the unique lens of their historical context (Burke 75). This theoretical school asserts that through the circulation of these textual representations of “reality,” discursive works help construct the same reality that they purport to reproduce (Burke 75). As regards literature, Anthony Cascardi remarks that this theoretical approach helps account for “the ways in which literature is shaped by tensions that are focused at the level of social structure [and] the ways in which literature is itself a social force, actively proposing solutions to historical conflicts that seem irresolvable by any other means, or, conversely, resisting solutions to those conflicts” (1). The ability of literary discourse to dialogue with social issues is significant in terms of the stage, for, as the performance theorists Richard Schechner and Victor Turner have shown, Western plays often constitute aesthetic dramas whose content is informed by social issues and whose performance is capable of commenting back upon those same issues (Schechner 76). The capacity of a play to participate in cultural dialogue provides a theoretical framework for understanding the cultural function of Jesuit theater productions, whose prologues often explicitly declare that they seek to communicate a didactic message to the audience.

Still, establishing that the Jesuit stage served as a platform from which the Society sought to exert influence over the laity does not entirely account for the critical disinterest in Jesuit school plays on the part of the North American academy over the past twenty years. I suspect that this neglect stems not from the plays’ supposed lack of artistic

sophistication, but rather from a general assumption that the religious intentionality of Jesuit works resulted in plays characterized by an uninteresting, dogmatic message that conveyed straightforward Biblical principles.⁵ Given that these dramatuges had taken holy orders in a religious society renowned for its missional endeavors, and given that prologues regularly state their moralizing goals, this assumption is not unfounded. Nonetheless, just as contemporary literary critics have refuted the assertion that the seventeenth-century *comedia* functioned as a propagandistic instrument of the Spanish Empire, similarly I maintain that the canon of Jesuit school plays did not deliver a monolithic message limited to praise of Biblical virtues.⁶ The fact that Western drama dialogues with societal issues strongly suggests that Jesuit theater responded to the complex problems of the communities that surrounded its colleges and which troubled the Spanish Empire. It is vital, then, to interrogate the notion of “virtue” praised in Jesuit school plays in order to specify the ways in which the Society conceptualized its practice in everyday behavior. This, in turn, aids scholars in discerning how the Jesuit stage contributed to societal discussion concerning such problems as the implementation of Tridentine Catholicism, the costs of imperial expansion, and the proper behavior for young, elite men.

My study of representations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Jesuit theater demonstrates that Loyola’s dramatuges indeed engaged these issues as they reworked and re-presented the tale. I consider four of the best-known representations of this parable, *Comedia Caropo* (1565) and *Comedia Filauto* (1565), by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo;⁷ *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (1586) by Juan Cigorondo; and *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (1611) by Pedro de Salas, analyzing the

changes they made to the story as it is found in Luke 15. Through my analysis of departures from the original tale, I contend that the discursive content of these plays foregrounds the power struggles that occurred in the sixteenth century as commentators responded to a veritable onslaught of cultural change, including the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation and the decline of imperial Spain's economic and military prowess. Far from simply encouraging audiences to accept the Christian god's mercy, the moral stressed by the parable (Minelli 1), these plays appropriate the figure of the prodigal son in order to represent a behavioral paradigm to young men that would increase their Catholic devotion and also combat imperial decline by offering them new models of masculinity.

I begin my argument in Chapter One by fleshing out the relationship between historical context and theatrical discourse. Drawing from Michel Foucault's formulation of the subject as entity that is simultaneously an active agent and subject to control from social forces, I explore the construction of the religious subject in Catholic discourse to show that the Tridentine Church sought to establish an ever greater hold over the souls of its lay subjects through persuasive education. The prodigal figure thus symbolizes a disobedient religious subject who must be brought back into the practice of Catholic doctrine. This occurs onstage as the prodigal's moral authorities dialogue with him so that he will accept their condemnation of his sinful actions as the truth. The performance of this process models for the audience mental techniques used by Jesuits to increase their own religious devotion in the annual retreats mandated by Loyola. I demonstrate that these Loyolan techniques constitute, in Foucault's terms, "technologies of the self," or mental exercises through which a subject learns to increase his compliance with Christian

doctrine. Using the performance theory of cultural anthropologists Turner and Schechner, I then establish that the Society of Jesus utilized theatrical performance to represent a successful use of technologies of the self in the hopes of motivating the laity to adopt the behavioral paradigm of personal devotion laid out by the reforms of Tridentine Catholicism.

After determining that these plays use the prodigal's performed repentance to encourage individual subjects to embrace the tenets of Catholicism, in Chapter Two I examine the importance of the prodigal's journey away from home into a space where he is free to sin. Each of these plays characterizes the public sphere as a site prone to the practice of impiety which opposes the domestic virtue that Tridentine Catholicism sought to realize through filial obedience to pious fathers. By analyzing these spatial dynamics with the theoretical concepts of Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre, I determine that the prodigal's journey constitutes the spatialized transgression of *desubidiencia*, or the sin of rejecting virtuous paternal authority. This wrong offends not only the father figure, but also the represented social order since the prodigal's public sins undercut the filial obedience that the Roman Catechism (1566) required young men to render to a community's elders. I conclude that the plays' depiction of the prodigal's journey of *desubidiencia* constructs spiritual virtue as dependent upon obedience to paternal authorities in an effort to counteract the increasing numbers of young men who left home to seek their fortune in cities throughout the Spanish Empire.

In Chapters Three and Four, I flesh out the importance of Jesuit prodigal son plays' discursive deviations from the original parable. I first observe that, in stark contrast to the biblical representation of the patriarch in Luke's tale, all four of the plays

under study present the father figure as an irresponsible leader who fails to protect his son from the impious influences of the public sphere. To remedy the situation, they include a character not found in Luke, the pious counselor figure, whose advice facilitates the son's repentance and the subsequent restoration of the father-son relationship.⁸ Through a close reading of these texts, I assert that the newly-founded Society of Jesus utilized the performed counselor to acquire religious authority over lay communities by advancing its influence into the domestic sphere. While scholarship has traditionally viewed domestic piety as an exclusively Protestant concern, this performed effort to extend Catholic authority into the home demonstrates that the Jesuits also pursued this goal.

Analysis of the counselor figure's advice also serves to examine how these plays interrogate the cultural context of the distinct communities and historical moments for which they were produced through discourse that prescribes a specific behavioral model for young men as they interact with their elders at home and in society. Indeed, contemporary commentators throughout the Spanish Empire wrote copious treatises addressing the proper performance of male behavior, and in so doing they sought to construct a masculine paradigm that they hoped would reverse Spain's economic and military decline.⁹ This preoccupation with shaping male behavior appears in the earliest prodigal son plays, *Comedia Caropo* and *Comedia Filauto*, written by Acevedo in 1565. Both of these works critique the prodigal figure's spendthrift habits, and thus anticipate later historical texts that attributed imperial decline to the noble class's decadent spending. This emphasis upon good financial stewardship manifests itself again in Cigorondo's *Tragedia intitulada Oçio*, which was performed in the New Spanish town of La Puebla de los Ángeles in 1586. As suggested by the title, the work showcases the

question of economic productivity by personifying sloth as the devilish character of Ocio, whose authority over the prodigal is ultimately vanquished by the counselor figure, Estudio, or study. The allegorical symbolism of Estudio's victory underscores study as a virtuous behavior for young men, and a close reading of the counselor's corrective advice confirms this. His advice exhorts youth to practice virtue by eschewing sloth and obtaining an education so that they will become profitable landowners. While Iberian nobility shunned an association with agriculture, colonial elite were largely untitled and thus were freely urged to exploit New Spain's natural resources, serving as overseers of productive estates. By depicting diligent study as necessary for becoming a profitable, virtuous landowner, *Tragedia intitulada Ocio* not only reveals that Poblano elite threatened to reproduce the decadence of Iberian nobility, but that the work also contributes to the formation of a new masculine paradigm, that of the *rico hacendado*, a figure which will be elaborated upon time and again in colonial Hispanic discourse.

In my final chapter, I return to Castile to consider the treatment of noble masculinity in Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*, performed in Soria in 1611. I first historicize the play by situating its depiction of a prodigal son figure enmeshed in a court of vice within the prevailing concern for the practice of elite masculinity in Spain. This characterization of courtly life as impious reflects the historical criticisms of King Philip III's court, where nobles often utilized New World riches to support leisurely pastimes. I then turn my attention to the enigmatic counselor figure, Escolástica, whom the prodigal marries in secret before he leaves home and is seduced by the wicked Princess of Babylon, Sofía. The play's discourse never directly represents the prodigal's father, but rather it identifies Escolástica as the

embodiment of holy knowledge, a divinely inspired counselor who merits obedience as the prodigal's moral authority. I view this circumvention of the biological father's authority as a performed attempt to encourage noble youth to avoid the pitfalls of courtly masculinity by becoming spiritual sons under the leadership of clerical fathers.¹⁰ Although the allegorical Escolástica's position as the prodigal figure's female wife might seem to preclude this conclusion, since Catholicism excluded women from the pastorate, I assert that her gender in fact strategically incorporates the attributes of beauty, succor, and comfort associated with femininity in order to mitigate any frustration a young man might feel at having to obey paternal elders. A close reading of the text supports this interpretation, as does the emergent Baroque aesthetic in which the play was produced.

In a detailed study of these four prodigal son plays, I demonstrate that through the theatrical addition of a counselor figure who resolves familial disorder the Society of Jesus moved beyond the space of the cathedral and strove to legitimate its religious authority in the domestic sphere. I also reveal that, while these performances sought to promote the experience of religious devotion in young men, they also utilized the counselor figure to give voice to a behavioral paradigm of masculinity that would remedy specific problems in their immediate community. In New Spain, this resulted in *Tragedia intitulada Oçio*'s theatrical support for a new masculine paradigm that required the practice of study and profitable agriculture for young men to be assured of their spiritual well-being, while on the Iberian peninsula *Comedia Filauto* and *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* offer clerical masculinity as a behavioral paradigm that fulfills the psychological functions of father, mother, wife, and brother for

young men. In the chapters that follow, I demonstrate that the important cultural contributions of these Jesuit prodigal son plays reinforce the need to examine the Society's theatrical tradition which, far from offering univocal praise of "virtue," in fact used this religious construct to dialogue with many of the same societal issues that troubled secular commentators, politicians, and, eventually, the national stage.

Notes

¹ For more on these periods, see N.D. Shergold's *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the End of the Seventeenth Century*, Melveena McKendrick's *Theatre in Spain: 1490-1700*, Vern Williamsen's *The Minor Dramatists of Seventeenth-Century Spain*, Margaret Greer's "The Development of National Theater," and Victor Dixon's "Lope Félix de Vega Carpio."

² Lope de Vega's famous treatise, *El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609), acknowledges that the *comedia*'s neoclassical aesthetics can no longer ignore the effects of theater's commercialization since: "como las paga el vulgo, es justo / hablarle en necio para darle gusto."

³ The roots of this critical dismissal can perhaps be found in the criticism levied against early modern Jesuit dramaturges by nineteenth-century Spanish philologists, such as the influential Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (Olmedo 7-8).

⁴ In 1978 a group of European Hispanists coordinated by Jesús Menéndez Peláez at the University of Oviedo undertook to edit and publish systematically every known Jesuit school play, a project that has made great progress ("Propaganda" 97-98). Numerous scholars have contributed to this effort, especially Ignacio Arellano at the University of Navarre and Marc Vitse at the University of Toulouse. Other significant contributions have been made by Nigel Griffin at Oxford University, Cayo González Gutiérrez at the University of Oviedo, and Jesús Alonso Asenjo, whose leadership at the University of Valencia helped establish a journal, *TeatrEsco*, devoted to university theater, as well as the online database: *Catálogo Antiguo de Teatro Escolar*. An article which especially inspired my dissertation is Menéndez y Peláez's "Propaganda ideológica en el teatro neolatino y romance de los colegios de jesuitas en el siglo de oro español," which elaborates several connections between Jesuit hagiographic school plays and the values promoted by the Council of Trent (1545-63).

⁵ Important exceptions to this neglect include Michael Ruggerio's 1980 article, "The *Tragedia de San Hermenegildo*," which uncovers a good deal of artistic skill in this Jesuit work; Orlando Saa's 1990 book *El teatro escolar de los Jesuitas en España*, which studies the dramatist Pedro Pablo de Acevedo's representation of moral theology; Hilaire Kallendorf's 2007 book *Conscience on Stage: The Comedia as Casuistry in Early Modern Spain*, which investigates the Jesuit playwright's contributions to the development of casuistry.

⁶ Melveena McKendrick explains this successful refutation by observing that while the *comedia* was informed by a culture that prized the values of the upper classes, the numerous contributors to a *comedia*'s performance—playwright, actors, scenery, and the like—make any support for the political agenda of this group a result of "natural propagation, not propaganda" (*Playing* 6).

⁷ These plays are included in the Works Cited in Vicente Picón García's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo*.

⁸ While Jesuit prodigal son plays construct the counselor figure with a variety of intriguing, creative attributes, the character was created by the Protestant Willem Gnapheus (1493-1568) in his prodigal son play, *Acolastus*. Printed in 1529, *Acolastus* is the first early modern interpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and it was an unquestionable blockbuster, with at least forty-eight editions published before 1700 in English, French, and German (McConaughy 83-84). Records indicate that the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Pablo de Acevedo adapted *Acolastus* for the stage in 1555, but no copy of this work remains (Picón García, "Caropus" 429).

⁹ In accordance with Judith Butler, I view gender as a cultural construct arising from the performance of behavioral attributes that society ascribes to men and women. For more on this topic, see her "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory."

¹⁰ Acevedo's prodigal son figure in *Comedia Filauto* also decides to join a religious order to assure his salvation.

Chapter One

Jesuit Theater and the Early Modern Religious Self, 1540-1611

By all accounts, the young Iñigo López de Loyola had more in common with a *caballero andante* than a Catholic saint. Born in 1491, he spent his childhood at the family castle in the Basque territory of Spain, and as a youth he trained to be a courtier in the household of the chief treasurer to Fernando of Aragon. He was promptly cited for brawling upon his return to Loyola, and later he would admit to dappling in various indiscretions with women during this time. After enlisting in the military under the viceroy of Navarre, in 1521 Iñigo suffered a severe battle wound that crippled one leg for the rest of his life (O'Malley 23). While a bed-ridden Iñigo convalesced at home, the promising *caballero* found none of the tales of chivalry that he was accustomed to reading, and instead turned to books about the lives of saints.¹ He experienced a profound and permanent conviction that he needed to follow these examples and model his life after Christ, and in the coming years he obtained a university education, changed his name to Ignacio, or Ignatius, and assembled the nine men who would become the Society of Jesus (O'Malley 29). In 1539, the Pope asked Loyola and his companions to define the basic elements of their association on paper so that he could grant approval for the formation of their community (O'Malley 5). Their document, the "Five Chapters," establishes that the Society of Jesus is to serve the Lord, to serve the Pope, and then to "keep what follows in mind," concerning its aim:

to strive especially
for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine
and for the propagation of the faith
by the ministry of the word,
by Spiritual Exercises,
by works of charity,
and expressly by the education of children
and unlettered persons in Christianity. (Aldama 1)

When the Society was confirmed in 1540, the nine founding members took this charge to heart by disseminating Christian doctrine and expanding their brotherhood to 3500 members in twenty-five years (O'Malley 2).² The alacrity of their growth was largely due to the ministries mentioned in the "Five Chapters": preaching; the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*, a series of meditations developed by Loyola; operating hospitals; and providing a religious education in the humanities through their college system. Of all of these ministries, the scale and quality of the last is truly astounding.³ In spite of Ignatius's belief in the utility of a humanist education,⁴ when the Society was commissioned by the Pope in 1540 the brothers had no plans to administer classes.⁵ Nevertheless, motivated by the need to educate youth in the humanities and in the Catholic faith, Jesuit leaders began to send some of their most talented brothers to found new schools, or *colegios*, across Europe, Latin America, and Asia (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 30). With this enterprise underway, the Society began to recruit more than half of its novices from the student body, and a rapid expansion of the *colegio* system ensued

(O'Malley 54). By the late 1550s, the Iberian Peninsula was home to nine colleges whose individual enrollments reached into the hundreds (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 36), and over the next 200 years the Jesuits would found more than 800 colleges worldwide (O'Malley 16).

Cayo González Gutiérrez remarks that this educational success in the early modern Spanish Empire is startling for two reasons. First, each school was endowed through private donations, and second, during this time many pedagogues believed that “la letra con sangre entra,” a custom which did nothing for the popularity of higher learning (*Teatro* 38). Felix G. Olmedo references the Spanish humanist Luis Vives’s assessment of the situation: “muchos se engañan los que, queriendo dar a sus hijos una educación esmerada, los envían a ciertos colegios, pues los maestros que en ellos suele haber son avaros, sucios y groseros, a veces molestos, intratables, iracundos y de malos sentimientos” (67). So how then, were the Jesuits able to establish such a large, successful network of privately-endowed colleges throughout the Spanish Empire? The answer lies in Loyola’s concern for the quality of the instructors and for the quality of the curriculum. As the first *Padre General* of the *Compañía de Jesús*, Loyola chose to send the most talented brothers to found the early colleges (O'Malley 204). They implemented the *modus parisiensis*, under which students were taught according to ability in classes that combined a reverence for classical, humanist culture as well as for the principles of Christian piety (Wright 54-55). Jonathan Wright observes: “Students were obliged to examine their consciences, develop an interior spirituality, and attend mass every bit as much as they were expected to read Cicero or hone their skills in Latin metrics and

prosody . . . the Society set about training students to be good Christians and virtuous citizens, but it also strove to produce eloquent, elegant members of the secular world” (55). In Spain, this progressive Christian-humanist curriculum found success under the directorship of Father Juan Bonifacio, who was perhaps the most influential Jesuit pedagogue in the sixteenth century (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 41). Through his work in various Castilian colleges, Bonifacio promoted a new approach to education that sought to counteract the despotic classrooms described by Vives. In his manual, *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, he proposes that teachers view their students as rational beings, and take into account “su debilidad, su delicadeza, sus encantos, su dignidad natural y sobrenatural,” (qtd. in Olmedo 100). Indeed, the Jesuits encouraged mastery of the curriculum not by the threat of punishment, but by diversifying their exercises, awarding prizes for well-written compositions, and rewarding students with the opportunity to perform publicly in Latin (Farrell 119). This new pedagogical approach facilitated the development of the Jesuit educational enterprise, an endeavor which became their single-most important ministry in the early modern period.

Jesuit Theater: An Overview

The progressive curriculum offered by Jesuit colleges first incorporated drama as a teaching tool in the Latin classroom in order to help students obtain the strong command of the language that would be needed to interact with lettered society. Instructors cultivated students’ Latin fluency by requiring them to write dialogues or

short dramatic sketches, the best of which would be read aloud to the class (Jesuits 165). These “school plays,” and their accompanying mini-performances, proved to be such an effective means to teach Latin that the colleges soon began to produce full-fledged theatrical works written by the brothers themselves (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 58).⁶ Each college put on performances throughout the year for special events, including dignitaries’ visits, canonizations, carnival and Saint’s days. Additionally, colleges often performed several plays during the Easter and Christmas seasons. Although it is perhaps impossible to determine accurately the number of Jesuit school plays produced in any given year, Julio Alonso Asenjo observes that opportunities to see a play abounded, since there were sixty-two Jesuit colleges operating on the Iberian peninsula in 1585 (*Otras* 39). This proliferation of dramatic works also holds true for the kingdom of New Spain. After the Order’s arrival in Mexico in 1572 (Bailey 217), the Jesuit Seminario de Pátzcuaro produced its first play, beginning a fruitful tradition that would last well into the next century (Alonso Asenjo, “Estudio” xxviii).

The Society’s concern for providing the highest quality of education also considered the conditions under which Jesuit plays should be produced. In 1599, Jesuit officials codified their recommendations for theater in the *Ratio Studiorum*, a rule-book for college administration, which stated: “The subject matter of the tragedies and comedies, which ought to be only in Latin and extremely rare, should be holy and devotional. And nothing that is not in Latin and proper should be inserted into the action, nor should any female character or clothing be introduced” (35). These guidelines express the fundamental, unifying characteristic of Jesuit theater: that every play must

present a “holy and devotional” plot in accordance with the Jesuits’ religious beliefs (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 224). The adjectives commonly used to describe the best content for plays -“holy,” “devotional,” and “proper,”- allow for a great diversity of dramatic action as long as the Catholic leadership could perceive an edifying message in the play’s content. This didactic message could be present in dramatic actions that took their inspiration from Bible stories, the lives of the saints, or even classical tales. Dramaturges also composed plots based upon inspiration from their lived experience (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 205). Alonso Asenjo comments that this wide variety of source material results in a veritable “heterogeneidad de los espectáculos,” in which each play contains a unique mix of the sacred and the profane (*Otras* 41). In the midst of this heterogeneity, the play’s actions tend to fall into one of several thematic categories.⁷ Common themes include somber martyrdoms of saints, more humorous critiques of social values, and the retelling of Biblical parables.⁸ Parables were an especially popular source of inspiration, since they easily met the requirement for holy content and they readily lent themselves to allegorical retellings. Menéndez Peláez writes that allegory is particularly useful for the dramatization of conceptualized values, such as vices and virtues (*Jesuitas* 86).

In addition to requiring a didactic message, the *Ratio Studiorum* prohibited the use of female characters and mandated that plays be written in Latin. Over the last half of the sixteenth century, however, these rather general restrictions were often overlooked as long as a play’s dramatic action conformed to Jesuit religious values. While amorous love scenes onstage would have been an unthinkable breach of propriety (González Gutiérrez,

Teatro 257), female figures do make an entrance, especially as allegorical characters. A survey of extant plays reveals that allegorical characters were often cast as female, and that they were used to represent everything from wisdom to folly. The direct representation of mothers, wives, and martyrs also occurred, although with much less frequency (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 257).⁹ Although the Society regularly overlooked this bending of the gender rule, the practice was not without critics who believed that any representation of female figures would distract from the piety of the spectacle (Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 101). For example, Father Juan Ramírez was properly horrified after attending a play in which Bonifacio casts “la naturaleza humana” as the wife of Jesus: “era cosa muy baxa a tan altos misterios y requebrávanse el esposo y la esposa con muchas palabras de los cantares, en romance todo; que yo me mortifiqué harto en que se representase” (qtd. in Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 102). Ramírez’s mortification only grew upon seeing a direct representation of women in another of Bonifacio’s works: “Vi que atravesaron entremeses provocativos a risadas vanas . . . como de dos Viejas que reñían, y una moça, y que tratavan poquedades que, aunque no provocavan a lascivia, provocavan a risadas muy indignas de lugar tan santo” (qtd. in Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 102). Objections such as these likely motivated playwrights to include female figures with prudence, but as the sixteenth century progressed these figures were an ever more frequent presence onstage.

During the apex of Jesuit theater, generally considered to range from 1555-1615 (González Gutiérrez 22), Jesuit playwrights gradually began to utilize vernacular languages as the sole language of their works in order to make the entirety of their

message accessible to the uneducated and educated alike. Although virtually all of the dialogue from the early plays was performed in Latin, those early performances before a largely illiterate public drew impressive crowds to see productions put on by the pupils. Menéndez Peláez provides a rationale for the audience's surprising willingness to attend a spectacle presented in a language they did not understand: "El público gustaba asistir a un espectáculo de esta naturaleza, aunque no entendiese la lengua del Lacio, porque el latín era una lengua bien vista socialmente; era la lengua aristocrática . . . porque era lo que estaba de moda; era signo de prestigio cultural" (*Jesuitas* 84).¹⁰ Records from the first few Jesuit plays performed in Europe show that they were capable of attracting hundreds of people to see a show, and during the 1550s the Spanish playwright Pedro Pablo de Acevedo became so popular that he would go into hiding following each performance in order to avoid his admirers (Alonso Asenjo, *Otras* 89-90). The Society quickly realized that the popularity of their theater created invaluable opportunities to communicate with the general public.¹¹ While Latin remained a salient feature of these plays, over time the dramaturges took pains to include the vernacular so that the totality of a play's moralizing message would be understood by a wider audience. Menéndez Peláez explains:

Los dramaturgos del teatro jesuítico experimentan una cierta zozobra a la hora de escribir sus obras dramáticas. Como humanistas que son, quieren conservar la lengua latina en su teatro, teniendo en cuenta que aquellas representaciones eran los ejercicios prácticos para los alumnos de la clase de Latín y de Retórica; pero, como pedagogos de la doctrina cristiana, se dan cuenta de que sus consejos y

avisos morales no podían llegar con la fuerza necesaria a los padres, familiares y amigos de los estudiantes, así como a la gran masa popular que con frecuencia asistía a sus espectáculos teatrales. . . . (*Jesuitas* 84)

The combination of these desires resulted in playwrights mixing the languages of their dialogue, and they regularly included vernacular glosses for events that were narrated in Latin (Elizalde 116). In the kingdom of New Spain, college rectors had a special difficulty enforcing the use of Latin because playwrights tended to use their stage to evangelize the native population and to instruct unlettered *criollos* (Arteaga Martínez sec. 2.1.1.1). In spite of valiant efforts made by the leading colleges to encourage fluency in the classical language, archival research shows that rectors sometimes answered their superiors' objections by simply denying knowledge of a dramaturge's plans to incorporate Castilian or náhuatl (Arteaga Martínez sec. 2.1.1.2).

These New Spanish conflicts over language demonstrate that Jesuit playwrights were keenly aware of the need to ensure that spectators did not overlook the plays' moral content. The Society's correspondence shows that playwrights believed that their dramatic activities were instrumental in delivering colleges' moral benefits to the public. Bonifacio argues that:

Nada más útil y honroso para una ciudad que un buen colegio . . . nuestros jóvenes declaman, escriben hablan y recitan versos, que no parecen cosa de muchachos; el pueblo asiste gustosísimo a las comedias y tragedias que ellos mismos representan; la juventud se forma al mismo tiempo en letras y virtud; la

enseñanza es gratuita. ¿De qué se quejan entonces esos detractores? (qtd. in Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 32)

Bonifacio's rebuttal manifests little conceptual distinction between formal learning, the practice of plays and the development of virtue, and mentions that he perceives the public to be an enthusiastic participant in the performances. Specifically, he asserts that the stage served as a kind of pulpit from which the Jesuits could proffer "un sermón disfrazado" (Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 49). This viewpoint was nothing new; Acevedo's prologue to *Comedia Metánea* (1556) asserted that theater could be used to instruct the public even before Bonifacio's admittance to the Society (González Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 118). Acevedo's prologue declares:

Otras comedias os auemos dado
y nunca con cilentio se han hecho,
porque templan los
señores
con lo dulce, porque la medicina
fuese recibida. (113)¹²

Through the metaphor of spiritual medicine, this passage informs the audience that the purpose of the play is to instruct them in a reasoned way of life. Such onstage declarations of didactic intent are a common feature of Jesuit plays. For example, Juan Cigorondo's prologue to *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (1586), performed in Puebla, México advises: "Dar consejos, señor, notar errores . . . Que, aunque este rato para el gusto es

hecho, / no es bien que baya ageno de provecho” (5). This reminder that the audience should pay attention to the *provecho* that lies within the entertaining spectacle attests to the universality of the Jesuits’ belief that the theater should be used to present holy and devotional messages to audiences across the Spanish Empire.

Contemporary scholars of Jesuit plays frequently cite the dramaturges’ belief that their work served an exemplary purpose in order to posit that the productions attempted to indoctrinate spectators with the Society’s religious values. This belief is widely espoused by the Hispanists who led the first critical inquiry into Jesuit theater manuscripts in the late 1970s.¹³ González Gutiérrez avers that the Jesuits “buscan todas las formas y metodologías posibles para atraer a los jóvenes, pero también a los mayores, a las enseñanzas del Evangelio” (*Teatro* 222).¹⁴ Alfredo Hermenegildo believes that religious indoctrination occurred as performances condemned vices and praised virtues (93), and Jesús Maire Bobes agrees that early modern Jesuits utilized the theater to “predicar, moralizar y propagar las virtudes de la propia Compañía” (164). In New Spain, the Order capitalized upon the pre-existing, evangelically-oriented Franciscan theater (Alonso Asenjo, “Estudio” xxiv), incorporating it into their own works to add a catechistic dimension for those unfamiliar with the basic tenets of Catholicism (Arróniz 183-85; Arteaga Martínez sec. 2.1.1).

To date, few detailed assessments of the cultural functions of Jesuit theater in the early modern Spanish Empire have been offered by literary critics working in the North American academy.¹⁵ This critical disinterest may in large part stem from the fact that

Jesuit plays simply have not been readily available in print for study by audiences outside of Spain.¹⁶ This lack of availability is further compounded by the Latin language barrier that confronts scholars who wish to study these plays. These difficulties, however, have greatly diminished since the late 1990s through the efforts of the Spanish philologists working with Menéndez Peláez at the University of Oviedo, and also through the collaboration of international scholars on the journal *TeatrEsco: Revista electrónica de antiguo teatro escolar hispánico*, coordinated by Alonso Asenjo at the University of Valencia. Their goal, to publish editions or transcriptions of every known Jesuit play, is currently well underway at various universities (Menéndez Peláez “Propaganda” 97), and the publication information for these works is maintained by *TeatrEsco*’s database, *Catálogo Antiguo Teatro Escolar*.¹⁷ In addition, many of these philologists have published editions of plays that provide Spanish-language translations of the Latin passages, making Jesuit theater available to any scholar with a working knowledge of Castilian.¹⁸

While these endeavors have increased the accessibility of these plays, scholars of early modern literature have also neglected the study of Jesuit theater for another reason. Michael Ruggerio explains that this oversight may be partly attributed to the fact that Jesuit plays, unlike the plays of the Spanish national stage, “were not written *primarily* for their entertainment value,” and thus often “show all the faults that most plays do when the playwright is controlled by his sources or the particular message he wants to convey” (118, 119). In the late 19th century, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo expressed the same critique a bit more harshly: “A la espontánea y ardorosa elocuencia de Vives; a la gracia

infinita de Erasmo, había sucedido una imitación fría, algo de pueril y de umbrátil, una verbosidad estéril, literatura de escolares y pedagogos . . . aquella filología, aquella oratoria y aquella poesía de colegio, que malamente llaman algunos *jesuítica*” (qtd. in Olmedo 7-8). Certainly, the assertion that pedagogues and playwrights who are members of an evangelical order will produce art that serves the goals of their religious organization is valid. In *Comedia Metánea*, Acevedo declares that his work responds to the demands of doctrine and not popular art:

Empero, en el discurso, más de cosas
que de palabras cuydadosos,
repetiremos muchas vezes *penitentia*,
que así los santos Ambrosio, Augustino,
Hierónimo, con los demás doctores
sacros, la llaman, a quien quiero seguir
e ymitar antes sus palabras
que las de aquellos que se venden mucho
por ciceronianos, cuios oydos
no reciben esta voz de *penitencia*. (111)

Comedia Metánea, then, attends first to the important questions of spiritual life and second to the aesthetics of theatrical performance, an expressed purpose shared by numerous Jesuit works. While the blatant subordination of art to doctrine has discouraged critical inquiry (Ruggerio 118), the canon of Jesuit theater evolved over time, and by

1580 the plays evince “an increase in the influence of popular, realist and non-religious elements, which give a wider appeal to the later plays because they disguise more the moral, didactic intention of the authors” (Ruggerio 120). Ruggerio concludes that the palpable presence of realist sources, or themes drawn from everyday life, necessitates a study of Jesuit plays so that scholars may have a fuller picture of the relationships between the school plays and the Spanish national stage (118).¹⁹

Nevertheless, the connection between school plays and secular playwrights is not the only reason to study the Society’s dramatic endeavors. Indeed, the objection that the creative expression of Jesuit plays is limited by their didactic intent closes off prematurely an investigation into the dramatic mechanisms that underpin their potential to persuade the audience to adopt the Church’s values in their own lives. It also precludes an interrogation of the conceptualization of Christian “virtue” as it is depicted by Jesuit theater. Examining the Jesuit staging of virtuous behaviors is vital to an understanding of early modern religious practice since the question of shepherding the public’s behavior had been of great concern to the political and cultural leaders of the Spanish Empire. This concern began as the turn of the fifteenth century ushered in the era of early modern Spain and the reign of Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon drew to a close. The monarchs had effectively instituted a sweeping array of social and political reforms that were targeted at increasing public security, assuring the administration of justice, collecting taxes, and reforming the corruption of the clergy, whom Isabel felt were largely ignorant, lascivious and distant from their flocks (Ife 16). The *Reyes Católicos* used their crusade against Muslim Granada to unify the Church and the nobility under

their government, and the completion of the Reconquest in 1492 brought with it the imposition of a single religion in Castile (Ife 15). Isabel's religious victory had great ideological impact for the emergent Spanish empire; B.W. Ife writes that it introduced "a militant, white, Christian ideology to which every local political and cultural interest in the peninsula was subordinate" (17). This effectively linked acceptable Spanish identity to the practice of Christian beliefs, and the Habsburg monarchs preserved this heritage by defending the faith from Protestant heretics and proselytizing the indigenous peoples of the Americas (Ife 12, 18). Emperor Charles V, the grandson of Fernando and Isabel, encouraged the Church's Counter-Reformation efforts, and both he and his son, Philip II, waged war against the Netherlands in a vain attempt to enforce Spain's religious values beyond its borders (Ife 21-22). Ife observes that their wars reflected the desire to "hold back an unstoppable tide of social change," by imposing Catholic orthodoxy upon the individuals who made up society (21). Within the Spanish Empire, Charles V and Philip II encouraged clerical reform from within the Catholic sector and strengthened the Inquisition and its censorship (Ife 21). The Spanish monarchy's construction of religious practice as an essential factor in defining the identity of its people indicates its concern for guiding individuals in appropriate forms of behavior. Michel Foucault observes that, in the sixteenth century, both the state and the Church deployed a type of "pastoral power" in order to shape the conduct of the masses by manipulating the concepts of virtue and spiritual salvation in the afterlife ("The Subject" 333). The Society's efforts to persuade the laity to implement Christian practices in their lives are part of this same endeavor, and studying Jesuit theater's dramatic strategies for persuading audiences to

embrace its doctrine will yield new information about the relationship between this prominent religious brotherhood and the individuals that they attempted to shepherd.

Menéndez Peláez has already begun to explore this connection. Like other Jesuit theater scholars, he believes that the Society used its productions as propaganda through which it could impart both academic knowledge and religious values because it “acentuó de manera especial servir a la formación espiritual de las gentes que acudían a aquellas representaciones, unos espectadores que eran en primer lugar los alumnos a los que se unían sus familiares y una buena parte de las gentes de la villa o ciudad donde estaba ubicado el colegio” (“Propaganda” 101). Specifically, he asserts that these plays sought to persuade the audience to practice certain behaviors in their own lives through performances that extolled Ignatian and Tridentine religious values (“Propaganda” 102). His analysis of Jesuit hagiographic plays shows that the protagonists depict positively morals such as firmness in the faith and the missionary spirit in an effort to “predicar el ejemplo” (“Propaganda” 111). This intriguing analysis of hagiographic pieces links the performed behavior of the protagonists to the Ignatian and Tridentine religious values that informed this time period.²⁰ In the midst of this theatrical valorization of Catholic values, however, martyrs are killed by charismatic tyrants, unbelievers plead their cases against Christ, and prodigals describe the delights of their errant ways. Although these sinful figures are either converted or condemned, the potential attractiveness of their presence onstage raises the question of how early modern Jesuit plays propagate their religious values through a dramatic action that, at least for a time, represents the material benefits of a sinful way of life. To investigate this question, I focus upon Jesuit school

plays that reinterpret the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son. This parable is particularly helpful for study since it foregrounds the prodigal figure's rejection of, and return to, Christian virtue (Luke 15:11-32). While some might assume that the performance of various prodigal figures who chase after sensual pleasures and worldly riches would subvert the didactic intent of these works, I contend the representation of the prodigal son's sin did not counteract the didacticism of these plays; rather, these plays used the prodigal's fall into sin and performed repentance as an opportunity to present a behavioral model to their audience that was in accord with Jesuit and Tridentine religious values.

In the coming chapters, I analyze the specific parameters of this behavioral model, maintaining that it aims to promote the practice of filial obedience to virtuous father figures. In order to understand how these plays attempt to exercise this pastoral function I must first explore the practical underpinnings that support the theater's relationship with its audience. I begin this analysis with an overview of the Catholic Church's historical self-positioning as society's sole religious authority and carefully consider the Tridentine and Jesuit construction of the religious subject. This construction is of the utmost importance, given that Jesuit prodigal son plays showcase the interaction between a virtuous father and his disobedient, sinful son. I then utilize performance theory to demonstrate that the prodigal's performed repentance served as a behavioral model to a viewing audience that was composed of individuals who, like the prodigal figure, could accept or reject the Church's authority. Thus the Jesuit stage utilized theatrical discourse

to appeal to the laity, persuading them to practice a sincere devotion to Catholic teachings.

Catholicism and the Early Modern Religious Subject

One of the earliest Jesuit plays to retell the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son is *Comedia Filauto*, written by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo and performed in Seville, Spain, in 1565. Megadoro, the prodigal's father, offers the following counsel to his son: "Que los preceptos de Cristo sean para tí como la piedra de toque con la que te pruebes una y otra vez para conocerte íntimamente; procura que jamás se aparte tu norma de vida de estos preceptos" (385). Megadoro's advice reveals that he upholds the authority of Christian precepts when determining how he and his family should conduct themselves as they go through life. His choice to submit to Christ's precepts as if it were a "piedra de toque" is at the heart of both the performed relationship between the prodigal and Megadoro, and the relationship charted in religious discourse between God and his followers. Indeed, in the sacred text of the Gospels the words of Christ not only declare absolute authority for his message, but also transfer this authority to his disciples:

He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me. . . . Behold, I have given you power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall hurt you. But yet rejoice not in this, that spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice in this, that your names are written in heaven. (Luke 20:16, 19-20)

This passage articulates Christ's charge that his disciples preach his teachings to others, and it imbues these followers with nothing less than his divine authority for their labors. The result is a group of individuals who were discursively authorized to interpret Christ's salvific doctrine for the public. Following St. Peter's crucifixion, the Roman Catholic Church claimed this same authority for its clergy based on the doctrine of apostolic succession, which posits Catholic clergy as the legitimate heirs of the authority that Christ gave to his twelve Apostles (Conrod 2). In the Middle Ages, the doctrine of apostolic succession supported the notion that the Church was the only institution capable of explicating and teaching religious dogma to the laity, and designated this authority the *Magisterium* (Collinge 254). Catholicism has since employed the doctrines of apostolic succession and the *Magisterium* to assert that its interpretation of scripture is the absolute, incontrovertible authority on the salvation of the soul, and consequently it should serve as the guide by which individuals orient their lives (Conrod 3).

Given the Church's self-positioning as the only authorized interpreter of religious dogma, it was of the utmost importance that it carefully define and explicate its construction of the human soul. It undertook this endeavor in discourse, with the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and with the canons and decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) as well as the Council of Trent (1545-63), which refined the construction of the soul in relation to the daily practice of spiritual life. Catholic theologians, including the Tridentine patriarchs, have long considered Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* (1265-74) to be the decisive teaching on this topic (Kreeft 12). In this multivolume work, Aquinas declares that the human soul is "the first principle of life in those things which live," and

that it is an immortal creation produced by God (1.75.1, 1.75.3, 1.75.7).²¹ The soul is capable of intellectual reasoning (1.79.4), and of carrying out acts of conscience, or applying its knowledge to a situation (1.79.13). It is also the seat of a human's free will (1.83.1), which interacts with the soul's intellect in order to determine his or her acts (1-2.9.5). The writings of Aquinas construct the soul in such a way that it is the locus of an individual's life force, free will, and powers of reason, all of which make it analogous to what modern literary theorists have termed "the subject." Michel Foucault observes that this term has two meanings in relation to individuals. It can denote that they are "subject to someone else by control and dependence," and that they are "tied to [their] own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" ("Subject" 331). Foucault asserts that subjects are individuals who are aware of their own self and their own identity, and are also susceptible to subjugation by other individuals or institutions. Aquinas's authoritative construction of the soul, when considered with Foucault's social contextualization of that entity as the subject, makes it possible to assert that the early modern religious subject consisted of a rational, conscientious soul in exercise of free will, aware of its own identity, and at the same time subject to external entities.²²

Catholicism maintained that, despite the immortal soul's higher functions, after the body's death it was destined to spend an eternity in Hell due to its share in Adam's Edenic transgression of God's law (Osborne 1192). This elemental belief in the fall of Man, when combined with the doctrines of Apostolic succession and the *Magisterium*, has allowed the Catholic Church to position itself as the single terrestrial authority capable of explaining Christianity's plan for eternal salvation to inherently damned

individuals. By the early modern period, the Church regularly asserted that the only way for a person to be assured of eternal salvation was to espouse its teachings genuinely, and participate whole-heartedly in its sacraments (Collinge 353). The Church's authority as the sole interpreter of salvation doctrine sometimes rivaled that of Scripture itself; the Jesuit San Francisco Javier testifies to the primacy of the Church's intercessory powers in his often-quoted assertion: "I would not believe in the Gospels were the Holy Church to forbid it" (Conrod 48). Consequently, when a represented prodigal figure in a Jesuit play chooses to abandon the practice of Catholic virtues, his decision symbolizes his choice to forego eternal salvation in favor of the more immediate pleasures of the world.

Catholicism has tried to prevent flesh-and-blood individuals from becoming prodigals since Antiquity. In the centuries after the crucifixion, the Church tried to convince "sinners" to place themselves under its authority by repenting of their transgressions and believing in the truth value of its doctrine, which mandated participation in the sacrament of reconciliation for eternal salvation (Maher 188). For the majority of salvation-seeking Christians, the sacrament of reconciliation constituted the most direct moment of their interaction with the clergy, and thus it is quite pertinent to a consideration of the performed prodigal son figure. From the death of Christ until the thirteenth century, reconciliation was a completely public rite (Foucault, "Government" 155). Known as penance, this rite allowed Christians to become penitents once in order to make amends for their sin. A ceremony admitted sinners into penance, and sent them into exile for a predetermined period of years, after which they would be readmitted into society with another public ceremony. Penitents were, however, still subject to numerous

sanctions for the rest of their lives (Tentler 5).²³ Through the rite of penance, the Church could mediate the relationship between sinners and the community of believers in order to both maintain its desired social order and to provide penitents with a way to reconcile themselves to their communities and to God. The Church, then, served as the gatekeeper of salvation. Thomas Tentler observes that the “heavenly road can be straight and smooth or crooked and rough. But in either case it begins on earth, where penitents obediently submit to priestly confessors” (Tentler 344).

Tentler also remarks that this rite had several benefits for both the penitent and the Church. It allowed the Church to discipline socially harmful behavior, and, for parishioners who had internalized the belief that certain behaviors were “sinful,” it relieved them of their guilty consciences (13). Tentler makes clear that the penitent’s exile and reconciliation had to be constructed delicately in order to balance the competing demands of these two functions. He writes:

If a theory [of reconciliation] does not make it too easy to be forgiven, then a sanction exists for disciplining the faithful and directing their behavior into ecclesiastically approved channels. At the same time, if the theory does not make it too difficult to be forgiven, a mechanism exists for curing anxiety and restoring the deviant to the community of the living and the faithful. (234-35)

This same balance between social discipline and psychological reassurance was conserved by the Fourth Lateran Council when it standardized the rite of penance into a sacrament in 1215. It eliminated public exiles and post-reconciliation sanctions, which

often made life unbearably difficult for penitents and their families, and instead instituted the practice of yearly, private penance (Tentler 16). This new design reconciled sinners to God by requiring that they privately confess all of their sins to a priest, who would inquire into the circumstances of the sin and treat its wounds “as if he were a skillful physician” (*The Canons* sec. 21). He was instructed to administer the remedy of formal absolution combined with the appropriate satisfactions, which were penitential acts to be carried out by the believer after confession (*The Canons* sec. 21). The new model benefited parishioners by allowing them to express contrition, or inner sorrow for sin, and offered them consolation from the priest, whose observable and verbalized absolution reified their reconciliation to God. Sacramental penance also benefited the Church by expanding its powers of disciplinary surveillance beyond those found in the earlier penitential rite. This is primarily due to the fact that medieval penance dealt with each member of the flock, not only those who were the worst offenders. Second, during these confessions the priest needed to discover the nature of the sin, thereby gaining insight into the penitent’s attitudes and emotions. Third, he was to use his judgment to prescribe satisfactions that corresponded to the severity of the sin. The Fourth Lateran Council’s desire to assure itself of Catholicism’s hold over the penitent’s behavior is also evident in that, in addition to requiring regular confession, clerics also strengthened the priest’s role in the dispensation of absolution. The Council declared that the confessor’s absolution should be bestowed with the pronouncement, “I absolve you,” to indicate that this first-person utterance served as the key that applied Christ’s forgiveness to the guilt of sin (Tentler 24, 27). The “power of the keys,” placed the absolution of sin at the discretion of

each confessor, making the intervention of an ordained representative of the Church a necessity for eternal salvation (Tentler 344). This form of confession greatly enhanced the capacity of the Church to police the thoughts and behaviors of the masses, as faithful Christians now needed to shape their behavior to the standards maintained by the Catholic Church and their individual priest, or risk ruining their chances for a happy afterlife.

In the wake of the Protestant Reformation (1517), the Church was striving to preserve its ecclesiastical order with renewed zeal. Protestant leaders claimed that early modern sacramental reconciliation tormented the consciences of the faithful, and should be dismantled (Tentler 366).²⁴ In response, Catholic leaders fervently promoted the practice of the sacrament in order to reinforce their orthodox beliefs about the soul's salvation (Tentler 369). Their efforts were readily apparent in 1551 at the fourteenth Session of the Council of Trent (1540-63), which expanded upon the construction of the sacrament of penance. The Council began by reiterating that its authority to absolve sin resided in the doctrine of apostolic succession found in John 20:23, when Christ tells his Apostles that they may administer the divine forgiveness to individual believers: "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained" (Schroeder 39).²⁵ The Council capitalized upon this textual transfer of power in order to justify its own authority to render an "exact and complete definition" of penance (Schroeder 88). It defined the form of the sacrament as the priest's pronouncement of "I absolve thee," and the matter of the sacrament as the penitent's conscientious execution of "contrition, confession and satisfaction" (Schroeder 90). Trent moved beyond the

Fourth Lateran Council's metaphor of the confessor as spiritual doctor -and, by implication, disciplinarian- and sought to assure itself that Catholic beliefs were guiding parishioners' behaviors. It and assigned new duties to the priest and to the penitent as they performed their roles in the sacrament. Trent encourages priests to control penitents' behavior by assigning satisfactions that will "restrain [penitents] from sin . . . and destroy habits acquired by evil living" (Schroeder 97). As Tentler has observed, these satisfactions should be neither too difficult nor too easy to perform: "The priests of the Lord must therefore, so far as reason and prudence suggest, impose salutary and suitable satisfactions, in keeping with the nature of the crimes and the ability of the penitents; otherwise, if they should connive at sins and deal too leniently with penitents, imposing certain very light works for very grave offenses, they might become partakers in the sins of others" (Schroeder 97). Catholic confessors, then, should choose satisfactions that target specific goals: judgment, punishment or consolation (Foucault, *History* 61). With Trent, the Church's strengthened approach to the sacrament of penance signals a keen interest in using satisfactions as tools for exerting social discipline in the penitential process.

In addition to increasing the clergy's consciousness of their disciplinary powers, the Council attempted to exert greater control over penitential behavior by expanding the penitent's responsibilities in the reconciliation process. It began by declaring that the sacrament of penance started when the penitent felt contrition, which is "at all times necessary for obtaining the forgiveness of sins" (Schroeder 91). It also required that contrition be "united with confidence in the divine mercy and with the desire to perform

the other things that are required to receive this sacrament in the proper manner” (Schroeder 91). These requirements for penitents’ feelings were accompanied by an insistence that the penitent give as complete a confession as possible, without omitting a single transgression, because only then could the physician of the soul heal the sickness of sin:

. . . for if the one sick be ashamed to make known his wound to the physician, the latter does not remedy what he does not know. It is evident furthermore, that those circumstances that change the species of the sin are also to be explained in confession, for without them the sins themselves are neither integrally set forth by the penitent nor are they known to the judges, and it would be impossible for them to estimate rightly the grievousness of the crimes and to impose the punishment due to the penitents on account of them. (Schroeder 93)

This decree attests to the Church’s desire to exert control over all areas of the penitents’ potentially transgressive thoughts or actions, and indicates that it seeks to effect social discipline by obtaining a direct hold over the individual’s soul during confession (de Boer 43). In fact, these new requirements did seek to exert discipline over parishioners’ actions as well as over the inner attitudes towards sin present in their souls. Wietse de Boer’s historical study on confessional practices in Counter-Reformation Milan supports this assertion.²⁶ His work demonstrates that the episcopate of Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (1564-84) stressed the need for confessors to examine penitents’ bodies for signs that their souls were genuinely contrite. The medieval physician metaphor, used to describe

the role of the confessor, now becomes quite literal, as Borromeo's confessional manual, the *Avvertenze*, reveals. It states that a confessor should inspect penitential bodies as they approached the confessional, and turn away those that were dressed lavishly, with "curls, rouge, cosmetics, earrings . . . gold or silver jewels . . . flaunting caps, arms, and similar things" (qtd. in de Boer 59). The Cardinal believed that a soul's inner piety was perceptible through "modest and simple" attire, and he taught that confessors could identify genuinely contrite parishioners by discovering if they spent time in prayer before the sacrament, if they were known to avoid illicit activities, and if they had previously completed their past satisfactions (de Boer 59-60). He admonishes the clergy to "dig in! Dig in the wall, deeply shake up the souls and turn the fields of conscience . . . with the ploughs of interrogation" (qtd. in de Boer 60). De Boer concludes that an early modern believer's "sincerity of intent [to abandon sinful behaviors] needed proof in action" (60). This new inquisitorial vigor leaves little doubt that the Church's system of discipline was capable and willing to condemn any deviation from its authority (Tentler 369). The Tridentine Church's overwhelming concern that the religious subject be devoted to its doctrine allows contemporary readers of Jesuit theater to understand that an early modern performance of the prodigal son's immorality would represent an offense not only against his father, but also against the religious authority figures represented in the play.

Despite the Church's historical self-positioning as a powerful force in the institution of social discipline, Jesuit prodigal son plays feature religious authority figures who largely fail in their early attempts to discipline the prodigal with admonitions, threats, and rules.²⁷ The prodigal Filauto voices a typical response to the imposition of

external authority: “Cuando los padres se empeñan en ser jueces demasiado rígidos con sus hijos, afirmando su gobierno más por la fuerza que con la benevolencia, todos quieren ser unos Manlianos” (Acevedo 355). His desire to follow in the example of the Manlianos, Roman brothers who committed suicide as a result of their father’s discipline, demonstrates that the imposition of authority from without, such as the Tridentine requirement to feel contrite, is not sufficient in and of itself to maintain a system of social discipline. Tentler has previously revealed the psychological underpinnings of Christian penance by showing that it functions because sinful parishioners are motivated to submit to the disciplinary “*Omnis utriusque sexus*” by the promise of consolation and absolution. He observes that a penitent’s participation depends upon more than the Church’s inducement to appear for confession at the appointed time; the successful functioning of medieval penance requires that parishioners resolve to accept the validity of the Church’s dogma, since “[s]ocial control through sacramental confession can only be effective if religious values have been internalized, so that sins will cause pain and repentance will be sincere even if no other human is looking” (Tentler 130). In other words, the Church’s ability to impose social discipline does not depend solely upon the institution offering motivation to the penitents; it ultimately depends upon individual Christians deciding to believe that the Catholic doctrine of salvation is true, and making efforts to implement its penitential requirements.

Given that the prodigal sons of Jesuit theater tend to reject the inducements to holy living offered by represented religious authority figures, it is useful to examine how historical penitents internalize religious values. Michel Foucault’s writings on the soul

provide a framework for understanding the processes the subject employs in order to become a faithful believer.²⁸ He begins by identifying the Christian notion of the sinful soul as a construct of the Church, created so that parishioners will participate in its sacraments and govern themselves according to Catholicism's guidelines for obtaining eternal salvation. Foucault observes that this concept of the soul is born out of methods of punishment, supervision and constraint exercised by those who seek to control its relationship to its body. He writes: "This real, non-corporal soul is not a substance; it is the element in which are articulated the effects of a certain type of power and the reference of a certain type of knowledge, the machinery by which power relations give rise to a possible corpus of knowledge, and knowledge extends and reinforces this power" (*Discipline* 29). Foucault proposes that Christianity's construction of the soul masks the fact that it exists only because individuals have internalized Catholic values and have accepted the Church's authority in matters of truth (Foucault, "Technologies" 242). As a result of this subconscious acceptance of Catholic values, the Church is able to limit parishioners' knowledge of truth to those beliefs that correspond to its doctrine. Foucault describes the situation: "Christianity belongs to the salvation religions. It is one of those religions which is supposed to lead the individual from one reality to another, from death to life, from time to eternity. In order to achieve that, Christianity imposed a set of conditions and rules of behavior for a certain transformation of the self" ("Technologies" 242). One of these conditions was belief in the Church's path to eternal salvation, which depended upon parishioners accepting the validity and authority of the sacrament of reconciliation. Tentler's research on penance has shown that accepting the

Church's truths concerning behavioral norms is what is ultimately at stake in the sacrament, and Foucault agrees. He identifies penance as an essential religious mechanism for transforming early modern individuals into faithful adherents to Catholicism. While Tentler focuses upon the Church's agency in constructing a penitential practice that would enable it to discipline the laity, Foucault attends to the processes penitents employ to internalize the truths and values promoted by sacramental penance. He calls these processes "technologies of the self," and asserts that they "permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality" ("Technologies" 225). These "technologies" include any modes of action the individual exerts upon himself in order to know his soul better and to channel his desires and behaviors into conformity with Catholic doctrine. Foucault's reading of the Christian patriarchs reveals that believers have employed technologies of the self since Antiquity; in particular, they have practiced *exomologesis* and *exagoreusis*. *Exomologesis* consists of an individual examining his soul and attesting to the Christian truth that sin was present therein through acts of corporal abnegation, and *exagoreusis* consists of the individual verbalizing the results of this self-examination while under the guidance of a spiritual director (*Ethics* 249). These two technologies were built into Trent's construction of penance, which employed *exomologesis* as a means to evoke contrition, and included *exagoreusis* in the making of the confession itself. Through the inclusion of these two processes, Tridentine penance provided individuals with the

opportunity to participate in the creation of a hermeneutics of the self that conformed to Catholic doctrine, since the penitent is required to acknowledge as “true” his confessor’s opinion about the transgressive or holy nature of his thoughts and practices (“Beginning” 163). Foucault observes that during sacramental confession, the parishioners’ technologies of the self and the Church’s technologies of power come together to guide the penitent’s conduct to those behaviors that will assure him of his salvation. He writes:

The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it . . . a ritual in which the truth is corroborated by the obstacles and resistances it has had to surmount in order to be formulated.

(History 61)

Penance joins *exomologesis* with *exagoreusis* in the confessional meeting, giving the Church and the religious subject the opportunity to interact verbally and produce a “truth” of the penitent’s behavioral choices. This meeting combines the Church’s external discipline with the internal discipline of the subject upon himself. Foucault refers to this method of behavioral guidance as the “governmentality” of the self, and he defines it as “the government of the self by oneself in its articulation with relations with others (such as one finds in pedagogy, behavior counseling, spiritual direction, the prescription of models for living, and so on)” (“Subjectivity” 88). These technologies of the self then

yield the reward singled out by Tentler, consolation. The Tridentine fathers write: “Now, the very difficulty of a confession like this, and the shame of making known one's sins, might indeed seem a grievous thing, were it not alleviated by so many and so great advantages and consolations, which are most assuredly bestowed by absolution upon all who worthily approach to this sacrament” (Schroeder 92). Foucault also identifies the penitent’s motivation to employ technologies of the self in confession as the reward of consolation, but he underscores the importance of discourse in the process, calling it “a ritual in which the expression alone . . . produces intrinsic modifications in the person who articulates it: it exonerates, redeems, and purifies him; it unburdens him of his wrongs, liberates him, and promises him salvation” (*History* 62). This observation uncovers the prominent role that discourse plays in the practice of technologies of the self, as believers should experience intrinsic modifications in the composition of their souls. The early modern Church used a Greek term to refer to the change of belief to adherence to Catholic salvation doctrine: *metanoia* (Foucault, “Hermeneutics” 179).²⁹ Various Jesuit plays take *metanoia* as their theme so as to praise the spiritual benefits of the experience, and the concept serves to describe the performed conversion of the prodigal when he decides to readopt Catholic behavioral norms.

Sacramental reconciliation, then, is not capable of disciplining sinful behaviors solely because the Church has imposed the requirements that the sinner be contrite or that the priest inquire into the circumstances of the sin. Rather, the practice is effective because confession is a privileged site of discursive interaction between the Church and the penitent, who practices *exomologesis* and *exagoreusis* to internalize Catholic beliefs.

The goal is that parishioners experience *metanoia* and become active participants in their own self-discipline, and then seek out new technologies of the self that will help them become even more faithful practitioners of Catholic doctrine.

The life of Loyola testifies to the power that technologies of the self can exert as an individual attempts to imitate the life of Christ. Loyola experienced a spiritual conversion while recuperating from a severe battle wound in 1521, after which he embarked on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He also devoted himself to an extreme regimen of asceticism in the belief that his salvation depended upon his ability to survive trials of self-abnegation (Molina 139). His physical mortifications left him deeply unsatisfied, and he found comfort by changing his focus to an inner spiritual battle that he believed all individuals waged in their souls (Molina 139; O'Malley 24). As a result, over the next twenty years Loyola composed the *Spiritual Exercises (SE)*, a collection of mental activities that purport to help individuals abandon sinful ways for a more devout life (O'Malley 39). The *SE* promote the experience of *metanoia* through the interaction between a spiritual director, who uses the text to give the exercises, and an exercitant, or retreatant, who practices them. To carry out this goal, the *SE* expand upon the technologies of the self present in the sacrament of penance and offer several new techniques that the director may use as he instructs the retreatant. The introduction to the *SE* attests to the comprehensive intention of these technologies, which purport to include “every way of examining one’s conscience, of meditating, contemplating, praying . . . preparing and disposing one’s soul to rid herself of all disordered attachments, so that once rid of them one might seek and find the divine will in regard to the disposition of

one's life for the good of the soul" (Loyola 283). The soul's work upon itself was divided up into Four Weeks, and each week contained five exercises that asked the retreatant to use his imagination to participate in a spiritual battle whose outlines were laid down in the text and then narrated by the director. Exercitants participated in various meditations, prayers, and colloquies, and made a general confession at the end of the First Week of the retreat. In contrast to sacramental confession, Loyola's innovative general confession was not a formal absolution of sin, but rather a meeting designed to uncover patterns of sin present over the course of the retreatant's life (Maher 185). The director instructed the retreatant through various levels of *exomologesis*, including: making hourly examinations of conscience, keeping a written record of daily sins and reflecting more globally upon past habits of sin present in the retreatant's thoughts, words and deeds (Loyola 290-94). The dialogic structure of the *SE* brought this *exomologesis* into conjunction with *exagoreusis*, thereby immersing the retreatant in technologies of the self, so that "during the Spiritual Exercises one gains a greater interior knowledge of sins and their malice than when one is not engaged in the same way with matters of the inner life" (Loyola 294). This focus upon the inner life is important, given that the soul is to become an active agent in the purgation of sin during the week to come (Maher 190, 192).

After giving a general confession steeped in *exomologesis*, the *SE* provide five weeks of activities that move beyond the technologies present in the Tridentine sacrament of penance. The text instructs directors to encourage *metanoia* through several technologies that seek to strengthen the soul's self-governmentality. In addition to retreating physically from the distractions of everyday responsibilities, these exercises

include: chastising the flesh at the moment of sin; keeping a written log of sin to remind oneself of its frequency, and performing the *SE*'s activities at various times of the day in order ensure its impact on the soul. Loyola himself makes plain that these techniques constitute technologies of the self that are designed to develop firmness in the Christian faith:

Exterior penances are done chiefly to produce three results: (i) to make reparation of past sins. (ii) to master oneself, i.e. to make one's sensual nature obedient to reason, and to make all the lower parts of the self more submissive to the higher, (iii) to seek and find some grace or gift that a person wants and desires, for instance, one may desire to have interior contrition for one's sins, or to weep much either over one's sins, or over the pains and sorrows endured by Christ Our Lord; or one may want to resolve some perplexity in which one finds oneself.
(Loyola 301)

Loyola intends that these "exterior penances," aimed at self-governmentality, be practiced in conjunction with the inner technologies of the self that function based upon the individual's use of his memory, intellect, and will (Molina 139). Perhaps the most important and innovative of Loyola's technologies of the self is that of composition, a technique that begins most exercises. During a composition, the director asks the retreatant to "compose" a series of mental images in his or her imagination that will fuel a contemplation of events from Christ's life. The majority of the compositions direct the exercitant to envision episodes from the Passion, and then to use this inner theater as the

backdrop for pondering the supremacy of God. Loyola describes the affective influence between the composition of an event and the self: “in contemplating the Resurrection one asks for joy with Christ joyful, but in contemplating the Passion one asks for grief, tears and suffering with the suffering Christ” (Loyola 295). This passage reveals that the *SE* join the retreatant’s technologies of the self to the Church’s technologies of power; as the exercitant composes an image of the Resurrection or the Passion, his spiritual director is able to use the text to guide his emotional response into a desired shape.

Frédéric Conrod observes that this interaction of technologies begins when the Church’s technology of power, represented here by the spiritual director’s voice, imposes a mental image upon the religious subject, who then changes his modes of perception through his meditative composition:

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Loyola forces their imagination into a constant confrontation with corruption and injects doses of imitative techniques which he considers to be the essence of Christianity. The totalitarian nature of the text begins as the text’s imaginary is forced upon the recipient’s imagination through images. . . . Loyola deliberately wants to change the modes of perception of the world and establish a system that uses imagination to give priority to representation over perception. (Conrod 24, 26)

In other words, Loyola’s composition gradually persuades religious subjects to attribute a greater value to the Catholic representation of truth than to their own modes of perception of the everyday world. For example, Loyola details his own response to a composition of

original sin, during which he imagines the Biblical Adam and Eve in the plain of Damascus, the eating of the apple, and then the numerous individuals who have been damned for this single mortal sin. This composition is designed to “stir up the heart’s affections,” and causes him to feel “shame and confusion,” as he contemplates his numerous mortal sins and the corruption of his soul. The goal is to lead retreatants to *metanoia* so that they will finish the exercise by finding new ways through which they can help the Church (Loyola 295-96). As the weeks pass, fewer guidelines are given for the participant’s emotional response to a composition, a fact which indicates that the religious subject should be progressing in his or her ability to respond appropriately to them. It is through this spoken discourse of scenes and the increasingly open-ended verbalization of the retreatant’s response that the technology of composition allows the retreatant to have greater control over the desires of his self. Michel de Certeau observes that:

the *Exercises* assume that the retreatant desires, is on a quest to make a decision . . . It offers possibilities, alternatives and conditions of a journey piloted by the retreatant himself. The text is a discourse of places, -an articulate series of topoi. It is characterized by all kinds of ‘compositions of place’ . . . traditional places for prayer (for instance, evangelical schemas and passages); artificial mises en scène (such as the Ignatian meditations on kingdom and standards); gestural compositions (behavior and attitudes of the worshipper); indications as to the illumination that defines a place (darkness in the third Week, or light in the fourth); journeys of returning and repeating (the ‘repetitions’ of a mediation);

simulations that demand that the retreatant act as if in a disposition (i.e. inner) or situation (i.e. death) other than his own, and so forth. (“Space” 93)

Loyola indicates that directors should see evidence of consolation in those who are progressing favorably in these exercises: “the distinctive trait of the good spirit is to give courage and strength, consolations, tears, inspirations and quiet, making things easy and removing all obstacles, so that the person may move forward in doing good” (Loyola 348). Loyola’s text works in the interstices of the bonds between the Church and the subject to strengthen the Church’s control over the behavior of its flock by providing each individual subject with mental tools that he or she can use as motivation to behave according to Christian doctrine. The *SE* quickly became popular among the Jesuits, who believed that a yearly retreat was critical to maintaining a devoted spirit (Edean, “*Spiritual*” 64).

In John W. O’Malley’s book, *The First Jesuits*, he introduces the history of the Society with a brief list of the various activities that marked their ministry during its first twenty-five years. One of these sentences simply reads: “They wrote plays and were present at the Council of Trent” (3). Whether the juxtaposition of theater and Trent is calculated or coincidental, it reinforces Menéndez Peláez’s assertion that Jesuit plays should be contextualized according to the religious attitudes that prevailed in the Spanish Empire during the last half of the 16th century.³⁰ As discussed, the Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation attempted to increase the frequency of sacramental penance and methods of self-examination in the name of reconciling sinners to God. The Jesuit

technologies of the self found in the *SE* sought the same goal, and strove to help the religious subject overcome transgressive behaviors and move closer into union with God (Pfeiffer 104). An example of this is found in the Jesuit school play, *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (1586), by Juan Cigorondo. It tells how the protagonist, Iuvenis, travels into the jungle, meets the devil incarnate, Oçio, and then embraces the sin of sloth. The young man glorifies Oçio's leisurely ways, stating: "yo no tengo que asistir a misa a diario / ya ni el severo decurión me denunciará al maestro, ni ningún colega: a punto estoy de estallar de alegría" (Cigorondo 79). Iuvenis begins to while away his time, and his idleness results in a trip to the doctor, Estudio, who writes a script for exercise. Oçio continues to manipulate the situation until Estudio confronts the two of them in the jungle and incites Iuvenis's repentance by changing his modes of perception. Conrod noted that the compositions of the *SE* force the imagination to contemplate a scene of corruption, and the performed action of this play takes advantage of this same type of composition. Estudio's voice becomes that of a spiritual director, and he instructs Iuvenis to contemplate his interpretation of Oçio's body:

Aquí veis como Oçio, al que tan perdidamente queréis,

si es que vuestros ojos pueden aguatar tal engendro.

Fijaos en la deformidad de sus miembros

Desde la punta de las uñas de los pies hasta la coronilla.

¡Qué jeta! ¡Qué joroba más abulatada!

Y, si repugnante es su aspecto, más lo son sus costumbres. (Cigorondo 88)

Estudio's performed appeal to Iuvenis offers him a new visual perspective on Oçio and then guides him through the viewing process as if he were a spiritual director leading a retreatant. When Iuvenis considers Estudio's vision of Oçio's body, he immediately accepts it as authoritative and true, and repents of his transgressions:

Padre Estudio, me arrepiento de haber pecado.

Erré, necio: reconozco mi error

y suplicante pido perdón de tan grave culpa.

.....

Si lo consigo, nunca de tu lado

me apartaré, ni me dará miedo el trabajo. (Cigorondo 88, 89)

Iuvenis's performed submission to the authority of Estudio's perception of Oçio results from the effective inclusion of a composition on the body of the devil.³¹ This dramatic action ends when children mock Oçio before an audience of cast members and theatergoers, who supposedly took in the overarching moral of the story: study hard, or you might fall in with a silly, lazy devil. The potential acceptance of this message by the historical religious subjects in the audience is critical to understanding the potential for social control present in Jesuit school plays.

The Religious Subject Onstage

Jesuit theatrical productions foreground the question of obedience to the thoughts, words and deeds sanctioned by the Catholic Church, and in so doing they call attention to

the existence of behavioral norms within the represented society of the play. In plays that reinterpret the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son, the authority figures critique the prodigal's behavioral choices according to their religious values, and, simultaneously, this critique is performed for a viewing audience. As a result, school plays engage in two levels of communication about behavioral choices. The first level of communication arises as the performed characters dialogue about the prodigal's behavior, and the second level is created as the play performs its action for a viewing audience.

Critics such as Menéndez Peláez, González Gutiérrez and Alonso Asenjo have each argued that Jesuit theater was meant to disseminate religious values, and I have noted that the prologues of many plays confirm this claim by announcing that they aim to present the benefits of Catholic morals. This knowledge about the purpose of school plays is of the utmost relevance to my argument, as making recourse to contemporary performance theory clarifies the ways through which the theatrical genre may present a didactic message to spectators. Specifically, the work of anthropologist Victor Turner provides the basis for conceptualizing certain social conflicts, such as the Protestant Reformation, according to the structural conventions of Western drama. Together with performance theorist Richard Schechner, Turner devised a model which illustrates how the performed content of an aesthetic drama, such as a play, may be informed by the social conflicts of its day. It also posits the reverse, that an aesthetic drama is capable of commenting back upon these same conflicts when it is performed for spectators. Their model serves as a useful schema for understanding the relationship between the didactic forces of the early modern religious context, Jesuit school plays, and their audiences. In

addition to this model, Schechner's thoughts on the social imposition of behavioral norms through performance help to flesh out the didactic potential of Jesuit theater productions. He proposes that individuals often repeat, or "restore," certain behaviors that have been modeled to them by other members of society. This idea complements my previous analysis of the function of sacramental penance, and provides a basis for understanding the effect of performed sinful and virtuous behaviors upon the viewing public. By applying the work of these two theorists to Jesuit prodigal son plays, it is possible to understand that they projected a behavioral model to their audiences in the hopes that flesh-and-blood individuals would reenact the repentant prodigal's example and conform to the Catholic ideals that he embraces onstage.

Turner first began to conceptualize a relationship between aesthetic dramas and social dramas while working as a cultural anthropologist among the Ndembu tribe of Zambia. There, he observed that the structure of many interpersonal conflicts was reminiscent of the traditional structure of the Western stage drama (*Dramas* 43), whose plots generally consist of exposition, crisis and resolution. He used these concepts as inspiration, and applied them metaphorically to a wide-range of cultural conflicts, which he called "social dramas." Turner defines social dramas as units of "disharmonic process," that typically have four phases of public action (*Dramas* 37). Marvin Carlson summarizes Turner's extended definition of these phases:

First a breach in an established and accepted norm . . . then a mounting crisis as factions are formed, followed by a process of redress, as formal and informal

mechanisms of crisis resolution are employed . . . and finally a reintegration, very likely involving an adjustment of the original cultural situation . . . or, alternatively, a recognition of the permanence of the schism. (21)

In his book, *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (1974), Turner contended that the structure of social drama could be seen in conflicts as disparate as the village level problems of the Ndembu and the Hidalgo Insurrection that occurred in Mexico around 1810. Schechner identifies the conflict of the Protestant Reformation as a quintessential social drama. He observes that Martin Luther's *95 Theses* begin the drama by marking a definitive breach in the religious community of the sixteenth century, which was then followed by numerous crises as factions were formed and the Catholic Church attempted redress in the form of the Counter-Reformation. This redress was ultimately unsuccessful, and the religious community experienced a permanent schism (*Dramas* 75). Given that the Reformational conflict exemplifies the characteristics of a social drama, it was certainly capable of informing the production of Jesuit school plays.

During the 1970s, Schechner and Turner came together to explore the possible relationships between aesthetic dramas and the social dramas that inform them. The resulting idea was a model for the exercise of reciprocal influence between aesthetic drama and social drama depicted with the infinity symbol. One loop symbolizes the events of social drama, while the other loop symbolizes the production aesthetic performances. Schechner explains that the model shows that "the visible actions of any given social drama are informed, shaped, and guided by aesthetic principles and

performance/rhetorical devices. Reciprocally, a culture's visible aesthetic practices are informed, shaped, and guided by the processes of social interaction" (76). This model cogently speaks to the heart of the relationship between an aesthetic performance and its historical context by illustrating that the production of a theatrical drama is informed by the historical events that shape the social life of its producers, and, conversely, the historical actors in a social drama may also capitalize upon the aesthetic techniques used by theater in order to perform their role to the fullest. The relationship of mutual feedback between the social drama of the Reformation and the production of Jesuit school plays reveals that Jesuit productions were informed, shaped and guided by the Catholic Church's attempts to rectify the Protestant schism. Turner describes the process: "The stage drama, when it is meant to do more than entertain – though entertainment is always one of its vital aims – is a metacommentary, explicit or implicit, witting or unwitting, on the major social dramas of its social context (wars, revolutions, scandals, institutional changes)" (*Edge* 300).

Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (*Coloquio*) (1611) provides one example of the ways in which Turner and Schechner's model can illuminate the relationship between Jesuit theater and its historical context.³² It follows the story of Federico, a prodigal figure who is seduced by the character of Sofía, the Princess of Babylon who symbolizes false, worldly knowledge. Consequently, Federico "pierde el norte de sus fines" as his gleeful reign over Babylon leads to some rather heinous sins (Salas 42r). Realizing that his soul is in danger of eternal damnation, Federico laments his trials in the following lines: "o Babilonia que me vas cansando / o

confusión de corte que aprovecha, / si dar no puedo un rato al sueño blando / a mis años pasados canto endechas” (Salas 58r). Federico’s inner confusion and contrition help inspire his subsequent repentance and devotion to the Christian Escolástica, and the play also features a use of *exagoreusis* and consolation as he accepts Escolástica’s authoritative condemnation of his princely actions and readopts Christian precepts for his thoughts and behaviors by the end of the performance. This production, then, incorporates elements of Catholicism’s response to the social drama of the Reformation into its represented action by reworking the elements of the Tridentine construction of penance in such a way it that causes the prodigal’s represented experience of *metanoia*. The performance as a whole constitutes one example of a Jesuit school play promoting the religious values important to the drama of its historical context and, in accordance with Turner and Schechner’s model, commenting upon those values when it is produced before an audience.

Along with the other prodigal son plays, *Coloquio* focuses upon the Tridentine concern that parishioners use technologies of the self to experience *metanoia* and become faithful practitioners of Christian dogma. This emphasis on sinful and holy behavior strongly suggests that the performance was intended to present a message about these behaviors to the audience. Critics and playwrights alike have already declared that this message was didactic, and that it was meant to encourage the public to follow Catholic values. Schechner’s ideas on the imposition of behavioral norms through performance provide a framework for conceptualizing the process through which a play’s commentary upon a social drama may exert control over the thoughts and actions of its spectators. He

observes that aesthetic performers often “draw on actions performed in social life, ‘real events,’ not only as materials to be enacted but as themes, rhythms, and models of behavior and representation” (76). As previously shown, the Council of Trent and the *SE* sought to maintain a hold over the behavioral choices of individual souls by encouraging them to develop strategies of self-government in the practice of *exomologesis*, *exagoreusis*, and the Loyolan compositions. The figure of Iuvenis, from *Tragedia Intitulada Oçio*, models this process onstage when he considers Studium’s perception of the devil, repents of his sinful ways, and returns to a studious life. Other prodigal son plays also portray the benefits of strategies of self-government, thus participating in the transmission of Tridentine and Jesuit religious values by encouraging the audience to reenact pre-approved “models of behavior” in their own lives.

Schechner’s ideas concerning the social imposition of behavioral norms offer insight into exactly how this occurs in historical communities. To begin, he posits that a performative aspect is present in virtually all human behaviors, since each individual’s behavior is composed from examples of behavior that he or she has previously observed (34). He then states that this performative aspect of behavior is especially salient in those actions that mimic a socially-established model, such as etiquette, diplomatic protocol, or “any of the known before hand actions of life” that occur when people behave “as [they] are told to do” (35, 34). He terms such actions “restored behavior,” because they restore a behavioral paradigm predetermined by society each time they are performed. Restored behavior applies to the context of Jesuit school plays both in the represented action of the work and in the commentary that the work presents to the audience about its greater

social drama. First, the represented action of the plays showcases the crisis caused by the prodigal's sinful behaviors and the social benefits he obtains when he abandons them. Federico, for example, experiences *metanoia*, repudiates his sinful love for Sofia and joyfully takes holy orders under the leadership of Escolástica (Salas 77v). This represented action is unquestionably informed by the Catholic behavioral norms promoted by Tridentine penance and the *Spiritual Exercises*. Second, the play's action is performed for an audience who must consider, and will hopefully internalize, the message present in Federico's restoration of behaviors sanctioned by the Counter-Reformation.

The prodigal's performance of restored behaviors sanctioned by the Catholic Church foregrounds the source of the play's didactic potential. Indeed, the prodigal figure chooses to conduct himself "as he has been told to do," by the represented religious authorities. After Federico feels contrite and abandons his love for Sofia, he begins to measure his behavior according to Escolástica's commands:

Escolástica. En la capilla entrad,

confesaos enteramente.

Federico. Sin vos no puedo en verdad

que soy medio penitente

y os sois la otra mitad. (Salas 69v)

Escolástica helps Federico make a formal confession, and with this action he restores the penitential behavioral paradigm that has been promoted in society by the Catholic Church. His conformity to this model is later met with the reward of Escolástica's hand in marriage (Salas 77v).

The reformation of Federico's prodigal ways and the subsequent social benefits that he gains by restoring the behavior of a Catholic penitent occurs within the action of a theatrical production that presents its content to a viewing audience. Federico's example is observed by spectators who see that the represented action favors characters when they restore behaviors sanctioned by the Church, and makes them subject to eternal damnation if they do not. When this model is projected by a play to an audience, it communicates the benefits of Christian virtue in an attempt to encourage spectators to incorporate it into their conduct as well. In other words, Federico's performed change to a pious way of life comments to the audience that they too, would benefit from restoring Catholic-approved behaviors. In this way, these works constitute attempts to exert control over the behaviors of the historical audience. Jesuit plays that feature prodigal son figures thus contribute to Catholicism's efforts to quell the crisis of belief created by the Protestant Reformation by furthering the Church's efforts to convince parishioners to order their beliefs and behaviors according to its dogma.

It is possible to understand that the behavior of the prodigal turned penitent in *Filauto*, *Tragedia*, and *Coloquio* served to affirm the objectives of Tridentine dogma in the midst of the social drama of the Counter Reformation. I contend that these plays

address the Church's social drama, which concerned itself with enforcing the new Tridentine relationship between the priest and the penitent by presenting the successful social and emotional reintegration of the early modern prodigal subject as a model for the audience to follow. As Turner remarks: "Life itself now becomes a mirror held up to art, and the living now *perform* their lives, for the protagonists of a social drama, a 'drama of the living,' have been equipped by aesthetic drama with some of their most salient opinions, imaginaries, tropes, and ideological perspectives" (300-01). In the chapters that follow, I explore the ways through which the Tridentine appeal to the inward conversion of the early modern subject sought to preserve the social order as Jesuit dramaturges creatively reworked the Parable of the Prodigal Son onstage, advancing very specific behaviors for young men which would, hopefully, ensure Spanish prosperity and Christian virtue.

Notes

¹Historians offer no explanation for the lack of chivalric tales, but they do know Iñigo had access to Castilian copies of *The Golden Legend* by Jacopo de Voragine and the *Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony (Wright 18, O'Malley 24).

² Since prodigal son figures are represented as male in both the Biblical parable and its early modern retellings, I use masculine pronouns to refer to them and to the religious subject in general. Also, the limited religious scope of this dissertation allows me to use the term "Church," to refer to the Catholic Church, and the term "Christian," to denote only those who practice Catholicism. Protestant Christianity is always explicitly labeled as such.

³ Numerous scholars stress the singular role of education in the history of the Society. See Cayo González Gutiérrez's *El teatro escolar de los Jesuitas (1555-1640)*, Jerome V. Jacobsen's *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain*, and the fourth chapter of Fernando Bouza's *Communication, Knowledge and Memory in Early Modern Spain*.

⁴ The Saint himself learned Latin alongside schoolchildren while in his thirties (O'Malley 27).

⁵ John O'Malley records that the first Jesuit colleges were simply residences that housed students from the surrounding universities (202). He attributes the Jesuits' delay in offering courses to the fear that running a permanent institution would hinder their goal of missional travel (15).

⁶ González Gutiérrez, Julio Alonso Asenjo and Jesús Menéndez Peláez all point out that, while Jesuit theater finds its most immediate origin in these classroom exercises, another key inspiration came from plays being produced at secular universities during this time. For more information on this wider dramatic context of university school plays, see the first chapter of Jesús Menéndez Peláez's *Los Jesuitas y el Teatro en el Siglo de Oro*.

⁷ The arrangement of school plays into relatively static thematic divisions is still a subject of discussion among Jesuit theater scholars. I favor Menéndez Peláez's classification of Jesuit plays by their thematic "subgénero" which is useful, given that many plays are based on a particular parable, saint or religious practice ("Propaganda" 98).

⁸ Of the hagiographic plays that are currently available, *La tragedia de San Hermenegildo* deserves special mention for the quality of the work itself and for the excellent editions that have been published by Menéndez Peláez, Alonso Asenjo and González Gutiérrez. Plays based on everyday life are the most difficult to find, but some of the best examples are published in González Gutiérrez's edition of the *Códice de Villagarcía* by the Jesuit Juan Bonifacio.

⁹ The list of allegorical female characters found in the canon of Jesuit plays is too long to recount here, but a paradigmatic example can be found in Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (1611). The play has not one, but two female leads as the heroine of wisdom, Escolástica, battles Sofía, the siren's song of secular knowledge (Menéndez Peláez "Teatro" 150).

¹⁰ The attraction of Jesuit plays also stemmed from their sumptuous staging, which rivaled almost anything later found on the Spanish national stage (Shergold 174).

¹¹ Manuscripts indicate that music also constituted another level of communication between the play's action and the public, since it could be used to provoke a spectator's emotional response (Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 42).

¹² All citations of this play are taken from the edition included in Alonso Asenjo's *La Tragedia de San Hermenegildo y otras obras del teatro español de colegio*.

¹³ In 1978, Menéndez Peláez began a research project at the University of Oviedo which studies the relationships between the Society of Jesus and early modern Spanish theater ("Propaganda" 97). This project has attracted several collaborators from other universities, including but not limited to: Ignacio Arellano, Marc Vitse, Nigel Griffin, Julio Alonso Asenjo and Cayo González Gutiérrez.

¹⁴ González Gutiérrez also mentions several of the more pragmatic motivations for producing Jesuit theater, which included attracting students, gaining influence in the city, engaging in a creative process, demonstrating the efficacy of their teaching methods, or thanking certain people for their help in running the college (*Teatro* 223).

¹⁵ Orlando Saa's *El teatro escolar de los Jesuitas en España*, published in 1990, constitutes a notable exception as it explores Pedro Pablo de Acevedo's allegorical presentation of Catholicism's salvation doctrine onstage.

¹⁶ The most extensive archive of Jesuit school plays is currently held at the *Real Academia de la Historia* in Madrid, in the *Colección del Cortés*.

¹⁷ Also, Nigel Griffin is currently preparing an online bibliography that will contain the most up to date publication information on secondary sources related to Jesuit theater, and it is anticipated to list more than 4000 entries.

¹⁸ Alonso Asenjo's editions of Jesuit theater with Nahuatl dialogue from New Spain deserve special mention, as he provides the Castilian translation and context of these indigenous phrases when possible.

¹⁹ Future research about the legacy left by Jesuit theater to the Spanish national stage will undoubtedly provide insight into *comedias* written by former Jesuit pupils, especially Calderón de la Barca. Literary critics have already begun to make important inroads into this area, as indicated by studies from Menéndez Peláez and Ignacio Elizalde.

²⁰ Menéndez Peláez reminds his readers of Hernando de Ávila's *Tragicomedia de santa Catalina, virgen y mártir*, in which Catalina refuses to deny her faith in Christianity in spite of numerous verbal threats and physical torments ("Propaganda" 120-21).

²¹ References to Aquinas's *Summa* are taken from Kreeft's abridged, annotated edition. I have provided the section numbers of Aquinas's text referenced by Kreeft in my citations.

²² The rest of this study will use the terms "soul" and "subject" interchangeably; both denote the concept of the early modern religious subject described here.

²³ These sanctions could include: being prohibited from marriage and conjugal rights, or being barred from the priesthood and the military (Tentler 5).

²⁴ Given that penance was at the very heart of Catholicism's disciplinary power, this reform conveniently targeted the root of the opposition to Protestant theologies.

²⁵ Citations from the Council of Trent are found in the edition prepared by H.J. Schroeder in 1960.

²⁶ Although Wietse de Boer's work is focused on Milan, it is applicable to the Spanish Jesuit context since Milan was part of the Hapsburg Empire, and several of De Borromeo's reforms, such as the push to make penance a "continuous process" were borrowed from the Jesuits (de Boer 77-78).

²⁷ I discuss the significance of these performed failings throughout Chapters Three and Four.

²⁸ Two of Foucault's most pertinent writings can be found in Jeremy Carrette's anthology of his work, *Religion and Culture: Michel Foucault*, which contains: "About the beginning of the hermeneutics of the self," and "On the Government of the Living." Foucault's thoughts on sacramental confession are well laid-out in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, and his essay, "Technologies of the Self," is included in the anthology, *Ethics*, edited by Paul Rabinow.

²⁹ *Metanoia* is used almost exclusively to refer to Western individuals from Christian backgrounds who renew their dedication to the religion in spite of former wayward behaviors.

³⁰ The critic writes that school plays manifest: "un fuerte contenido moral y dogmático en consonancia con la espiritualidad ignaciana y a la vez siguiendo las orientaciones dogmáticas del Concilio de Trento," by capitalizing upon the Council of Trent's belief in the exemplary potential of the lives of the saints (*Jesuitas* 102, 110-11).

³¹ In Chapter Three I analyze thoroughly the symbolism behind both the act of study and the practice of sloth in the New Spanish context.

³² This example is only briefly discussed for reasons of space. Future chapters will explore the relationship between the Tridentine historical context and Jesuit prodigal son plays in more detail.

Chapter Two

La jornada desubidiente: Filial Obedience, Spatial Practice, and the Prodigal Son

Figure

Porque no son mis pensamientos vuestros pensamientos,

Ni mis caminos son vuestros caminos, dice Yavé.

(Isaias 55:8)

Previously, I reviewed the historical backdrop that informed dramatic productions of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son on the early modern Jesuit stage, uncovering that these works form part of the Counter Reformation's efforts to develop a sincerely devout laity. I remarked upon the Jesuit prodigal figures' lust, greed, and sloth, and argued that their eventual decision to repent of their iniquitous ways projected a behavioral model to the viewing public. Fiorigio Minelli remarks that the Biblical presentation of the prodigal's repentance underscores "la historia de la extraordinaria misericordia de un padre en Palestina, y también, simultáneamente, narra la historia de la bondad de Dios y su amor infinito; narra el hecho social y psicológico del recurrente extravío y vuelta a los valores familiares de la juventud, a la vez que la caída y salvación del hombre" (1). Minelli pinpoints the Biblical prodigal's transgression as the cause of the father figure's abundant, divinely-inspired mercy, since it catalyzes the parable's discursive conflict and necessitates the father's forgiveness. Which exact behaviors, however, constitute the prodigal's "recurrente extravío"? And which would evince his

virtue? In the following chapter, I investigate Jesuit theater's representation of the prodigal's transgression to identify the types of behaviors that the Church exhorted the prodigal figure to practice, even as he pursued the satisfaction of his desires away from home in a space populated by taverns, parasites, and loose women. I set forth a link between the prodigal's performed boundary-crossing and Catholicism's notions of filial obedience both within the home and within the city. I argue that Jesuit dramaturges represent the relationship between the prodigal figure's movements and his rendering of obedience to his father in a manner that encouraged spectators to limit their spatial practices to Catholicism's sphere of jurisdiction as evidence of their obedience to virtuous biological and social father figures.

Before turning to the Jesuit plays themselves, it is necessary to identify the dramatic parameters that qualify certain early modern plays as reinterpretations of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son. In Alan Young's study of Renaissance English theater, he asserts that specific productions may be seen as reinterpretations of previous tales when their performance expects the audience to acknowledge another level of meaning for the characters and events found therein. The audience should recognize that "the characters, their actions, and their interrelationships are to be perceived as representative in some form or other of something other than themselves" (Young 141-42). Young specifies that a Renaissance drama constitutes a reinterpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son if its represented action "subscribes to the inherent archetype or paradigm that is given its most perfect form in the parable itself" (vii). Thus, the Parable of the Prodigal Son found in the New Testament Gospel of Luke serves as the

paradigmatic narrative whose constitutive elements may be adapted by playwrights as they re-present and reinvent this tale. Various Biblical and literary scholars have analyzed the parable in order to uncover the discursive events and themes that comprise its represented action.¹ Vicente Picón García's "El tema del hijo pródigo en la dramática del siglo XVI en España," distinguishes seven basic elements of the parable. According to Picón García, it begins with the younger son's request for his inheritance, which is followed by a journey into profligacy after he leaves home. The prodigal's subsequent poverty and work as a farm hand result in a penitential return to his father's house, where a scene of joyous reunion ensues. The parable concludes with an older brother's anger over this seemingly undeserved pardon (Picón García, "Tema" 80). Picón García's breakdown of the story into these constitutive elements establishes the following discursive paradigm: a son disobeys his father's authority by leaving home to satisfy his worldly desires, and upon experiencing hardship he repents and is welcomed back to a life of Christian virtue in the space of paternal authority.²

These constitutive events suggest that filial obedience is an underlying theme of the story. Minelli's exhaustive review of Christian exegetes chronicles the prevalence of this theme in early modern Catholic discourse, which consistently singled out filial obedience as a moral stressed in the parable. Minelli attributes their emphasis on this theme to Judeo-Christian culture's long history of instructing children to obey their parents. He reminds readers that rabbinical tradition, the Book of Proverbs, and the Decalogue's fourth commandment all set forth this command (6, 127), and the Society of Jesus also concurred with this exegetical tradition. In the Jesuit Juan de Maldonado's

popular *Comentarios de los cuatro evangelios* (1596-97), he interprets the prodigal story as a message of Christianity's extravagant joy over those wayward sinners who sincerely repented and returned to the Church's doctrine (Minelli 6). This view reflects the theologically accepted, analogous relationship between filial obedience and the Catholic framework of sin and repentance. That is, the parable's representation of the prodigal's disobedience to his father figure serves as an allegory for Scripture's construction of man's original sin against the will of the heavenly father. Minelli points to pride as the origin of this conflict:

. . . la relación del hombre con Dios se fundamenta en la obediencia. . . . La desobediencia, pues, implica el no reconocer la superioridad del orden divino, e intentar sustituirlo por el conocimiento humano. Es el pecado de la soberbia, del cual brotan todos los demás. Es ineludible que tal motivo subyazga en las adaptaciones de la parábola, con ciertas atenuaciones y añadiduras. (128)

Minelli then uses pride to flesh out the allegorical correspondences of each of the structural elements of the tale. According to his interpretation, the prodigal's journey into the "far country," of Luke 15:13 symbolizes the religious subject's journey away from Christianity due to excessive pride in his own judgment. His physical and geographic separation from the father's home stresses the spiritual distance that sin places between an individual and the concept of godly authority, since much early Christian writing designates the world, together with the Devil and the flesh, as a triumvirate of enemies of the pious soul. Furthermore, for Minelli the prodigal's employment as a farm hand

signifies Man's enslavement to the Devil, while his repentance from sin and happy reception into his father's home is an allegory for God's grace to penitents (121). Picón García corroborates his interpretation of the parable, and summarizes it neatly: "es por lo tanto el tema del desvío y reencuentro con Dios, expresado en la doctrina teológica con el concepto de pecado y arrepentimiento" (80). The parable's depiction of the crisis of filial disobedience is thus uniquely positioned to speak to the experience of historical Christian parishioners as they confronted the obligation of behavioral obedience to the norms of the Catholic Church.

This discussion of the structural elements and the thematic interpretation of Luke's parable has several implications for my determination of the structural parameters of prodigal son plays within the canon of Jesuit theater. First, it singles out the presence of two figures as central to these works: that of a young man and that of his father, who desires that his son practice Christian virtues. Next, the young man must undertake a journey away from home that contradicts the wishes of his pious father and to engage in his own willful prodigality. The consequences of this choice soon provoke his repentance and return to the virtues actualized in Christian behavioral norms within the space of his father's home. At the thematic level, I define prodigal son plays as those works that present a selection of these constitutive elements in such a way that their content allegorically evokes the embedded theme of the parable: man's performed journey away from God due to a rebellious belief in the superiority of his own will, which in turn leads to his material ruin and subsequent readoption of the behavioral norms and authority of his Christian heavenly father.

To date, I have found fifteen plays that may be interpreted as prodigal son plays. Of those works currently registered in the *Catálogo Teatro Antiguo Escolar Hispánico*, ten directly refer to the Parable of the Prodigal Son in their title.³ My survey of edited texts and manuscripts has revealed five more plays which may be interpreted as prodigal son plays, and further research will likely reveal more.⁴ I have focused my critical attention primarily upon those works that have been published, and especially upon those that provide Castilian translations for the original Latin or Nahuatl passages. Of this group, two easily meet the structural parameters set for prodigal son plays. The first is *Comedia Caropo* (1565), written by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo and produced during his time as a rector at the Jesuit college in Seville, Spain.⁵ A self-declared prodigal son play, *Comedia Caropo* follows the young title character as he hoodwinks his father into giving him his inheritance so that he may chase after the sensual pleasures of Valencia.⁶ Despite his efforts to leave, Caropo is robbed after his devious servant colludes with a prostitute and the two make off with his fortune. Repentant, he returns to his father's home where he is lovingly welcomed back to the Christian fold. The second published Jesuit prodigal son play is *Tragedia Intitulada Ocio* (1586), written by Juan Cigorondo in the New Spanish town of La Puebla de los Ángeles. It focuses upon the figure of Iuvenis, a prodigal who flees his duties as a student in favor of winning a position in Mexico City's royal court. While traveling through the jungle, however, he meets with the devilish figure of Ocio and entreats him to be his new father. Iuvenis then journeys between the jungle and his father's home, wasting away in sloth until the allegorical figure of Estudio travels to the jungle, incites his repentance, and guides him back to the pious practice of

hard work. The dramatic actions of these plays represent quite faithfully the various constitutive elements of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, including: the prodigal's rejection of the Christian behavioral norms espoused by his father, his journey into the world to satisfy sinful desires, his repentance of these actions, and his readoption of his father's religious values. Most importantly, these plays foreground the conflict caused by the prodigal's represented filial disobedience, thereby evoking the central theme of sin and repentance present in the Biblical tale.

In addition to these ready allegories, Jesuit dramaturges also composed works whose represented actions took more creative liberty with the parable's constitutive elements.⁷ One such work, *Comedia Filauto*, was written by Acevedo and performed in Seville in 1565.⁸ The play begins just as Filauto, the prodigal, repents of his former profligacy and is joyously received into the household of his father, Megadoro. The etymology of their names reflects the *comedia's* firm grounding in the Bible story; Megadoro comes from the Greek *Mega-doron*, meaning one of generous spirit, while Filauto roughly translates to "he who loves himself" (Picón García "Caropo" 434; Picón García "Filauto," 308). In order to edify his son, Megadoro sends him to study in Salamanca, but entrusts his safe passage to a corrupt servant who robs him and leaves him for dead. Helpless and worried that no one will believe his story, Filauto decides to remain in the world and seek out the pleasures of Venus until he receives a series of nighttime visits from allegorical characters who convince him to repent, return home, and become a Dominican friar. Since *Filauto* begins just as the traditional prodigal story ends, it provides a fascinating early modern exploration of the consequences of

prodigality in the represented father-son relationship. To quote Orlando Saa, this work: “está calcada esencialmente en la parábola evangélica del hijo pródigo” (55-56), and as such I will consider it for analysis throughout my study.

The last principal drama whose represented action is inspired by the prodigal son Parable is *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*, written by Pedro de Salas and performed in Soria, Spain in 1611. No published edition of this play is currently available, but the good measure of critical attention given to it by scholars of Jesuit theater attests to its significance within the canon of extant works.⁹ The play’s allegorical ties to the story begin with the cast of characters, which designates each figure as the incarnation of a virtue or a vice. Aside from the casting of Federico, or “estudiante,” as the protagonist, two characters in particular suggest the play’s relationship to the Biblical prodigal son: Escolástica, designated by the playwright as “sabiduría divina,” and Sofía, who incarnates “sabiduría humana” (41r).¹⁰ Like the prodigals of *Caropo* and *Filauto*, Federico journeys away from home into the world, where the two oppositional figures will battle for his allegiance. The play opens when Federico marries Escolástica in secret, praising her virtuous morality. He leaves her only at his father’s urging that he study in Salamanca, where Sofia, a princess who has recently arrived from “Babilonia nueva,” seduces him, offering to make him Prince of Babylon. The two marry and Federico becomes the princely ruler of her decidedly impious kingdom. Undaunted by this turn of events, Escolástica uses various disguises and rhetorical gambits to pursue Federico, the sum total of which provokes his confession and penitential submission to her moral authority. At first glance, the lack of a pious

father figure would seem to exclude this play from the category of Jesuit prodigal son plays, and it certainly is a masterful work that is open to various interpretations. I will discuss Escolástica's unique symbolic import and function female moral authority and lady love within a Jesuit formulation of intellectual, militant masculinity. For the discussion at hand, it is sufficient to observe that the absence of Federico's father is compensated by the play's depiction of Escolástica as a source of divine wisdom and religious authority. Federico's arrogant trust in secular knowledge allows the play's dramatic action to reflect the discursive prodigal paradigm that comes to fruition in the final act when he repents, returning to Escolástica and her pious way of life. The focus upon a young man's performed journey away from a center of religious authority and his prideful disobedience indicate that the work maintains a relationship to the paradigmatic Biblical tale, and may thus be interpreted within the aesthetic tradition of prodigal son plays.

Jesuit playwrights, then, reinterpreted the parable's constitutive elements while still underscoring the religious subject's struggle to enact Christian norms. Indeed, these plays devote much dramatic attention to the representation of the prodigal figure and his sinful desires. I contend that, while the prodigal figure is perhaps best known for his lust, greed, and sloth, Jesuit prodigal son plays locate the prodigal's defining sin in his rebellious journey into the world.¹¹ They demonstrate that the prodigal figure enacts the sinful behaviors mentioned above because he has first defied the religious authority of his father and abandoned the space of his home. I will show that this specific behavior – disobeying the father figure by journeying away from home- constitutes *desubidiencia*, or

the misdeed of dishonoring the father by leaving the space of his authority. I go on to propose that the *desubidiencia* of the prodigal figure, when interpreted against the Counter-Reformational ideals of the Council of Trent and the doctrine of the Society of Jesus, stands for the religious subject's willful rejection of the Church's authority over his behavior. By casting the rejection of Catholic authority in terms of a journey away from home, these plays construct symbolic boundaries that separate the locus of the Christian home from the space of society at large, thus demonstrating that the spatial practices of the *hijo desubidiente* disrupt the Church's attempts to impose its values upon an early modern society in the throes of New World expansion and debate on the proper performance of religious devotion across the Empire.

Stay in Your Room: Jesuit Advice to Sons

Before each protagonist is a prodigal, he is first a son, and his represented journey must be interpreted against the personal relationship he maintains with his biological father figure. Minelli and others have cited the paradigmatic break in the father-son relationship as a key motivator in these plays, thus raising questions about the historical construction of this relationship.¹² John Elliott observes that European countries on both sides of the Reformational divide organized their society based on the principle of a virtuous family unit in the late sixteenth century. Elliott explains that early modern discourse encouraged a parallelism between the structure of the divine kingdom and the structure of the Christian home: "The ordered family, under control of the head of the

household . . . was a microcosm of the divinely ordered universe subservient to its Maker” (*Empires* 153). Undoubtedly, the alignment of biological, earthly fathers with the concept of God the Father led Catholic clergy to encourage domestic devotion under paternal leadership.¹³ In fact, the Church addressed this issue in the popular and widely-disseminated Roman Catechism of 1566, also known as the Catechism of the Council of Trent. The Catechism offers insight into the behaviors that the Church tried to instill in the laity by explicating each of the Decalogue’s Commandments for priests, who would then communicate the obligations of religious subjects to them.¹⁴ Regarding the Fourth Commandment, Tridentine fathers advised children to: “[h]onour thy father and thy mother” (Deuteronomy 5:16), by first specifying that they should give honor “primarily to [their] natural fathers . . . of whom the divine Commandment particularly speaks” (411, 412).¹⁵ It mandates that children render honor by thinking respectfully and of their fathers and esteeming “all that relates to him . . . [This] includes love, respect, obedience and reverence” (411). The *Catechism* then imputes a religious authority to earthly fathers by positioning them as the parent responsible for educating children according to the principles of “religion . . . right conduct and holiness” (412). These instructions presume *a priori* that fathers will train their children to be faithful adherents of Catholicism, and Elliot’s study of the early modern Americas finds that this European concept of a virtuous, authoritative father figure also traveled to the New World. He utilizes colonial inheritance patterns to prove that the notion of a paternal mandate over the family unit circulated among colonial *letrados* (*Empires* 160). This notion was likely transmitted by the clergy who came to the New World in the late sixteenth century espousing the ideals

of the Counter-Reformation, and helped to support the absolute nature granted to parental authority in legal matters concerning their children (Elliott, *Empires* 72, 194).

Several Jesuit dramatizations of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son manifest the Tridentine construction of the father as the religious authority of the domestic sphere. Acevedo's *Filauto* is exemplary in this regard. The play's father figure, Megadoro, describes the propitious life that his son enjoys under his Catholic roof. The patriarch aligns himself with virtue by thanking the Virgin Mary for the conception of his son, and by recounting that he has sought to raise his child in the practice of Christian norms, since "la virtud es la sola y única nobleza" (Acevedo 341, 363). Éubulo, Megadoro's confidant, enumerates to Filauto the benefits that he has enjoyed while growing up in such a home: "Gozas de muchos bienes que te han sido concedidos por el Sumo Padre: la nobleza de linaje que tus antepasados se procuraron no entregándose a la desidia y la indolencia, sino con la virtud y las acciones rectas. . . . A ello se añaden los amplios recursos paternos, que te esperan a ti por derecho de la herencia para que puedas ayudarte a ti y a la pobreza de los demás" (Acevedo 363, 365). Attributing Megadoro's household riches to "el Sumo Padre," designates them as results of the patriarch's piety and virtue, both of which are worthy of filial honor according to the Roman Catechism. Megadoro himself espouses this belief when he states that his son's moral ruin has occurred because he disobeyed the "suave gobierno del padre" (Acevedo 343). *Filauto*'s father figure thus embodies Catholicism's virtuous moral authority, and consequently he ought to be obeyed. Constructing Megadoro in this way allows him to promote genuine religious devotion to the members of his household. While he does not reflect the Protestant vision

of a direct representative of the sacred in the home (Strasser 45), Megadoro's performed example offers proof that the Society of Jesus promoted the image a virtuous domestic patriarch during the greater Counter-Reformational movement to ensure Catholic devotion among the laity.¹⁶

Jesuit prodigal son plays connect the father figure's mandate with his household's practice of space. These works oscillate between the representation of the home, which serves as a locus of Christian practice, and the world, depicted as a site that facilitates sin. The oppositional function of these two topoi within the religious framework of prodigal son plays surfaces most transparently in the *Aucto del hijo pródigo*, an anonymous *auto sacramental* written between 1550 and 1575, and which furnishes much insight into the use of space in these works.¹⁷ In the prologue, an actor summarizes the plot while offering various judgments on the wisdom or folly of the characters' performed actions:

Pensativo esta el buen viejo
y çercado de dolor
en ver que quiere ausentarse
Pedro, su hijo el menor.
Rruegale que no se vaya,
ynçitale con amor,
no le bastan persuasiones
al viejo progenitor,
ni puede con amenazas
del mundo falso traidor. (294)

Fittingly, this summary characterizes the father figure as a “buen viejo,” who is torn with anguish over his beloved son’s desire to leave the familial home and travel into the world. He conceptualizes extra-domestic space as a geographical realm whose vice-ridden behaviors are capable of harming his son. Acevedo’s *Filauto* demonstrates the same oppositional contrast between domestic and worldly spheres in a *loa*. The *loa* directs two young boys come onstage carrying a tangible version of the “yugo del Señor,” a symbol attributed to the Christ figure in Matthew 11:28-30.¹⁸ The yoke quite literally tethers the actors to the practice of Christian teachings, and their words also evince the construction of holy space and worldly space as oppositional in nature:

Feliz y muy feliz aquel que entre la turba de los condenados
no se encuentra, y no va por el mal camino.

Feliz quien evita las alturas del depravado lugar
para esparcir negros venenos en todos los piadosos,
y somete su corazón a las sagradas leyes y por ellas
vela solícito de día y de noche.

Este será como el árbol que se planta a la orilla de los riachuelos,
que, a su tiempo, dará en pago dulces frutos,
y no le privará del adorno primaveral el frío invierno
ni perderá sus hojas quemadas por las heladas invernales. (Acevedo 473)

This speech envisions the devoted Christian as a tree planted next to a nourishing riverbank, a metaphor that discursively locates the pious religious subject in a fixed place

suited to his needs. The stability of this image, however, is countered by that of the impious man, who is aligned with movement as he travels on a *mal camino* to the heights of depravity, a journey which the actors next describe in some detail: “El impío será un hombre de condición distinta, / para él flores y frutos caerán por tierra. / Como el viento dispersa todo el polvo de la tierra, / así hasta la más ligera brisa agita a estos hombres” (Acevedo 473). These images typify the impious man as tossed about the land at the mercy of the wind, and even his final resting place in Hell is presented in terms of a quite notable, downward movement: “Con razón la turba dañina será condenada y se precipitará al profundo Tártaro / para no salir de los lugares sulfúreos. / Pues el Sumo Padre conoce a los que ama y / el camino que la turba impía sigue será camino de perdición” (Acevedo 473). These verses shape the plot through a spatialized articulation of actions that marks a boundary by conceiving of the impious man’s movement as “beyond” the limit of the riverbank while the pious man remains fixed at the site.

Acevedo’s *loa* constructs a spatial arrangement that stresses the separation of those who behave piously from those who practice sin, thereby conceptualizing a boundary between the two spaces. Michel de Certeau’s observations on the discursive representation of spatial configurations provide a rationale for understanding the theatrical importance of the notion of the boundary. He posits that the organization of space depends upon the boundaries that partition it and give it a discernible structure so that those same boundaries are then able to delineate discreet spaces which function as limits that separate subjects from an exterior geography. He explains:

From the distinction that separates a subject from its exteriority to the distinctions that localize objects, from the home (constituted on the basis of the wall) to the journey (constituted on the basis of a geographical “elsewhere” or of a cosmological “beyond”), from the functioning of the urban network to that of the rural landscape, there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers. (*Practice* 123)

In addition to singling out the function of physical objects in delimiting space, de Certeau rightly perceives discourse to be a “culturally creative act,” given that its very articulation often helps construct seemingly implicit borders and thus found separate spaces (*Practice* 123). As in the case of Acevedo’s riverbank, such discourse may circumscribe subjects within a represented space different from that of an unspecified “elsewhere.” By organizing places through the articulation of boundaries, discourse is capable of founding a “legitimate” space whose frontier distinguishes it from its “alien” exteriority (*Practice* 126). The *loa*’s boundary carries out this differentiation by contrasting the pious man’s fixed location to the impious man’s fickle wanderings, thereby suggesting that virtue is best practiced by following in the example of the pious man, who roots himself in a place that will cultivate the fruit of Christian virtue. The notion that the pious subject forgoes his ability to move about space freely puts him firmly inside a “place” of Christian order. De Certeau notes that place is constituted in narrative by the “order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence” (*Practice* 117). The *loa*’s designation of the riverbank as a site for the orderly planting of pious men contrasts starkly with the undefined, exterior space, where the impious man follows

his caprices on the *mal camino*. This image foregrounds the agency of the sinning man as he journeys through space. De Certeau points to the importance of such agency by observing that space is characterized from “the ensemble of movements deployed within it,” movements which, “when they are attributed to a stone, tree, or human being, specify ‘spaces’ by the actions of historical *subjects*” (de Certeau, *Practice* 117, 118). The precondition of subjectivity on the part of mobile agents in the creation of space is central to understanding the *loa*’s representation of a religious subject’s relationship to place and to space. Specifically, the text represents the riverbank as a site in which historical subjects, pious men, consign their subjectivity to the yoke of Christian virtue by rooting themselves to the riverbank. The text then locates the impious subject beyond the borders of the riverbank, in a geographical space that is composed by the impious man’s exercise of his own subjectivity when he refuses to limit himself to the metaphorical space of Christian norms. Just as the *loa* constructs the static riverbank in opposition to the ambulatory *mal camino*, prodigal son plays designate the site of the father’s home as the place best-suited to the practice of Christian virtues. Exterior space, or the world beyond the walls of the home, then becomes a space proper to the exercise of sin.

Filauto configures space according to the oppositional manner of the *loa* by establishing domestic space as a virtuous enclosure that protects the prodigal figure from the sphere of worldly iniquity. Previously, I demonstrated that Filauto’s father, Megadoro, constitutes a virtuous domestic patriarch, whose home offers the paternal support necessary to adhere to Christian virtue. The virtue of this felicitous domestic sphere, however, differs greatly from Megadoro’s characterization of the space of the

world beyond, which he describes as an arena where individuals dwell “entre los vicios” (Acevedo 339). Tellingly, he avers that his son “fácilmente aprendió a cojear, habitando entre cojos” (Acevedo 343). This remark draws upon the early modern association between limping and transgressive acts to underscore the sinful leadership that his son has found by following the example of those who limp iniquitously in the world (Acevedo 343).¹⁹ The play also stages two scenes that occur in extra-domestic space and feature picaresque characters who are friends of Megadoro’s disloyal servant, Pséudolo. The bawdy characters discuss the possibility of managing a brothel, and then enter a tavern to plan their next gambit for Filauto’s inheritance. Their nefarious activities support Megadoro’s assertion that the worldly sphere facilitates the practice of “infames y negras costumbres,” among “jóvenes perdidos y extraviados,” and that living in such a space will engender the type of man who is “proclive al mal” (Acevedo 343).

The blunt contrast between a pious “here” and an impious “elsewhere” calls into question the most fundamental constitutive element of the prodigal tale: the act of the journey, in which the prodigal figure crosses the threshold that separates these two spaces. In de Certeau’s terms, he “turns the frontier into a crossing,” by transgressing a limit and disobeying the order found in the “law of place” (128). This action is readily observed in Acevedo’s *loa*, which employs the fixed image of a tree to signify the existence of a discursively constructed Christian order at the site of the riverbank. Henri Lefebvre’s notion of social space helps to further conceptualize this represented relationship between order, place, and space by advancing the idea of “social space,” which he describes as the social product that is formed when a community’s members

interact with each other (32). According to Lefebvre, the production of space occurs in two ways. First, he posits that social space is produced through the social relations of reproduction, which include the relations between the sexes, and second, he distinguishes that they occur through the relations of production, which include the division of labor and the formation of hierarchical social functions (32). This argument allots a role to the exercise of hegemony in determining the conditions of social space that Lefebvre immediately limits by recognizing the agency of individuals, whose personal spatial practices enact the social relations of production and reproduction. Each individual's execution of spatial practices carries with it "a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*" through which individuals exercise agency by deciding if they will employ spatial practices that reinforce the cohesive social order desired by the hegemonic powers of their social space (33). In other words, spatial practices constitute the foci of each community member's relationship to social space, and the cohesive ordering of a space according to the desires of the social hierarchy depends upon individuals' comprehension and performance of the spatial practices that hegemonic powers encourage.

Lefebvre's conceptualization of social space as produced through the exercise of hegemony and the spatial practices of each community member illuminates the historical significance of the prodigal figure in Jesuit plays, since, unlike the pious tree, this figure undertakes a journey into the exterior world that foregrounds the implications of his boundary-crossing. Given hegemony's effects upon place, space, and society, his journey is of great consequence to the represented action of these plays. As Lefebvre writes:

Hegemony implies more than an influence, more even than the permanent use of repressive violence. It is exercised over society as a whole, culture and knowledge included, and generally via human mediation: policies, political leaders, parties, and also a good many intellectuals and experts. . . . The ruling class seeks to maintain its hegemony by all available means, and knowledge is one such means.

(10)

The observation that hegemonic powers seek to impose their representation of knowledge upon all of society recalls the early modern Catholic Church's self-designated position as the sole arbiter of mankind's religious knowledge and orthodoxy.²⁰ The Church's historical success in styling itself in this way allowed it to exert influence over the spatial practices of religious subjects, promoting those that would reinforce its behavioral norms. Lefebvre comments upon some of this activity, writing that throughout history religious ideologies have often attempted to dictate "the locations of particular activities, determining that such and such a place should be sacred . . . while some other should not" (210). Given that Jesuit playwrights tended to depict the site of the home as dedicated to the practice of Christianity, Lefebvre's framework for the production of social space provides a foundation for understanding Catholicism's agency over family members' spatial practices within the social space of the represented home. When interpreted through this lens, the prodigal son's performed journey into the represented worldly sphere violates not only the paternal honor owed to his father, but also the Church's efforts to control his spatial practices by locating him within the place it legitimates for his practice of virtue.

The represented action of Jesuit prodigal son plays speaks directly to the desire to control the spatial practices of religious subjects. The dramatic actions of these works posit the prodigal's journey as a crisis which must be resolved, and in so doing they reveal that the performed journey is one of *desubidiencia*, or the act of dishonoring the father by departing from the space of his authority. Minelli provides a brief critical analysis of the definition of *desubidiencia* in his comprehensive study, *La parábola del hijo pródigo en España*, which examines the aforementioned *Aucto del hijo pródigo*. Despite this *auto*'s anonymous authorship, its religious content and estimated composition date (1550-75) place it within the historical environment of Tridentine Catholicism that constituted a defining force of the European Counter-Reformation. This *auto* is also closely aligned with the Jesuit theater since, in 1599, Alonso Ramón penned an *auto* which resembles the original to such an extent that Donald Dietz felt it sufficient to cite only the published original in his study of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in *autos sacramentales* (36-37). The *auto* coins the term *desubidiencia* in its opening act, as the father figure petitions God for help with his "hijo desubidiente" (295). He asks that his child: "venga a mi ubidiencia" (295), an entreaty that Minelli interprets as a call for the son to preserve the integrity of the family unit by returning to the protection of the father's home. Minelli defines *ubidiencia* as a "complemento de lugar figurativo, que quiere decir 'pertenencia' o 'familia' lo que está bajo el amparo del padre. . . . 'Ubidiencia' es, pues, la 'familia' como entidad íntegra, y desobedecer implica rechazar a ésta, cortar el lazo de unidad y pertenencia" (128). This definition clarifies that, by journeying into the world, the son ruptures the family's unity and disobeys the father.

The father figure's speech at the end of the *auto*, however, offers even more insight into the significance of the term. He contrasts the prodigal's performed journey with the actions of an older brother, who has remained at home throughout the play. He addresses the older brother, saying:

A ti siempre te e tenido
en mi casa y mi presencia
nunca te vi de mi ausencia;
estotro andava perdido
y fuera de mi ubidiencia. (313)

These words, meant to quell the older brother's jealousy over the prodigal's undeserved pardon, distinguish the older son from the younger by contrasting the differences in their practices of space. He declares that the prodigal son: "andava perdido," a description that metaphorizes his sinful journey away from home in terms of the agency he exerts as he moves through the worldly space of sin, figuratively lost to his father in an unauthorized space, a "des-ubi," after he crosses over the threshold of the home. In contrast, the speech recounts that the older son has always remained in close proximity to the father, and it describes this action in passive terms that privilege the father figure's agency over his firstborn: "a ti siempre te e tenido / en mi casa y mi presencia." The older son, then, has modeled his spatial practices after those desired by his father for the production of a virtuous domestic space. These verses privilege the father as the active agent in home,

while the elder son remains passive in his presence. When juxtaposed against the negative description of the prodigal's active practice of sins after leaving home, this speech establishes the older son's spatial practices as exemplary for their obedience to Christian paternal authority. To use Lefebvre's terms, a son who submits his spatial practices to the agency of the father and refrains from leaving home is an *hijo ubidiente*, while an *hijo desubidiente* is one who exerts his agency and enters a "worldly" space of sinful practices, conceptualized in the prodigal son play as any unregulated space prone to the practice of vice.

If *Filauto* suggests strongly that virtue is best practiced at home, *Comedia Caropo* (*Caropo*) confirms this suspicion by contrasting clearly the Christian behaviors that are practiced in the space of the father's house with the iniquitous behaviors that are practiced in the distant city of Valencia. The dramatic action of the play makes clear that *desubidiencia* challenges the father's represented authority over the space of the home when, like *Filauto's* father figure, the Megadoro of this play delivers a monologue in which he reminisces about his son's former obedience. Through metaphors of different forms of husbandry, he recounts Caropo's temperament as a child:

Yo fui su padre, su preceptor y su pedagogo. Creía que una naturaleza bien nacida y educada nunca se desviaría del camino recto, según acostumbra a suceder generalmente en la práctica con las plantas jóvenes, que, si no se descuidan, producen generosos frutos. Y los potros, si están bien domados desde los primeros años, obedecen siempre al jinete. ¿Y no vemos que a las fieras salvajes

frecuentemente se les amansa y domestica con un adecuado amaestramiento?

(Acevedo 455)

In this speech, Megadoro expresses his opinion that well-educated youth will not deviate from the *camino recto* that metaphorically serves as the path of Christian virtue, and then he situates this path directly under his purview through a series of images, each one more emphatic than the last. He expresses the strength of paternal authority over the next generation by first likening his son to a plant, a passive entity whose fruit is pliable to the gardening shears of the father. The next image of a horse and rider adds force to Megadoro's paternal mandate by depicting himself as the rider who directs the movements of the horse, an image in which he physically dominates his son's spatial practices. Finally, Megadoro figuratively annuls his son's will by likening him to a beast that has been tamed under his roof, a powerful image that stresses his paternal desire to domesticate Caropo's movement. Picón García's thoughts on *Filauto's* treatment of space reveal that the critic also perceives the prodigal's journey as one of *desubidiencia*, even if the term itself eludes him:

Cada lugar no es otra cosa que el personaje o personajes que lo ocupan, que lo conforman. Cada uno tiene su espacio propio. El espacio de Megadoro, Lelio y Heliodoro [Caropo's younger brother] es cerrado, la casa, la casa del 'Padre', el buen camino, el camino de Cristo. Eutrápelo, Tricongio y Apicio [two parasites] son el espacio sin límites y abierto: la calle, el campo, lugares de pícaros, de malas compañías, de la errancia y del extravío, de las burlas y de los engaños. Los

espacios de Caropo son todos o, lo que es igual, ninguno. Va en busca de uno que le sea propio, en el que pueda soportarse, en el que su vida sea tolerable para sí. . . . (“Caropus” 433)

Although Lefebvre has shown that no individual or social force is able to single-handedly determine the production of a social space, Picón García is right to assert that Megadoro’s pious authority aims to exercise a hegemonic power over the behavioral norms that are practiced in the space of his home.

Caropo, in fact, dreams of freeing himself from his father’s strict way of life by running off with his servant, Eutrápelo, to “otro reino do la vida / sea más libre” (Acevedo 451). Just before Caropo receives the inheritance that will fund his journey, he makes clear that leaving the space of his father’s home is vital to the fulfillment of his profligate desires. He comments: “¿Se me podría anunciar una alegría mayor? La nave zarandeada por un gran temor y sospecha finalmente ha sido arrojada al puerto, aunque todavía tendré que soportar alguna fatiga hasta alcanzar allí la arena deseada” (Acevedo 523). The youth projects the ship as a symbol of himself and his conflict with his father, and its voyage signifies that the happy fulfillment of his desire must occur on the distant shore of de Certeau’s geographical “elsewhere.” For Caropo, this imagined place is represented as the city of Valencia, which he envisions as a social space that will allow him to escape his father’s moral authority and engage in sin: “Dicen que es la ciudad más hermosa y que está llena de todo tipo de placeres. Tiene una gran plaza con bellísimos soportales, jardines deliciosos y muchas casas consagradas a Cípride” (Acevedo 543).

Picón García notes that Caropo's reference to Cypress evokes its tradition of Venetian worship, and in this way communicates the youth's intention to fulfill his lustful desires in brothels (543). The dramatic action of the play reinforces the egregiousness of Caropo's proposed journey with numerous lines that attest to the benefits that accrue to both fathers and sons when the latter practice *ubidiencia* by carrying out a "trabajo honesto en casa de tu padre," and avoiding "las costumbres extranjeras" (Acevedo 487). Lelio, a friend of Caropo's father, argues fervently that the home is a site that fosters the development of Catholic behavioral norms, and that the youth should limit his movement in the world to its environment. He lobbies Caropo: "Y si comprendieras cuánta fuerza tiene la fe por la gracia de Cristo, nunca abandonarías la casa paterna, sino que más bien te ocuparías de que tu espíritu estuviera dedicado a actividades muy honestas" (Acevedo 533). When coupled with Lelio's warnings against leaving the home, Caropo's plan to journey to Valencia for its "vida placentera" heightens the contrast between its behavioral norms and those practiced under his paternal roof. Alonso Asenjo summarizes the differences by describing Megadoro's home as "el lugar que 'proporciona todo', el lugar 'de salvación', 'de la buena reputación'; por el contrario, las calles, el campo son lugares de mala fama, de extravío" (*Otras* 433), an observation that reinforces the play's warning against *desubidiencia*. Caropo's prodigal journey thus manifests anxiety over the need to cultivate *hijos ubidentes* who will conform their spatial practices to those authorized by their father figures. The dramatic opposition between the place of the home and the worldly space of sin demonstrates that the prodigal figure's journey rejects the spatial

practices desired of him by the religious authority figure of his father, and therefore his journey is one of *desubidiencia*.

Caropo's rebellious goal of traveling to Valencia in order to sin qualifies him as an *hijo desubidiente* who displaces himself out of the realm of Catholicism's pious paternal hierarchy. The notion of a place inherently suited to Catholic hierarchy recalls not only the construction of the family environment, but also the oppositional formulation of Old World and New World space. These productions were performed during Acevedo's rectorship in Seville in the 1560s, in the midst of a historical moment of exploration that was quite salient in the city's cultural imagination. In fact, the city's status as the premier Spanish port for transatlantic voyages had been established since 1503, when the *Casa de Contratación* was built there to regulate New World trade and to limit emigration (Elliott, *Empires* 49). On average, 2,000-2,500 citizens left for the Indies each year, seeking to better their socioeconomic status in a land often identified in early modern religious discourse as an inherently idolatrous, sinful site (Elliott, *Empires*, 52 70).²¹ Caropo's desire to travel to Valencia, itself a notable seaport, resonates against this historical background, and Acevedo's depiction of Caropo as an *hijo desubidiente* suggests that his performed example may also be interpreted as a warning against those that would leave pious, Catholic Spain, or "el lugar que proporciona todo." While this warning could seem hypocritical, given Loyola's zeal for developing a mobile apostolate (Clossey 98), Caropo's subsequent ruin on the prodigal road strongly suggests that Acevedo's work seeks to alert his early modern audience to the moral danger that awaits youth who set out on unsupervised exploration. It also recalls the analogous relationship

between the biological father as a devout patriarch in control of domestic space, and the idea of God the Father as the champion of a pious social sphere that, according to Acevedo's plays, is suggestively far from virtuous.

Desubidiencia and the Public Social Order

Historically, the Church strove to regulate the production of urban social space according to its desired behaviors to prevent the practice of iniquity. The Council of Trent laid out specific guidelines for the proper functioning of a community's social order based upon the concept of filial obedience to metaphorical father figures, and the dramatic actions of Jesuit prodigal son plays manifest this conflicted nature of urban social space by casting certain extra-domestic characters as impious father figures whose contrapuntal moral authority contributes to the formation of *hijos desubidentes*. An examination of the prodigal figures' adoption of these unsuitable moral authorities will reveal that their misplaced allegiance subverts the hegemonic production of social space that Catholicism sought to impose upon society at large, and that Jesuit playwrights utilized the performance of this contested arena to attempt to sway the viewing audience to the practice of virtue.

In Chapter One, I introduced the Council of Trent's efforts to exert control over the behavior of the laity by asking confessors to judge an individual's internal sincerity of devotion according to his or her external performance of deeds.²² The Roman Catechism built upon this notion by designating certain behaviors as quintessential markers of

devout filial obedience, thereby allowing the Church to promote behaviors that regulated the social interactions of the public sphere according to its norms. It extended the concept of domestic felicity based upon filial obedience into the public sphere by characterizing men who held positions of social authority as father figures in the community who were deserving of the obedience rendered to biological fathers. The Catechism reads:

Besides our natural fathers, then, there are others who in Scripture are called fathers, as was said above, and to each of these proper honor is due.

In the first place, the prelates of the Church, her pastors and priests are called Fathers. . . . Those who govern the State, to whom are entrusted power, magistracy, or command, are also called fathers; thus Naaman was called father by his servants. The name father is also applied to those to whose care, fidelity, probity and wisdom others are committed, such as teachers, instructors, masters and guardians. . . . Finally, aged men, advanced in years, we also call fathers.

(411-12)

This catechistic discourse imputes priests, statesmen, teachers, and even elderly men with the sense of moral authority that it ascribes to the biological father, and in teaching the laity the obligation to obey these father figures, the text extends domestic filial obedience to support the ideal functioning of a pious social order. It defines filial obedience to social father figures as “submission to [fathers’] will and inclinations” (413). Detailed instructions accompanied this general mandate to obey father figures. First, it ordered the laity to provide the clergy with financial assistance and behavioral obedience, since the priestly class was responsible to God for the salvation of souls. Second, the laity were to

submit to the authority of civil servants, since God has “entrusted to men the care of public affairs,” and “uses them as the instruments of His power” (415). Under this model, individuals would mould their behavior to Catholicism’s requirements by obeying the authority of their biological fathers, spiritual fathers, and civic leaders under the rationale that they manifest the Almighty’s agency in society.

By instructing priests to educate parishioners about the filial obedience owed to each of these social leaders, the Roman Catechism attempted to regulate the production of social space and combat those who practiced sinful norms therein. This regulation was especially important since, as Lefebvre observes, religious ideology alone does not produce space. Rather, “religious ideologies are in space, and of it” (Lefebvre 210). Thus, the Church’s attempt to impose a hegemonic social order necessarily maintained a varying degree of antagonism with the spatial practices of its subjects, who could decide to practice sin. Orlando Saa’s summarizes Acevedo’s representation of the devil figure as a “león rugiente [que] anda rondando y busca a quién devorar” (66). This description indicates that Acevedo’s plays share in the Church’s anxiety about the regulation of the production of social space, since the dramatist’s allusion to the threatening image of the Devil as the roaming lion mentioned in 1 Peter evokes the Christian tradition of articulating the worldly sphere as a space where iniquitous leaders wander about, menacing the well-being of the spiritually immature.²³ Jesuit doctrine manifests a similar preoccupation with the Devil as an oppositional leader when, in the *Spiritual Exercises*, the director asks the retreatant to envision the space of a battlefield between Christ, the “Commander-in-Chief,” and the Devil, or the “deadly enemy of our human nature” (310).

The text goes on to posit Christ and the Devil as figureheads who battle for the souls of humanity. It reads:

The point is to imagine the leader of all the enemy powers as if he were enthroned in that great plain of Babylon To consider how he calls up innumerable demons, and how he then disperses them, some to one city and others to another, thus covering the entire world, omitting no region, no place, no state of life, nor any individual They are to tempt them first to crave after riches (the enemy's usual tactic), so that they might come more readily to the empty honours of the world, and in the end to unbounded pride. Therefore the first step is riches, the second, honour, and the third, pride; from these three steps the enemy leads people on to every other vice. (311)

Loyola describes Christianity's devil figure as a general who sends his troops into social space to subvert its virtuous production by tempting men to the practice of vice. He reminds retreatants of the Church's responsibility to combat this represented threat by sending representatives of the Christian sphere to travel throughout the world as well: "the Lord of all the world selects so many persons, as apostles, disciples, etc, and sends them out over the whole world spreading His sacred doctrine among all people of every state and condition" (311). Loyola's focus upon the teaching of "sacred doctrine" manifests the Church's desire to regulate the production of extra-domestic social space and eliminate the "vida . . . más libre," by encouraging the practice of virtue so as to bring the world under its divine jurisdiction. This Jesuit meditation, then, demonstrates that the Church viewed the production of social space as an ongoing process, continually

subject to the threat of subversion from the figure of the Devil, who sought to impede the functioning of Catholicism's ideal social hegemony.

Early modern discourse also addresses Catholicism's operating principle of filial obedience in its analogous depiction of well-ordered, divine kingdoms and their contrapuntal models of perverse, demonic realms. Stuart Clark's work on the representation of the infernal and the divine in early modern discourse reveals that it frequently argued for the superiority of Catholicism's desired social order by depicting the social space of the divine as the epitome of order, and by ascribing a perverse hierarchy to the space of the infernal. For example, these texts frequently posited the justice of God in opposition to the tyranny of the Devil, and mortal sin in opposition to moral righteousness (Clark, *Thinking* 61). Early modern intellectuals even developed point for point correspondences between virtuous and demonic entities, to the extent that it was popularly believed that each saint had a demonic "adversary" in heaven endowed with the vices that were the exactly opposite to their particular virtues (Clark, *Thinking* 83). For Clark, the oppositional nature of these constructions underscores an early modern reliance upon the principle of inversion as "the principal basis of symbolic transformation," in discursive representations of order and disorder in society (*Thinking* 69). He finds that these accounts exhort Christians to regulate the production of social space according to the divine order of Heaven so as to protect it from the perceived threat of devilish disorder. Clark observes that such social disorder was often described as "a world turned upside-down by disobedience and tyranny," and that practiced "the opposite of perfect princely and paterfamilial government" ("Inversion" 153, 154). Early modern

accounts of the infernal and the divine thus posited the opposite of virtuous government not as utter social disorder, but rather as a paradoxical “hierarchy governed from the lowest point of excellence,” that worked to cause disorder due to a common hatred for mankind (Clark, “Inversion” 153-54). Clark notes that these accounts often asserted that the Devil’s infernal kingdom “turned particular things upside-down in particular ways” (“Inversion” 155), and they singled out the father-son relationship of filial obedience as uniquely susceptible to subversion by the disorder that was attributed to demonic ranks (*Thinking* 81). In this way, early modern accounts of sinful kingdoms inverted the principles of filial obedience and virtuous fatherhood upon which Catholicism’s desired social order depended. The representation of the Devil’s tyrannical disorder as a direct inversion of the Church’s ideal social hegemony suggests the conceptualization of two oppositional spheres of jurisdiction that sought to impose their behavioral norms upon the laity: one orderly and divine, the other disorderly and demonic. Jesuit prodigal son plays reflect these ideological constructs as they battle for influence over the production of social space in the sphere of the father’s home and in the sphere of the exterior world. In fact, these works showcase various iniquitous, allegorical masters who attempt to impede the functioning of the Church’s desired public social order and threaten the *ubidiencia* of the Catholic home.

Oppositional father figures and their attendant immoral social spaces begin to emerge in Acevedo’s *Caropo*, when the title character renounces his father’s authority and conspires with a servant, Eutrápelo, to escape from home. He blatantly chooses to obey the servant’s counsel instead of his father’s wishes, thereby troubling Megadoro,

who laments: “es la peste y la ruina de mi hijo; le considera su amigo, su padre, su patrón y hace caso de todo sus consejos” (461). The prologue identifies the cause of Caropo’s ills as Eutrápelo’s influence, and it tellingly aligns the servant with the extra-domestic space that is forbidden to Caropo. It reads: “Eutrápelo, un astuto hombre, arrastró al deseo de conocer Nuevo mundo a Caropo, hijo de Megadoro, a quien éste se había ocupado de educar esmeradamente” (Acevedo 449). The work attributes the blame for the youth’s desire to travel to the “nuevo mundo,” to Eutrápelo, a deceitful figure whose association with foreign lands supports Acevedo’s admonition against *jornadas desubidientes*. Eutrápelo goes on to stoke Caropo’s disobedience in his efforts to obtain the youth’s inheritance. He argues against the Church’s desired hierarchy, advising Caropo to accuse his father of fostering impiety:

Caropo. ¿De qué puedo yo acusar a mi padre?

Eutrápelo. De querer que permanezcas aquí, donde los placeres de la ciudad y los amigos suelen inducir a un espíritu juvenil a cometer estas faltas indignas y vergonzosas. (Acevedo 481)

Eutrápelo’s discourse partakes in the binary between demonic and divine social space, using it to characterize Megadoro’s home not as the place of Christian virtue, but rather as a sphere open to the shameful pleasures urban life. Although this argument proves fruitless with Megadoro, the youth adopts the servant as his new father figure, averring that “[s]erás para mi mi padre,” a vow that preempts his biological father’s authority and inverts Catholicism’s desired hierarchy by replacing the virtuous father with the

subordinate servant (Acevedo 525). This transgression is soon followed by another perceived sin against a father – this time, the father of a girl whom Caropo professes to despoil so that Megadoro will banish him from home. These attempts to journey into the space of sin annul the Church’s concept of filial obedience first by supplanting Megadoro with an iniquitous servant, and then by partaking in an unmistakably impious scheme that promotes immorality in the urban sphere.

The other Acevedian prodigal, Filauto, disrupts the represented production of a virtuous social space in much the same way. His biological father, Megadoro, states plainly that his son’s journey has shown him to be “alguien a quien ni el respeto al padre, ni el temor al maestro, ni siquiera el temor de Dios le apartan de los vicios en los que infelizmente se ha mezclado” (Acevedo 337, 339). Megadoro reports that his son derides his authority openly, and has even dared to tell him: “Ya he vivido mucho tiempo bajo tu férula, me es suficiente mi juicio y el vigor de mi carácter. Hasta aquí he consagrado mi vida a los estudios, ahora quiero, antes de que se marchiten, recoger las flores y experimentar qué es el juego y qué el amor y en qué consiste la libertad que los padres suelen oprimir con su injusticia, persiguiendo a los hijos con sus inicuas leyes” (Acevedo 345). Instead of embracing his father’s plan to “quedar sometido perpetua y firmemente a la obediencia de Dios” (Acevedo 343), the youth perceives his authority as despotic, and rebels by pursuing sexual exploits. This transgressive desire is soon followed with his *desubidiencia* when Filauto escapes with Pséudolo, a freed slave who has worked as a servant in the family’s employ. Megadoro’s heated confrontation with Pséudolo expresses his detrimental moral influence over his son: “Sabes cuánto se ha apartado este

hijo mío de mis consejos para inclinarse a los peores vicios, por tenerte a ti como maestro; así, dirigiste su espíritu enfermo hacia la peor solución” (Acevedo 353). Indeed, Pséudolo’s status as a freed slave indicates a measure of liberty from Megadoro’s domination of his will; when Filauto is introduced he recounts that the servant has guided him toward a similar freedom by inspiring him to leave his father’s home. He places the blame for his misdeeds with the servant, who he accuses of being the “inventor” of his sins: “Pues si no hubiera tenido a éste como colaborador en mis fechorías, de las que es inventor, en absoluto me habría juntado con esos perdidos amigos, que quieren considerarme uno de los suyos” (Acevedo 357). This declaration, from the beginning of the youth’s monologue of repentance, reveals that he journeyed into secular space as a result of the impious moral authority exerted by Pséudolo. Filauto’s *desubidiencia* thus leads to the representation of a contest for moral authority in the play’s social space between the Christian Megadoro and the wicked servant from the world beyond.

Acevedo’s prodigal son plays foreground the representation of domestic relationships and devote less dramatic attention to the goings on of extra-domestic social space. Cigorondo’s *Tragedia Intitulada Oçio (Tragedia)*, however, provides ample spatialized descriptions of the consequences of a prodigal figure’s journey into a topsy-turvy worldly sphere. It presents the protagonist as he follows the path of an *hijo desubidiente* whose actions cause two opposing father figures –one Christian and one demonic- to come into direct conflict over his soul and over the souls of his entire town. Written in 1586, *Tragedia* offers an especially significant representation of *desubidiencia* in light of the fact that the Society of Jesus had recently journeyed away from the holy

seat of Rome, arriving in the colony in 1572. Unlike the prodigal's journey, the Jesuits undertook the voyage for the saintliest of purposes: to bring their singular mix of Catholic, humanist education to a colony burgeoning with Creoles whose spiritual development was being somewhat overlooked by mendicant orders focused upon evangelizing the native populations (Rama 16). Religious and political elite blamed the idleness of their youth on the lack of a proper educational system, and so Mexico City's *cabildo* wrote to Philip II in hopes of remedying the situation. According to Elsa Frost's reprint of their 1570 letter, they considered the Jesuits' schools the best solution because they would be "de mucha utilidad en las ciudades recién fundadas, en particular en esa gran Ciudad de México, cabeza de todo el reino, que necesita de maestros de leer y escribir, de latinidad y demás ciencias" (23). The officials' request for virtuous teachers who would improve the state of their city is quite provocative as recalls the early history of New World conquest, when Spanish conquerors demarcated urban spaces by consecrating them to the Catholic tradition. Luis Fernando Restrepo writes that conquerors often employed a founding ritual to sanctify the inner space of a city and to protect it from the outside world, which was subject to threat from spiritual enemies (88). The use of this ceremonial process allowed the Spanish Empire to simultaneously found and ideologically elaborate urban spaces endowed with the responsibility to cultivate citizens who would produce a civilized, pious social space (Rama 13). This endeavor took on great importance in the evangelical atmosphere of the early conquest period, when, as Elliott notes, "it was firmly believed that the devil stalked the New World, and everything in native society that allowed him to work his diabolical contrivances had to

be systematically eradicated if true Christianity were ever to take root” (*Empires* 70). Daniel Reff agrees: “The story almost always told by early Christian and Jesuit authors is how the Holy Spirit, working through Christian missionaries, successfully defeated Satan and his pagan and Indian familiars, the shamans” (27). The popularity of this belief evinces the early modern discursive association of uncivilized New World space with the demonic, in contrast to cities, which were conceptualized in such a way that they proclaimed “the reality of Spanish domination over an alien world” (Elliott, *Empires* 41). To use de Certeau’s terms, the social drama of New World conquest constructed urban space as a pious “here” in opposition to the impious “beyond.” The Spanish Empire’s ideological efforts to ensure the production of virtuous urban spaces plays out discursively in *Tragedia*, which utilizes the *desubidiencia* of its prodigal figure in order to encourage its audience to practice pious behaviors within the city of La Puebla de los Ángeles.

In 1543, Puebla became the seat of the diocese of Tlaxcala (Altman 47), a designation which surely strengthened its identity as a locus for holy practice. Its large Creole population also undoubtedly helped convince the Society of Jesus to found a *colegio* in the city, where Father Cigorondo would later write and produce *Tragedia* (Jacobsen 187). Cigorondo’s biography mirrors the travels of the Jesuits’ expansion closely; he was born in Cadiz in 1560 and arrived in the New World at the age of thirteen or fourteen (Alonso Asenjo, “Estudio” xlix). After a humanist education in the viceregal capitol, Cigorondo enrolled in the Society of Jesus and by the 1580s he was working as the rector of Grammar and Rhetoric at the college in Puebla (Alonso Asenjo, “Estudio”

xlix). His masterwork, *Tragedia intitulada Ocio*, has much in common with Acevedo's plays. Like Caropo and Filauto, *Tragedia's* Iuvenis also rejects paternal authority from the beginning of the drama, which situates him in the outskirts of La Puebla de los Ángeles. In his opening monologue, Iuvenis, the allegorical embodiment of youth, informs the audience that he has left his Poblano home to travel through the jungle because he simply can no longer comply with his father's demand that he perform well in school. He fears the consequences of writing badly or failing to memorize a lesson, and he is tired of waking early to study while his friends, "libres de cuidados," sleep "hasta el tardío almuerzo" (Cigorondo 13). He then casts off the difficulties that come with learning, symbolized here by Pallas Athena, and declares that he must leave in order to pursue a less demanding way of life. He complains: "¿Qué tiene aquella Palas de bueno? No me gusta nada. / Renuncio ya a las letras inútiles, y que tan costosas / resultan" (Cigorondo 13). Iuvenis disregards his obligation to fulfill the expectations of his scholarly masters in favor of a more libertine life as a page in the court of Mexico City, where "allí un atuendo dorado adora a los jóvenes; / allí podré moverme libremente, / a rienda suelta por donde me plazca" (Cigorondo 13, 15). Iuvenis's reference to the "rienda suelta" of this loose way of life communicates his desire to exercise greater freedom over his spatial practices so that he may embrace a less rigorous career. Upon second thought, however, he decides that the quality of a page's life is far too dependent on a master's whims: "Si buscas agradar, te ganas el odio de tus compañeros; / si sirves humildemente, se te desprecia. . . . el servicio te ocupará el día entero / y apenas si encontrarás un momento para comer" (Cigorondo 15). Iuvenis rejects the social space of Mexico City

because, like Puebla, he will be required to render obedience within its social order, albeit to a lesser degree.

As the youth ponders his next move, the consequences of his *desubidiencia* begin to exert themselves. His journey to Mexico City has taken him into the jungle, a place foreign to both La Puebla de los Ángeles and to the capitol. The play assigns dominion of this space to the figure of Oçio, the devilish son of Descuido and Pereça, who incarnates the vice of slothful dependence on others (Cigorondo 7).²⁴ It is depicted as a site naturally given to the practice of sloth. The play's first chorus proclaims that the jungle is:

de oçiosos salçes plantada
y de otras plantas, cuyo fruto
es la oçiosidad amada
llenas de nativas fuentes
que de puro biçio manan,
do coren mil arroiuelos
y es de oçiosidad el agua. . . . (Cigorondo 60)

These words characterize the rural countryside as a pagan, vice-filled counterpoint to the Western civilization established in Puebla. Iuvenis's opening monologue suggests that his very presence in Oçio's home motivates him to travel even farther from civilized society and leave all economically productive activity behind him:

No sé por qué, pero siento que cambio de idea:
lo que hasta ahora me agradaba me desagradaba profundamente
y pierdo interés por todo.
Afuera, pensamientos angustiosos:
haced sitio al ocio y al placer.
toda esta floresta exhala ocio;
fuera, pensamientos angustiosos:
Éste es el Elíseo, adonde se encaminan las almas
Que dejan esta vida para reposar en el ocio. (Cigorondo 15)

Unfortunately for this prodigal, the untamed wilds around Puebla are perhaps more dangerous than the capitol; Santa Arias and Mariselle Meléndez note that in early modern discourse “the barbaric frontier was located outside the limits of the city, threatening the imperial institutions of political power and culture” (20). *Tragedia’s* demarcation of the jungle as the dwelling place of a devilish leader projects the image of an unregulated sphere lurking just beyond the borders of Puebla, menacing its production of virtuous social space. In spite of the lack of stage directions, Oçio’s presence behind Iuvenis is readily imaginable in the previous quotation. In fact, the dramatic action immediately moves to the first meeting between the two characters, when Oçio sympathizes with the youth and invites him to live “la vida sin el bullicio / de palaçio ni exerciçio / de ber libros y estudiar” (Cigorondo 19). Already inclined to this way of life, Iuvenis wastes no time accepting the offer, transgressing against the moral authority of his father figure by replacing him with Oçio’s moral authority. He directs Oçio to solidify their filial bond:

“Padre ançiano, besme aquí: / toma en tu mano el pincel / y deste modo o de aquel / pinta tus leyes en mí” (Cigorondo 20-21). Iuvenis’s prodigal journey into the jungle thus transgresses the frontier that separates the pious, urban Puebla from the demonic territory that surrounds it, and in his *desubidiencia* he rejects three of the father figures mentioned in the Roman Catechism. First, he breaks with the filial obedience owed to his teachers, and next he turns from the obedience that he could have proffered to civil leaders by serving as a court page. Last, but certainly not least, Iuvenis rejects the authority of his biological father, who is the driving force behind his education. Moreover, Iuvenis’s disregard for his represented father signifies a global rejection of Christian social space as it was constructed in the New World. His father, Urbano, embodies the civilization that Catholic discourse designates as proper to its jurisdiction in colonial Mexico, and Iuvenis’ performed journey turns from him, thus violating the behavioral norms expected of literal and figurative sons within Catechism’s vision of a pious social order.²⁵

Iuvenis’s foray into the jungle reveals the site’s potential to corrupt the youth by seducing him with the vice of idleness, and further inspection of his *desubidiencia* reveals that it increases the devilish figure’s ability to contest the production of a virtuous social order within Puebla as well. The play reveals that Oçio upsets the relations of production that facilitate the city’s “organization in the form of hierarchical social functions” (Lefebvre 32). He boasts of his success at propagating idleness instead of industry among Poblanos; he credits himself with convincing monks and nuns to while away their time with guitars and harps; he declares that he is the one who inspires women to make endless social calls and read good-for-nothing chivalric tales; and he avers that he

inspires the men of the town to gamble well into the night and then arrive late to Mass (Cigorondo 8-10). When Iuvenis elects Oçio to be his new father figure and moral authority in the jungle, his *desubidiencia* incorporates him into the disordered kingdom of Oçio's misrule. As Clark observes: "there was a specific sense in which demonic allegiance was necessarily associated with disobedience and its consequences" ("Inversion" 154). Iuvenis's position as a faithful practitioner of vice under Oçio's authority introduces disorder into his father's home when the youth returns there to languish in sloth, disobediently exploiting his father's resources. This disorder begins in the jungle, when Iuvenis expresses fear of his father's reaction to his newfound sloth and Oçio seizes the opportunity to sever the ties of filial obedience and promote the inverse concept of paternal servitude in its stead: "Anda, hijo, que vivimos / en tierra tan buena y blanda, / donde el hijo es el que manda, / los padres, los que servimos" (Cigorondo 21). This advice emboldens Iuvenis to invert the traditional domestic hierarchy, and indeed he returns home, embraces the "descanso de los hijos," and burns his schoolbooks (Cigorondo 21, 37), all actions that disrespect the paternal mandate. Iuvenis's membership in Oçio's ranks then brings devilish disorder to bear within the represented space of the town as Oçio works to ensure that he remains committed to his idleness. Oçio appears in the city after he learns that the pious Estudio has examined Iuvenis's lethargy and discerned that it indicates "quien de birtud se alla agena" (Cigorondo 39). Consequently, this social father figure writes a prescription for a "[I]amedor de exerçio," and an "ungüento de honrra" (Cigorondo 57). In a striking inversion of the Biblical figure of the Good Shepherd who travels through the countryside to protect his

sheep, Oçio rushes into Puebla to intercept the pious prescription before it reaches the pharmacy.²⁶ To do so, he must overcome Melchior Ortiz, a servant of Urbano who is known for his sedulous execution of his master's commands (Cigorondo 53, 55). Even Oçio admits that Melchior "[e]s de buena memoria / y no podré engañarlo," so he calls upon the indolent incarnation of Sleep to counteract the servant's industrious faculties (Cigorondo 53).²⁷ As with Iuvenis, the performance of Melchior's sleep suggests that his body suffers the effects of Oçio's presence before the devil approaches him to steal the prescription. Melchior's repeated sighs, yawns, and references to heavy eyelids indicate that proximity to the devilish figure is enough to overpower his honest intentions, sending him into a "sueño [que] es más que sueño" (Cigorondo 57). Oçio takes advantage of the effect of his presence upon the servant to steal Estudio's prescription and cleverly replace it with another which will ensure that Iuvenis remains in his flock: "No iréys, reçepta, a la votica. . . . Ésta pondré en su lugar, ques buena, / en todo contrapuesta / y para ynfundir otio suficiente" (Cigorondo 57). The represented prodigal journey thus precipitates Oçio's presence in the city, where he overcomes the virtuous intentions of Melchior Ortiz and impedes the performance of the filial obedience that ought to exist between servants and masters. In addition, Oçio directly inverts Estudio's prescription, an action that contradicts the superior moral authority of the virtuous figure and increases the presence of disorder in the urban space whose production Catholicism sought to regulate.

If Iuvenis's *desubidiencia* invites a demonic disorder into the contested space of Puebla, then the representation of the prodigal figure's journey in *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia (Coloquio)* carries him across the threshold of

vice and entrenches him deeply within the a court of misrule. This play, written in 1611, constitutes a fascinating case study of a prodigal son whose performed *desubidiencia* fleshes out the spatialized relationships maintained by archetypal opposing father figures, and in doing so it illuminates the cultural function of his performed journey into vice. Unlike *Filauto* and *Caropo*, the represented action of *Coloquio* makes only a brief mention of Federico's biological father, and fails to include him as a character.²⁸ The absence of a virtuous father figure in this play, however, is recompensed in the figure of Escolástica, or "sapiencia del cielo," whom he marries in the opening act (Salas 42r). Federico recounts his first meeting with Escolástica and her maid, Clara:

Encóntreme a los diez años
con dos mujeres, dos soles,
por cuyos dedos entiendo
se han fabricados estos orbes.
Son Scholástica y Clara,
y si así no las conoces,
Sapiencia y Verdad Divina,
en propiedad de sus nombres. (Salas 53r)

In spite of his tender age, Federico recognizes an inherent moral authority and virtue in the figures of Escolástica and Clara, and he agrees to live according to Escolástica's principles by marrying her and receiving "el principado / de Jerusalem, su corte" as a dowry (Salas 53r). Federico only departs from proximity to his holy bride at the behest of his father, who sends him to Salamanca to continue his education (Salas 42v).

Although Escolástica never directly commands him to stay, she sends him off into the world with a warning: “En Salamanca hay mujeres / basiliscos fieros digo, célamelo mucho” to which Federico answers: “¿Qué me a de celar tu celo? / Tu cielo es más firme muro, / si uno en cielo está seguro / seguro estoy yo en [ello]” (Salas 42v). In spite of the youth’s optimism, Escolástica replies ominously: “también del cielo cayó / un ángel” (Salas 42v). Her admonition to beware of Lucifer’s scriptural example hints that the voyage to Salamanca could lead Federico into a space of sinful practices where he will be tempted to betray his love for that of an oppositional master, and this is indeed what occurs in the rest of Act One. For Escolástica, the city symbolizes the “[m]adre de maldades abismo y ciega noche de conciencia” (Salas 52r). Her reference to Juan de Ávila’s dark night of the soul is especially ominous, since it is in Salamanca that Federico gives in to the wiles of Princess Sofia, whose father, the King, governs the infernal realm of Babylon. He rejects fully his former wife’s moral authority by relinquishing his princely claim to her kingdom of Jerusalem in favor of the Babylonian court:

Rey. Renuncia tu estado.

Federico. ¿Cuál?

Rey. El de príncipe.

Federico. Sea así.

.....

Rey. Yo, ¿qué soy?

Federico. Rey de este suelo.

Rey. ¿Y tú?

Federico. Esclavo de tu amor. (Salas 52v)

Federico's represented journey places him directly in Sofia's snares and upon marrying her he becomes a "mozo rico y sabio" in his new community, while "dios se queda entre renglones" (Salas 53r, 53v). This second marriage betrays the Christian wisdom and moral authority embodied by the figure of Escolástica, and his wholehearted participation in the Kingdom of Babylon is representative of the filial *desubidiencia* proper to the prodigal figure in Jesuit theater.

Although the play devotes little attention to the representation of a space in which pious behavioral norms are kept, *Coloquio's* opening act demonstrates that Federico's former home facilitated a high degree of interaction with the pious moral authority of Escolástica. This former way of life thus opposes the behavioral practices that occur in Salamanca, and Escolástica's discourse indeed notes that the figure of Sofía allegorically inverts the values that she has fostered in him. She remarks: "si a la criatura el afecto / contradice al del criador / causar mal puede un amor / en dos contrarios su efecto" (Salas 49r). It is no less significant that Federico agrees to marry Sofia only after entering the house of the royal Ricardo, the embodiment of greed. The play's action next moves to Federico's conflict with the hegemonic desire of Escolástica, who advises him against traveling far from her authority by becoming the Prince of Babylon. She entreats him to return to the practice of Christian virtue using spatial imagery:

Esos contrarios amores
dentro os revuelven humores,

y habéis de expeler, adiós.

A mi casa y a mis manos

venid, que a vuestra salud

esta casa es ataúd. (Salas 50r)

Federico, however, has already decided to cross the literal and figurative threshold into *desubidiencia*, and quickly accepts Sofia's hand in marriage (Salas 51r-51v). This misstep into Ricardo's house is followed by a short journey of *desubidiencia* that carries him to from Salamanca into the kingdom of Babylon. Although the text offers little information that would locate Babylon in relation to Salamanca, a voyage is implied after Federico swears fealty to the King, who commands that "[a] Babilonia nueva / ven y serás su gobierno," (Salas 52v). Escolástica's worried reaction further attests to the representation of a short journey into a space of sin: "¡Ay! Que le lleva al infierno / si a Babilonia le lleva" (52v). Once there, Federico ends his long-standing obedience to Escolástica and assumes a new princely status in the Babylonian court.

True to the paradoxical kingdom of disorder described by Clark, the Babylonian court is comprised of royalty who allegorically oppose the saintly figures that were believed to dwell in Heaven. Instead of the divine wisdom and truth represented by Escolástica and Clara, these figures incarnate various vices. Sofía is "vana ciencia," or human knowledge, while:

Es Mencía la mentira

hija del Diablo y la noche,

Ricardo son las riquezas,

Plácido los vicios torpes. (Salas 53v).

By aligning himself with this cast of characters, Federico eschews the divine social order of Escolástica and Clara, and displaces himself into a sphere of disorder. As Arsenio, Escolástica's servant, notes: "Todo el reino es confusión. / ¿No ves que su mar te sorbe / pues ya anegado en sus olas / del cielo pierdes el norte?" (53v). In choosing to enter don Ricardo's home, Federico moves into a nefarious realm governed by the oppositional powers of vice, and whose jurisdiction over the prodigal disrupts the original marital vow. Federico's betrayal of this first marriage allows him to participate fully with other members in the misdeeds of the Babylonian royals, figures who repeatedly attempt to negate Escolástica and Clara's moral authority. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the dramatic action of Salas's work rarely allows the pious women to be bested by their contrary opposites, although they do try zealously to defeat them. Mencía attempts to kill Clara with a distaff and Sofia extends a treacherous offer of friendship to Escolástica, who rebuffs her feint at disorder: "si tu engañas, / yo doy desengaños, / remedio los daños / con que al necio dañás" (Salas 60r, 59r). As part of Federico's new allegiance to Sofia, he battles against his former wife's efforts to exert her moral jurisdiction within the Kingdom of Babylon by attacking her while she is disguised as a medical student who exhorts him to return to virtue (Salas 54r).²⁹ The youth's readiness to indulge his murderous rage is in keeping with the misrule executed by the Babylonian court, which surfaces later when Sofia and Mencía ask the King of Babylon to execute Escolástica, Clara, and Arsenio. Federico's membership in the topsy-turvy court of Babylon

foregrounds the power struggle between the divine and the infernal as the figures of Escolástica and Clara move through the realm, attempting to regulate the production of its social space according to Christian virtue. Federico's unwise spatial practices lead him first to the house of greed and then into the represented principality of this vice-ridden realm whose depiction recalls Clark's observation that notions of pseudo-monarchy were inseparable from early modern conceptions of demonic inversion of the divine ("Inversion" 153-54). Thus the prodigal's misplaced allegiance to the King and his daughter leads him to partake in a court of misrule whose representation inverts the precepts of Catholic social order.

The represented actions of *Caropo*, *Filauto*, *Tragedia* and *Coloquio* chart the prodigal figure's journey down the *mal camino* of *desubidiencia* to explore the ways in which the journey produces disorder in public social space. Specifically, these works reveal a performed anxiety on the part of represented father figures concerning the spatial movements of their sons, and communicate the message that filial obedience obliged children to remain within the space of their fathers' moral authority so that they might avoid temptations similar to Iuvenis's, who conforms his desire to the vices of the jungle and decides to live "ociosamente en el ocio" (Cigorondo 17). In the case of Acevedo and Cigorondo, this performed anxiety likely stemmed from a desire to regulate the unsupervised wanderings of youth lest they come under moral assault through exposure to impious social space and from a desire to prevent the practice of *desubidiencia* from impeding the realization of virtue in the social sphere. The prodigal figure's transgression, then, exposes the challenge that *desubidiencia* presents to Catholicism's

social order of filial obedience. These wayward sons will soon return to the practice of Christian virtue and again inhabit spaces that have been appropriated for this purpose. For now, however, they remain in rebellion against the virtuous father figures of their youth, under the jurisdiction of oppositional, worldly masters who encourage them to break free of their fathers. They indulge their lust, waste away in sloth, and even accept positions of authority within a vice-ridden court of *engaño*. These prodigal figures thus exemplify the description of troublesome youth found in the Castilian prologue to *Comedia Filauto*: “porque a la juventud es propio vaguear / y para el vicio blanda como cera, / a los consejos buenos áspera y rebelde . . . fácil de dejar / lo comenzado” (Acevedo 333).

Notes

¹ I will focus upon the structural elements of the parable as they have been determined by scholars working on its relationship to early modern literature. It should be noted that these structural elements correspond closely to those singled out by religious scholars as well. For a summary of the analyses done by religious scholars, see the introduction to Craig Blomberg's *Interpreting the Parables*.

² Early modern Jesuit plays tend to omit the older brother figure found in the Biblical parable. This could be because the older brother and the younger brother were often used to allegorize the Jewish and the Gentile relationship to the Scriptural Heavenly Father, a thematic emphasis that had little to do with Tridentine Catholicism's focus upon individual devotion. Alternatively, the older brother and the younger brother may represent the pious parishioner and the wicked sinner (Minelli 2-4), and this symbolism is indeed featured from time to time in Jesuit prodigal son plays.

³ The database shows four anonymous plays that are labeled as interpretations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son. They were written in Lima (1578), Valladolid (1581), Mexico City (1583), and Santiago de Chile (1612). Two more plays are listed by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, the *Comoedia Acolastus* (Cordoba, 1555), and the *Comedia del hijo pródigo* (Cadiz, 1568). The former was modeled after a well-known prodigal figure in German theater. The database records another from Juan de Valencia, produced in Malaga in 1560. The remaining plays include one by Guillermo Barçalo (Gandía and Palma de Mallorca, 1580), and two from Andrés Rodríguez, both produced in Cordoba in 1581.

⁴ The four plays under study in this dissertation are: *Comedia Caropo*, *Comedia Filauto*, *Comedia intitulada Oçio* and *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*. The fifth theatrical work, the Jesuit Alonso Ramón's *Auto del hijo pródigo* (1599), is held by Spain's Biblioteca Nacional is not directly studied by this chapter since it does not differ significantly from its predecessor, the anonymous *Aucto del hijo pródigo* (Dietz 36-37). The anonymous work, published by Léo Rouanet in 1901, is studied instead.

⁵ All of my references to this play are taken from the Vicente Picón García's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*

⁶ The prologue reads: "os presento un argumento piadoso no muy diferente del de la Parábola de aquel Pródigo del evangelio, escrito en un estilo sencillo por un discípulo suyo" (Acevedo 447).

⁷ Donald Dietz observes that this practice was common among the authors of *autos sacramentales* during the Golden Age. He notes that they often introduced new scenes and characters not found in Bible stories, thereby appropriating old tales for their own particular purposes (48).

⁸ As with *Comedia Caropo*, all references to this play are taken from the Vicente Picón García's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*

⁹ For a summary of previous Jesuit scholarship on this play, see Jesus Menéndez Peláez's article, "Teatro jesuítico: *La escolástica triunfante y nueva Babilonia* del P. Pedro Salas. La tradición del cuento del rey soberbio." Also, I am currently preparing a lightly annotated transcription which I will submit for publication.

¹⁰ In order to be as faithful to the text as possible, I have modernized spelling for *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*, and I have added punctuation where appropriate. I have not changed any of the original syntax.

¹¹ Artistic renderings of the prodigal figure often depict him in the commission of these sins, as shown in Ellen D'Oench's *Prodigal Son Narratives 1480-1980*.

¹² Evaluating the represented fathers' contribution to their sons' prodigality is beyond the scope of this chapter. In the following chapters, I tackle this subject in detail. Here, however, I must limit myself to summarizing the Roman Catechism's construction of the ideal father figure.

¹³ This is not to imply that the Church constructed the Catholic father as a type of domestic preacher whose religious authority was somehow equal to that possessed by clerics, as was generally the case in Protestant doctrine (Ozment 7).

¹⁴ Stuart Clark underscores the importance that early modern Catholicism bestowed upon memorizing and keeping the Decalogue, writing that the Church regarded it as: "the best possible statement of Christian laws" (*Thinking* 503).

¹⁵ The Catechism's treatment of maternal authority is dismissive at best. After an initial gesture to the mother "in order to remind us of her benefits and claims in our regard, of the care and solicitude with which she bore us, and of the pain and labor with which she gave us birth and brought us up," the text moves on to focus upon children's obligations to their father (411).

¹⁶ For more on the connections between the Society of Jesus and the goals of the Counter Reformation, see Chapter One of this dissertation.

¹⁷ Despite the lack of authorship of this piece, Dietz concludes that it was likely known among the Society's colleges since it mimics the events and style of the *Auto del hijo pródigo*, a work known to have been written by the Jesuit Alonso Ramón (36-37).

¹⁸ The text reads: "Come to me, all you that labour, and are burdened, and I will refresh you. Take up my yoke upon you, and learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart: and you shall find rest to your souls. For my yoke is sweet and my burden light" (Matthew 11:28-30).

¹⁹ The second definition of *coxear* in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* reads: "Metaphoricamente vale falsear, proceder no rectamente, sino con dobléz y engaño."

²⁰ See Chapter One, pages 19-21.

²¹ I will discuss the construction of colonial space at length in the next section of this chapter.

²² For more on this topic, see pages 20-28 of Chapter One, which analyze Thomas Tentler's work on penance and Cardinal Carlo Borromeo's advice to confessors.

²³ 1 Peter 5:8 warns: "Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour."

²⁴ Julio Alonso Asenjo writes that during the Renaissance “oçio” was a popular theme in the Spanish imaginary, and connoted the concepts of “ociosidad, parasitismo y mendicidad” (“Estudio” lxxix). Since the figure of Iuvenis falls into a languid stupor after his encounter with Oçio, I have chosen to translate the term as “sloth,” while keeping in mind the parasitic connotations of the original Spanish definition.

²⁵ Iuvenis’s father figure, Urbano, does not share in the weighty parental mandate allotted to Acevedo’s father figures. In fact, he manifests several parental failings that render such discourse impossible for his character. In the next chapter, I make clear that these failings do not override the parental mandate that he should possess as a patriarch, and I provide a rationale for their inclusion in *Oçio*.

²⁶ Luke 15:4-6 recounts that Jesus charged his followers to search out lost sheep and return them to their home with the shepherd, who symbolizes the Heavenly Father.

²⁷ In spite of Oçio’s long appeal to “Sueño amigo,” at no time does “Sueño” appear as a character, making it more likely that the devilish figure invoked Sleep’s somnolent powers for himself.

²⁸ I discuss the significance of the omission of a direct representation of Federico’s father from the dramatic action of the play in the last chapter of this study, which addresses the role of both the plays’ failure to represent Federico’s biological father and the play’s brief mention that this father is responsible for sending Federico to Salamanca.

²⁹ Escolástica permits him to believe that he has killed her as part of her scheme to incite his repentance (Salas 54r).

Chapter Three

A Father's Best Friend: The Represented Counselor's Role in Shaping Masculinity and Social Order

Homines non nascuntur, sed finguntur.

Erasmus

Jesuit prodigal son plays showcase the question of filial obedience to the moral authorities present in their represented societies. According to the historical rhetoric that informed the early modern religious context, the father figures present onstage served as moral authorities to be obeyed so that society would comply with Catholicism's definitions of "right conduct and holiness" (Catechism 412). A father's ability to enact successfully a virtuous mandate over his son was therefore critical, since Church elite conceived of social space as a contested arena where contrapuntal, impious moral authorities threatened to seduce young men into vice. On the Jesuit stage, Pedro Pablo de Acevedo's *Comedia Filauto* (*Filauto*, 1565) and *Comedia Caropo* (*Caropo*, 1565) present father figures who strive to keep their sons subjugated "perpetua y firmemente," to the yoke of Christian obedience, and Juan Cigorondo's father figure in *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (*Tragedia*, 1586) despairs over the health of his son, whose body and soul are at risk due to his allegiance to a slothful devil. Despite their best efforts, these patriarchs suffer the spatialized rebellion of sons who leave home and become *hijos*

desubidentes, or sons who sin against the father by abandoning the space of his moral authority. These sons eagerly shift their allegiance to wicked, contrapuntal father figures who shepherd them into represented places that facilitate their desires to eat, drink, and be lustfully merry. As I have shown in Chapter Two, the dramatic tension between these virtuous father figures and their wicked counterparts reinforces the division between pious and impious social spheres.

The represented interaction between devout fathers and those who oppose them - calculating servants, slaves, and devilish champions of vice- foregrounds the prodigal son figures' rejection of the virtuous behaviors urged upon them, and as a result this storyline casts doubt upon the efficacy of the paternal mandate. If, as Richard Schechner and Victor Turner have argued, aesthetic dramas are both informed by their social context and capable of commenting upon it (Schechner 76),¹ then the representation of *desubidiencia* could be seen to undermine the Church's attempts to order home and society according to the principle of filial obedience to an exemplary moral authority.² The precise manner in which these texts diverge from the Biblical parable, however, provides insight into the Jesuit playwrights' motivations for venturing into the spiritually risky discursive representation of temptation. Notably, the original Parable of the Prodigal Son focuses upon the actions of the wayward youth, and offers scant information about the family's domestic life before he sets out into the world.³ Acevedo and Cigorondo, however, showcase the representation of the father-son relationship that precipitates the journey, creating father figures who, despite their claims to virtuous paternal authority, are highly problematic spokesmen for Catholic dogma. Acevedo's prodigal son plays construct their

father figures as the source of all good and virtuous things for their sons, yet they overlook the duplicitous influences exerted in their households by servants who hope to make off with their money. Cigorondo's father figure, Urbano, even admits that the illness which afflicts his son's body and soul has resulted from his reluctance to discipline his child to a life of rigorous study.⁴

The disparity between Catholicism's behavioral ideal and the theatrical representation of these father figures warrants investigation into the attempts they make to govern their sons' behavior. These paternal failings in Jesuit prodigal son plays are particularly suggestive in light of the development of the Society of Jesus and of Spain's imperial efforts. It is highly curious that all of these plays utilize the figure of a trusted counselor to restore filial obedience in the home. This figure, not found in the Bible story, is a new addition to the prodigal son emplotment and thus highlights the importance of this character to Jesuit plays' resolution of the father-son conflict.⁵ I maintain that the represented relationship between father, son, and counselor is critical to the cultural work undertaken in these pieces, and that it sought to achieve different, but related, goals on the Peninsula and in New Spain. In Acevedo's peninsular plays, I observe a development in the Jesuits' approach to authorizing their religious influence in society. Specifically, I interpret the naiveté of Acevedo's father figures as designed to foreground the utility of a pious counselor in matters of domestic piety, an emplotment that sought to augment the religious authority of clerical figures. That this occurred on the Jesuit stage implies that the newly-formed Society utilized the stage to legitimate the moral authority of its brothers over the domestic sphere of collegiate students. I then uncover the ways in

which Acevedo's 1565 *Caropo* begins to shape masculinity, arguing that its depiction of the prodigal's wasteful spending anticipates the historical criticisms of the nobility's stewardship of wealth which intensified around the turn of the seventeenth century. I next analyze Cigorondo's *Tragedia* and contend that it, too, employs a counselor figure as a vehicle to legitimate Jesuit influence in colonial society, as his discourse constructs diligent study and economic productivity as requisites for virtuous masculinity. This behavioral paradigm thus models a masculinity that would advance the spiritual goals of the Catholic Church at the same time that it furthered the economic prosperity of the Spanish Empire. An exploration of the dramatic relationships between the triangle of father, son, and counselor in this selection of plays will offer insight into the Society's efforts to not only educate youth in rhetoric, but also into their efforts to educate men according to their model of pious behavior.

The theatrical presentation of a character whose primary function is to advise the play's protagonists cannot help but recall the historical context of Jesuit educational ministry. Much has been written about the efficacy with which the Society expanded its college system in the last half of the sixteenth century, and indeed its growth in Iberian territory surpassed even Ignatius of Loyola's expectations. The brotherhood founded its first Spanish school in Coimbra in 1542, and over the next twenty years it scattered some thirty-one schools across the peninsula whose individual enrollments were commonly in the hundreds. In spite of early problems with funding several colleges, communities tended to embrace the Jesuit college system (O'Malley 225). Spanish enrollments were particularly high in relation to the rest of Europe, and the colleges taught students from

every social stratum (O'Malley 207, 59). Much of this was due to the popularity of the brothers' Catholic-centered, humanist curriculum, as well as to their attempts to sweeten the pill of learning with prizes and school plays.⁶ In addition, the lack of educational opportunities -religious or otherwise- in early modern Spain also meant that their colleges encountered ready audiences.⁷ Historical case studies record that the Jesuits also received a warm reception from those in the community who did not directly participate in the college system. For example, Sara Nalle's research finds that during the last half of the sixteenth century Jesuit brothers traveled the countryside of Cuenca, catechizing the children through song and inspiring tears of devotion in local women (112), and Allyson Poska's work on Galicia during the same period notes a similar reception to these activities by the people of Orense (59). The Society's unique mobility facilitated this roving, ad hoc education, and enabled them to find populations in need easily.⁸ The evidence provided by high college enrollments and historical case studies attests to the success of Jesuit educational endeavors, which formed part of their missional charge to execute "a clear, coherent, and basically simple religious program, adaptable to students of different ages and backgrounds – a program that in principle sought to move the student beyond pious practices to an inner appropriation of ethical and religious values" (O'Malley 226).⁹

From a Catholic perspective, the early modern Spanish Empire was in dire need of these services. Church leaders frequently bemoaned the poor religious education of their flocks across Europe; in 1554 fray Felipe de Meneses surmised: "Experience has shown that within Spain there are Indies, and mountains in this case, of ignorance"

(Kamen, *Phoenix* 82). In the years leading up to the Counter-Reformational moment exemplified by the Council of Trent (1545-63), Protestant reformers cited the laity's ignorance of Christian doctrine and familiarity with superstitious practices as motivations for their rebellion against Rome. Church records document that Iberian officials were aware of these issues as early as 1512, when Seville's Church council complained that a many of the parish's children matured into adulthood without memorizing the basic prayers required of all Catholics (Kamen, *Phoenix* 83-84).¹⁰ Helen Rawlings observes that the leaders of the Council of Trent confronted ignorance and illiteracy among Spain's rural population on a large scale (79), and Henry Kamen records that lay ignorance often resulted in open expressions of disrespect on the part of congregants for their clergy (*Phoenix* 162). William Christian's work cites a rather typical example of this type of hostility in 1575 Burgos: "Sometimes it happened that when priests or preachers are rebuking or speaking ill of vices or sins of the people, the persons referred to, or those that claim authority in the town, stand up and reply to him, and at times speak words that are rude, indecent, and unworthy of such a place" (167). Historians concur that, without a proper educational program, the post-Tridentine catechistic movement lacked the ability to impose orthodox religious practices on the peninsula. Poska uncovers that in rural Galicia "catechism classes faced regular resistance from parishioners" (60), and Nalle's finds that among the city-dwellers of Cuenca "[f]ew kept the Sabbath and holy days, while the confraternities spent their dues on feasts and vulgar entertainment rather than on pious works. . . . And despite the Tridentine decree against them, duels reportedly often took place, even on holy ground" (42). These historical records evince a good deal

of resistance to orthodox religious practice, and problematize the religious landscape faced by the Society of Jesus in the decades after its establishment.

The historical success of Jesuit colleges, designed to educate the intellect and the soul, and the numerous examples of resistance to Tridentine efforts to impose religious orthodoxy combine to form a heterogeneous picture of early modern Catholic practice in Spain. On the one hand, Jesuit efforts to encourage catechistic knowledge tended to be embraced by both the rural poor and the urban elite, whose children attended their schools. On the other hand, the Society's doctrinal efforts occurred in a milieu in which religious ignorance tended to result in a flippant disregard for clerical authority. The Tridentine movement for reform, to which the nascent Jesuit college system contributed, was "scattered and disparate, a matter of individual initiative and endeavor rather than a coordinated program affecting the Church at large" (Olin 35). This rocky spiritual terrain posed a great obstacle to Counter-Reformational efforts to provide effective pastoral care to the "individual Christian and his moral and spiritual life" (Olin 35). This was especially true for the Jesuits, who faced the task of communicating a clear image of their mission and ministries to persons unfamiliar with their Society in the decades after their foundation. John O'Malley points out that the name, "Society of Jesus," was too wordy and general to serve as an explanatory label, and consequently various sobriquets arose, including "reformed priests," or "*ignatiani*" (68-69). Much to their consternation, they were also regularly confused with the Theatine Order (O'Malley 68). Eventually, Loyola's stubborn insistence on the term "Jesuit" resulted in the acceptance and use of the label in Catholic circles, but the problem of plainly communicating the Society's

identity to lay people is one that the Society doubtless faced time and again as it expanded its ministries into towns and villages far from Rome.¹¹

The Society of Jesus's early difficulties in communicating an accurate self-image to a somewhat hostile laity suggests that it almost certainly faced some resistance to its initial efforts to promote the "progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine" on the Spanish peninsula (Aldama 1), especially since its rejection of priestly duties meant that Jesuit brothers did not have the benefit of assigned parishioners in each town. John O'Malley explains that:

Because the Jesuits were not pastors, they could not by virtue of office or jurisdictional status oblige anybody to accept any of their ministrations. Those who came to them, therefore, came of their own free will. They would come only if they were convinced they were being better served by the Jesuits than by other ministers – including their pastors . . . they had to persuade people to take advantage of what they offered. (74)

While high college enrollments provide ample evidence of the Jesuits' persuasive talents, O'Malley's observation that Jesuit missions needed to entice the public to accept their ministrations must not be underestimated. I assert that the Society's need to attract the laity to its services was a key factor in the Jesuit dramatic tradition. Early modern Jesuit correspondence reports that school plays frequently went beyond their pedagogical purpose to become full-blown productions that attracted the spectatorship of the community. Cayo González Gutiérrez's comprehensive study of the history of Jesuit

theater points out the benefits of such grandiosity: “En todas partes se habla de asistencia masiva y de gran contento entre el público. Los Rectores de los Colegios que buscaban lógicamente la fama de sus instituciones y atraer cada vez a mayor número de alumnos, se esforzaron por dar realce a estas representaciones dramáticas” (52). Rectors made use of luxurious costumes, elaborate scenery, and music in their productions in order to raise interest in the college, enabling the theater to serve as a rich platform from which the Society could display the efficacy and desirability of its educational system (Alonso Asenjo, *Otras* 32- 34). N.D. Shergold goes so far as to state that the Society’s plays helped provoke an early modern “taste for spectacle, and for sumptuously staged religious plays” (174). These endeavors helped it to acquire the funding and attract the students it would need for long-term success.

The persuasive powers of the Jesuit drama nevertheless extended beyond the physical riches displayed onstage. As O’Malley has argued, the Society of Jesus needed to convince the communities in which it worked to support its missional endeavors, and in Chapter One I demonstrated that they viewed theatrical performance as a platform from which they could model an acceptance of Catholic authority. Additionally, I maintain that Jesuit dramaturges strategically utilized the aforementioned counselor figure as a vehicle for establishing their authority through prodigal son plays. The counselor figure advises the represented family according to Catholic doctrine, and the performed superiority of his judgment in dealing with the prodigal allows him to advance Jesuit brothers’ authority in the performed “home,” thereby rendering dramatically their

efforts to construct a society based upon filial obedience to biological and social father figures.¹²

In *Comedia Filauto*, an authoritative counselor emerges in the figure of Éubulo, confidant to the prodigal's father, Megadoro.¹³ The play showcases their represented attempts to provoke the prodigal figure's *metanoia*, contrasting them to privilege the judgment of the social father figure, Éubulo, over that of the biological father figure, Megadoro. Through this juxtaposition, the performance valorizes the role of a pious counselor figure in maintaining Catholic behavioral practices in the home. *Filauto* opens with Megadoro lamenting the loss of his son, the title character, who has absconded into the world and lives off of the charity of others, including the occasional food smuggled to him by his mother (Acevedo 355). Megadoro's performed discourse reveals that he tried to prevent his son's *desubidiencia* through both affection and discipline: "unas veces le amenazaba, otras le hablaba con blandura, mezclando el vino con aceite," but this was all to no avail given his son's friendship with Psédolo, a servant in Megadoro's household. In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that Psédolo maintains an impious moral authority over the youth. In the hopes of gaining a good part of his inheritance, the servant encourages him to leave home in search of sensual pleasures, thereby causing disorder within the bounds of Megadoro's pious home by advising Filauto to disregard his father's moral authority and to judge for himself what behaviors are best. Psédolo's influence is evident when Filauto inverts the principle of filial obedience by styling lustful desires as just and invalidating paternal authority. He argues with his father: "Ya he vivido mucho tiempo bajo tu férula, me es suficiente mi juicio y el vigor de mi

carácter. . . ahora quiero, antes de que se marchiten, recoger las flores y experimentar qué es el juego de amor y en qué consiste la libertad que los padres suelen oprimir con su injusticia, persiguiendo a los hijos con sus inicuas leyes” (Acevedo 345). Megadoro laments the servant’s status as a contrapuntal father figure to his son, and blames him for Filauto’s sin: “Si no te hubiese tenido a ti como consejero, no habría caído en una desgracia tan grande” (Acevedo 349). Faced with such resistance to his will, this father figure resigns himself to his son’s *desubidiencia*, freeing Filauto to leave in search of the flowers of youth.

For help, Megadoro decides to “acudir a mi amigo, Éubulo, cuyo leal servicio siempre he experimentado y quien está unido a mí como un Acates a Eneas; en efecto, siempre me serví de su consejo en buena hora” (Acevedo 339). The work then contrasts the methods used by a father with those recommended by a pious counselor to valorize the counselor’s authority over the domestic sphere. In attributing Filauto’s disgrace to Psúdolo, Megadoro overlooks his own performed failure to free his home of the worldly influence exerted by his manipulative servant. He fails to enforce the boundary that separates the Christian practices of his home from the influences of the vice-ridden exterior world by allowing a former slave, Psúdolo, to remain in his employ and tempt Filauto to *desubidiencia*. Éubulo, however, understands the need to remove the servant from the home, and immediately prescribes a harsh remedy for the deceitful servant. He urges Megadoro to threaten Psúdolo to repent or to command “que marche de aquí perpetuamente por corruptor de la buena juventud” (Acevedo 347). Megadoro carries out

his advice, but the dramatic action of the play uses a well-timed aside from Pséudolo to undermine his authority before the audience:

Megadoro. . . . te echaré de esta casa y no sólo esto, sino que actuaré ante las leyes para que el pretor te mande a las naves, donde acabes tus días miserablemente si tú continúas burlándote de mí y perdiendo con tus consejos al joven. . . . Piensa estas cosas atentamente y medítalas con cuidado. ¿Has comprendido?

Pséudolo. Perfectamente. No temo tus amenazas, amo, pues he decidido resueltamente no hacer nada nunca que te pueda disgustar.

Megadoro. Si no es así, créeme que un día golpeará tu cabeza.

Pséudolo. (*Para sí mismo*). La tuya, si no me fallan mis engaños. (Acevedo 353)

Pséudolo's first reply to Megadoro exaggerates his deference to the point of mockery, and the cutting aside confirms his dissimulation and displays the father figure's ignorance to the viewing public. This further cements Éubulo's authority over the represented family hierarchy, especially given that the counselor asserts his influence over familial matters by offering to meet with Filauto on his father's behalf, since: "como ya he comprobado en otras ocasiones, [Filauto] suele prestar un oído obediente a mis consejos" (Acevedo 347).

Fortunately for both father and counselor, such a meeting ceases to be necessary when Filauto's worldly poverty leads to an unexpected change of heart and he returns home, penitent. His performed return continues to underscore the counselor's moral

authority, especially as regards the youth's relationship with his father.¹⁴ Filauto vows not to cause Megadoro further suffering, and to only keep company with "Éubulo, a quien él tiene para sí como Filoctetes para Hércules; en efecto, le abriré mi corazón, pues sé que va a alegrarse en gran manera. Ciertamente, me ama extraordinariamente y desea, como un padre, que en mi ánimo se asienten muchas cosas buenas" (Acevedo 361). Filauto's performed repentance returns him to the hierarchy of filial obedience, and reinforces this construction by depicting his biological father figure with the mythological power of Hercules, assisted by no less loyal a counselor than Philoctetes, who guarded Hercules' weapons zealously in myth. Like Philoctetes, Éubulo strives to protect Megadoro's son and finances from Pséudolo's attempts to reintegrate himself into his master's household, and the text portrays this support as vital to the maintenance of domestic piety. Éubulo exhorts Filauto to foster an "ánimo firme," in his virtue, so that "este Pséudolo tuyo no destruya unas bases tan bien asentadas e impida que se levante esta obra de virtud" (Acevedo 365, 367). He judges that trusting Pséudolo "sería imprudente, puesto que sé que el más poderoso [greed] puede hacer salir piedras siervos fieles a sí mismos" (Acevedo 367). In spite of Éubulo's warnings, Filauto and his father trust the servant's supposed *metanoia*, or his professed conversion to Christian behavioral norms. Megadoro unwittingly attributes Filauto's conversion to the servant's efforts: "Te aprecio mucho por esto, Pséudolo, porque mi hijo ha resucitado, pues un joven dado a los vicios se puede decir verdaderamente que está muerto," and asks him to accompany his son as he sends him to Salamanca to study (Acevedo 395). Although Éubulo supports Filauto's education, he strongly advises Megadoro against sending Pséudolo with him. He responds to Megadoro's opinion that "Pséudolo da pruebas ahora de la fidelidad

esperada,” by observing that there is “nada auténtico en su rostro” (Acevedo 397). This corporal assessment of the servant’s inward morality recalls the Council of Trent’s advice to confessors that they observe a parishioner’s spiritual health through outward signs on the body.¹⁵ Éubulo’s observational powers leave him skeptical of Psédolo’s intentions until the moment he sets off with Filauto, when he notes that the servant “miraba con ojos escudriñadores el dinero que Megadoro contaba para su hijo” (403). The next act bears out the counselor’s suspicions when Psédolo and his friends rob, beat, and abandon the youth in the wilderness. While the resolution of Filauto’s tale belongs to the next chapter’s discussion of the prodigal figure’s repentance, the play’s dramatic action up to this point cements the pious counselor’s influence as essential to Megadoro’s successful parenting of his son. Vicente Picón García observes that this play constructs Éubulo as an “[i]ntimo amigo de Megadoro y con un fuerte ascendiente sobre Filauto, [quien] consigue con sus consejos tranquilizar al padre y conducir al hijo al buen camino” (307). Acevedo’s prodigal son plays do indeed represent the advice of a pious counselor figure as necessary for parents who seek to keep their children on the metaphorical path of virtue. In doing so, they carve out a space for Jesuit influence in the domestic sphere, thereby helping historical brothers to extend their relatively new moral authority over family life.

The dramatic interaction between represented fathers and counselors in Jesuit prodigal son plays foregrounds the issue of the production of piety in the Catholic home, and the religious politics of the Counter-Reformation certainly reflect an attempt to order individual households according to filial obedience. Traditionally, scholars have

associated the production of domestic piety with the Protestant Reformation, which attempted to annul the Catholic Church's authority by vilifying its clergy and exalting biological father figures in its place. For example, Protestant reformers condemned the well-known practice of clerical concubinage, and also alleged that lecherous priests customarily seduced women made vulnerable by the confessional (Ozment 5-6). To combat these perceived abuses, these reformers praised the patriarchal nuclear family as the liberation of men and women from the unrealizable demands of chastity, and "set the family unequivocally above the celibate ideal . . . to praise the husband and the housewife over the monk and the nun in principle" (Ozment 7). Ulrike Strasser comments that this exaltation of the nuclear family transferred "the social site of sacrality from continent clerics to the procreative, patriarchal family" (45), and the Protestant father was depicted as a devout educator who would raise "god-fearing, obedient, and virtuous" children (Ozment 9). Marc Forster's research into Catholic approaches of domestic piety in early modern Germany argues that this population of Catholics likely would have hesitated to consider the family and the home the "prime locus of piety, devotion, and religious education," since Martin Luther himself often championed the family in order to attack the priesthood (97).

While the Protestant Reformation has a recognized history of cultivating domestic piety, scholarship traditionally observes that Catholicism located the cleric's authority in the space of the Church. Loyola himself writes in the *Spiritual Exercises* that: "We should praise greatly religious life, virginity and continence, and we should not praise matrimony to the same extent as any of these"¹⁶ The Society's support of

continence, however, does not imply that it limited its concern for the practice of religious orthodoxy in the home. Forster's work on Germany uncovers that, in spite of the association of domestic piety with Protestantism, the Jesuits active in German territory during the Counter-Reformation did attempt to promote it in the form of devotions and prayers for the home (97, 99). In the context of Spanish Jesuit theater, the prodigal son plays I studied in Chapter Two attempt to encourage domestic piety by constructing virtuous biological father figures as moral authorities responsible for ensuring that members of their household practice Catholic behavioral norms. My examination of Acevedo's *Filauto*, however, demonstrates that it utilizes the paradigmatic elements of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in order to introduce a pious counselor figure and then situate his judgment and moral authority as superior to that of the biological father. The 1599 publication of the *Ratio Studiorum*, the first official set of rules for Jesuit pupils, makes plain the historical desire of rectors to exert their authority over their students' domestic sphere in much the same way as the figure of Éubulo sought to prevent Filauto from enacting vice.¹⁷ The *Ratio Studiorum* delineates guidelines that originated in the brothers' experiences as teachers, and it devotes a section to rules for extern students, who lived at home and could not be removed from interaction with worldly influences as easily as the intern students. In addition to their scholarly duties, these rules warn externs to "keep away from places of ill repute," "obey their teachers [and] faithfully follow in class and at home the plan and method of study prescribed for them" (101). They were forbidden from attending public spectacles "without obtaining permission of their teachers," and, pointedly, "[t]hey should shun the company of those whose conduct is immoral or even questionable, and they should associate only with those whose example

in studies and in conduct may help them” (102). These rules aim to contain the students’ movements to approved social spaces, and to limit their interaction with those who might tempt them to sin. Common sense dictates, however, that a Jesuit teacher’s best efforts would only be successful if they were met with cooperation from students’ fathers. If, as Strasser asserted, Protestantism sought to shift “the social site of sacrality,” from its locus under clerical jurisdiction to a new locus under paternal authority, then *Filauto*, and as I will show, the other Jesuit prodigal son plays at hand, utilize this Biblical parable to bring the cleric’s jurisdiction into the four walls of the father’s home. The Jesuits’ need to persuade parents to accept their moral authority over their children’s behavior found support from Acevedo’s dramatic pious counselor figure, whose superior parenting skills helped trounce the impious moral authority represented by Pséudolo and return the prodigal son to the practice of Catholic virtue.

Whereas *Filauto* focuses upon the performed life of the prodigal after his *metanoia*, Acevedo’s *Caropo* elaborates upon his performed *jornada desubidiente*, and dedicates even more time to representing the actions of the counselor figure.¹⁸ In addition, its greater dramatic attention to the youth’s profligacy reflects an incipient historical concern for the proper stewardship of economic resources by elite Spanish males. The play begins with Megadoro despairing over his son’s prodigality. He bemoans the situation, emphasizing that he has raised his son, Caropo, to obey the “camino recto,” of Catholic virtue, but instead the youth chooses to leave home in search of impious pleasures in Valencia (Acevedo 455). In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the play configures the space of Megadoro’s home as the appropriate site for the practice of

Christian virtue, thereby advancing the concept of *ubidiencia*, or the act of obeying a pious father's authority by remaining within his household and subject to his will. When Caropo sets off for the shores of Valencia, his *desubidiencia* upsets the virtuous patriarchy that Catholicism seeks to establish therein. This is evidenced by Megadoro's command that his son "[a]costúmbrate a un trabajo honesto en casa de tu padre, sucederá que no necesites seguir las costumbres extranjeras" (Acevedo 487). Even Caropo privately affirms the validity of his father's argument:

Pero no sé quien golpeó dentro de mi pecho: que yo actuaba de forma desvergonzada; que las leyes de mi padre son justas, incluso sumamente útiles, que gracias a ellas se preparan los goces eternos, gracias a ellas se es acogido en los templos celestiales. . . . Confieso que todas esas cosas son verdad. . . . Pero ahora estoy en la flor de la edad a la que torturo y aflijo, sino me preocupo de apartar estos escrúpulos de mi ánimo. Llegará el momento oportuno, vendrá la vejez; entonces velaré por mí. Por lo pronto, necesito la ayuda y la habilidad de Eutrápelo. (Acevedo 489)

In spite of Megadoro's most persuasive arguments, he is powerless against the wiles of his servant, Eutrápelo, who usurps his paternal authority and becomes a treacherous moral authority for the youth. He appeals to Caropo's lust, and soon the son avers: "He de seguir sus consejos, puesto que todo es para él secundario ante mi provecho" (Acevedo 489). Eutrápelo's worldly temptations flaunt the virtuous practices of Megadoro's domestic sphere of jurisdiction, leaving him baffled by his son's rebellion.

Fortunately, *Caropo* provides Megadoro with assistance in the form of a represented friend and counselor, Lelio. As in *Filauto*, this play privileges Lelio's judgment by contrasting his treatment of Eutrápelo with that of Megadoro. Both Megadoro and Lelio recognize Eutrápelo's role in Caropo's prodigality. Megadoro exclaims to his friend that Caropo has "despreciado riquezas, placeres, un servicio fastuosamente esmerado, magníficas casas, un patrimonio espléndido por los consejos de ese bribón desvergonzado y perverso de Eutrápelo!" (Acevedo 461). Lelio agrees, responding that these behaviors are quite undesirable for young men: "¡Qué poder tiene el trato frecuente con los peores para que eche a perder las buenas costumbres! ¿Y qué sucede con Eutrápelo? ¿No convendría mandar a este infame lejos, a otro lugar?" (Acevedo 461). As in *Filauto*, dismissing Eutrápelo would exile the source of discord from Megadoro's home, restore Catholicism's desired boundary around the represented domestic space and, presumably, return Caropo to the practice of pious behavioral norms. Megadoro's answer, however, reveals that paternal affection has muddied his judgment. He replies that the servant has offered to leave willingly, but has also threatened to take his son with him into penury:

Él [Eutrápelo] se dispone a hacerlo voluntariamente y ha inducido con sus engaños a mi hijo, todavía inmaduro, a que deje la casa de sus padres, y el muchacho sostiene esto con tanta firmeza que no sólo no le conmueven mis advertencias, ni las lágrimas de su madre, ni la enorme tristeza y el amargo dolor de toda la familia, sino no le hacen vacilar en absoluto. Hasta tal punto ha corrompido su alma esa peste de Eutrápelo. No sé qué hacer. (Acevedo 463)

Faced with Megadoro's unwillingness to fire the servant for fear of also losing the son, Lelio uses his friend's impotence to establish himself as a pious father figure who will better correct the youth's behavior. In an exchange that manifests Juan Bonifacio's approach to pedagogy,¹⁹ Lelio discusses the proper uses of affection and discipline in parenting with his friend:

Lelio. . . . pues los padres no suelen tratar con dulzura y como conviene al corazón enfermo de los adolescentes, sino que, según es habitual en ellos, constantemente les reprocha y atemorizan con amenazas.

Megadoro. Lelio, tienes razón. Pero además de amenazarle, le suplicaba con cariño y le prometía muchas cosas.

Lelio. Con amenazas les haces más despiadado; ahora bien, si recurres a lisonjas, le haces negligente.

Megadoro. Entonces, ¿qué puedo hacer? (Acevedo 463)

According to Lelio, Megadoro should defer to his friend's corrective guidance. He replies: "Yo mismo pondré a prueba la actitud del muchacho, ya que su espíritu ha de ser tratado con tal habilidad que sepas con seguridad si te ocupas del asunto acertadamente. Hay que idear un plan para que vaya a mi casa. Allí, procuraré que regrese al buen camino y que sea con su padre más prudente que antes" (Acevedo 463). Lelio wastes little time trying to refine Megadoro's parenting techniques, preferring instead to take charge of the situation by interviewing the youth in his own domestic sphere. Megadoro's subsequent agreement to abide by Lelio's plan establishes the counselor's represented judgment as superior to his own.

True to the prodigal son emplotment that structures the play, Lelio's performed interview with the youth is fruitless. Caropo returns home to his father unchanged by Lelio's advice, which, he reports, reiterated Megadoro's message to eschew Eutrápelo's friendship. "No gustes de las malas compañías," he repeats to his father, only to turn behind his back and proclaim: "Adiós para siempre al severo mandato paterno" (Acevedo 483, 485). Although Lelio encourages Caropo to respect the partition that separates Megadoro's sphere of Christian practice from the impious space beyond, the youth remains at risk of *desubidiencia* due to the patriarch's refusal to enforce the boundary by dismissing Eutrápelo. Soon, the servant dupes Megadoro into giving his son his maternal inheritance by having a local man, Tigelio, claim that Caropo seduced his daughter (Acevedo 511-15). The manner in which this crisis unfolds is significant for two reasons. First, it enhances the performed superiority of the counselor's judgment by allowing him to mediate the rest of Caropo's dealings with his father. At the start of the performed crisis, Tigelio and Eutrápelo appeal to Lelio and ask him to intercede so that Megadoro will finance the youth's dishonorable exile and make restitution to Tigelio (Acevedo 503). Eutrápelo's decision to appeal first to Lelio underscores the counselor's control over the administration of Megadoro's household. The next scene evinces this control when Megadoro unquestioningly accepts Lelio's conclusion that Tigelio's claim is true and agrees to finance the proposed solution.²⁰

Second, this performed crisis showcases several impious acts whose dramatic condemnation points to an anxiety about male behavior that anticipates the coming crisis of Spanish masculinity that manifested itself fully around the turn of the seventeenth

century. Throughout the first two acts, Lelio and Megadoro condemn Caropo's plans to engage in *desubidiencia* because it will lead to activities that indulge the youth's sexual desire and culinary appetite. Previously, I have commented that Caropo's intention to visit the shores of "Cípride," evokes the lust associated with Venus.²¹ In fact, Eutrápelo goads him to eschew chastity and express his sexuality as he pleases, asking: "¿Acaso no es propio de la juventud frecuentar los burdeles, beber, forzar las puertas, robar?" (Acevedo 483). While the youth recoils from the violent nature of this proposed carousing, later he succumbs to the temptations of a prostitute who has been hired to seduce him and rob him of his inheritance (Acevedo 573). This fornication reveals Caropo's inability to restrain his sexual desire, and it is accompanied by a similarly limitless number of feasts. The play carefully enumerates the gastronomic delights of one banquet in particular, which is set with "copas de cristal y de mirra [que] contienen un vino excelente" (Acevedo 563). After much discussion about the high quality of the wine, the servants name the main dishes: "Un jabalí, animal nacido para los festines, salmonetes, lenguados. Hay liebres, tordos, ánades, capones, gallinas. Los postres serán también de diferentes clases" (Acevedo 565). They joke that a three-day fast would be necessary to enjoy the rich variety offered (Acevedo 565), underscoring for the viewing audience the gargantuan appetite required to enjoy the meal to the fullest.

Caropo's construction of these behaviors as transgressive holds several implications for the represented social order of this peninsular play. In order to analyze comprehensively the relationship between the transgressive nature of Caropo's appetites and the play's represented social order, I must consider the play's historical context. This

is an effort best left for the next chapter, in which I examine in detail a later peninsular work, Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (Soria, 1611). *Caropo*'s early composition date (1565), however, enables me to call attention to the ways in which its discursive condemnation of the prodigal figure's behavior anticipates the coming crisis concerning acceptable models of male behavior in Spain.²² *Caropo* focuses its condemnation upon acts in which the prodigal wastes his inheritance by funding a series of banquets and entertaining loose women. I suggest that the representation of his wastrel activities signals his failure to enact an acceptable model of masculinity.²³ Elizabeth Leffeldt notes that around the turn of the seventeenth century Spanish moralists were concerned with the symbolic function of economic productivity for the constitution of masculine identity. Specifically, they blamed the noble class's decadent way of life for the country's economic decline (471-72). Sidney Donnell agrees, noting that late sixteenth-century commentators interpreted Spain's imperial failures and weakened economy as hallmarks of the noble class's inability to enact successfully the masculine, conquest-based identity of its medieval forebears (47-48). The corrective advice offered to the prodigal figure in *Caropo* manifests a similar condemnation of the prodigal's masculinity as he moves through the world, financing all manner of entertainment. Lelio harshly critiques the youth's profligate spending: "Este estúpido muchachito desenfrenado. . . pues me parece ver que el dinero que reciba lo va a malgastar en poco tiempo en banquetes, en beber y en placeres, hasta que, despojado de todos sus bienes, se muera de hambre" (Acevedo 535). This discourse feminizes *Caropo* through the use of the diminutive appellation "muchachito," and links it to the prodigal figure's failure to steward his financial resources well. The performed condemnation of

the prodigal's excessive appetites, then, hints at the coming crisis of masculinity that would occur as Philip II's reign (1527-98) drew to a close.

While the prodigal figure is busy depleting his inheritance, his represented father despairs over his son's perdition. Megadoro turns to his trusted counselor for help, and Lelio encourages his friend to have faith that God will deal with his son, warning him that a show of paternal affection would only further Caropo's belief that he may indulge himself with impunity. Lelio advises Megadoro to:

Soportar con entereza lo que la suerte nos depare, pues el Padre celestial sabe transformar los tristes funerales en triunfos; quizás, a este joven la cariñosa indulgencia de los suyos le enseña equivocadamente y piensa que todo le está permitido sin castigo en la casa paterna. Deja que se vaya a donde quiera, eso es lo que tú tienes que procurar ante todo, pues quien una vez se encadenó a alguna pasión no se libra fácilmente de ella, a menos que se le quite la ocasión. (Acevedo 513)

In addition to criticizing Megadoro's paternal affection, Lelio blames Megadoro's inability to protect his home from the worldly influence of Eutrápelo for Caropo's sinful behavior.²⁴ Lelio now utilizes his superior judgment to argue that the best remedy is to reestablish the boundary between pious home and impious elsewhere by allowing Caropo to leave in the hopes that his performed experience of worldly space will disabuse him of his occasion to sin. Megadoro agrees, and the two trust that Caropo's *jornada desubidiente* will eventually transform itself into the "camino de arrepentirse" (Acevedo

515). Throughout the rest of the play, Lelio mediates Megadoro's dealings with his represented son, handing over funds for Caropo's journey and making one last appeal for him to remain at home, the site best suited for correcting his behavioral practices. He pleads: "Si buscas la felicidad, está aquí, si no te falta un espíritu sereno" (Acevedo 533). His efforts to prevent *desubidiencia* fall on deaf ears; Caropo sets off for Valencia with Eutrápelo and with his inheritance.

I will thoroughly address Lelio's role in Caropo's performed return to Catholic behavior under Megadoro's roof in the last chapter of my study, which details the penitential process of the Jesuit prodigal figure. Here it is sufficient to note that *Caropo* privileges Lelio's judgment and powers of mediation until the very end of the play, when the repentant youth implores that he accompany him as he reconciles with his father (Acevedo 583, 585). Lelio's performance consistently accentuates his authority to advise Megadoro in parental matters, and it displays the usefulness of his mediation skills. He constitutes a social father who is wiser than the biological father, and whose counsel should be regarded more highly than the biological father's mandate. At the performative level, Lelio's example allows the play's dramatic action to propose a space of Jesuit authority over domestic relations, a discursive move which readily corresponded to the needs of historical Jesuit educators. The text's intention to influence the historical context to which it speaks is made plain by Lelio's advice to Caropo that he "sacar partido de la experiencia ajena para provecho propio" (Acevedo 485). These words reinforce the notion of filial obedience and subtly remind the historical fathers in the audience to value

the parenting advice offered by pious counselor figures, such as the Jesuit rectors who taught their children both letters and orthodox Catholic practices.

Cigorondo's *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* also showcases a performed counselor's jurisdiction over an individual family, as the figure of Estudio advises the performed father-son duo on the ideal behaviors desired of New Spanish men. In the play, Estudio appears in colonial Puebla just in time to shepherd Urbano and his son, Iuvenis, as they conflict over the youth's decision to leave school in search of glory, riches, and ultimately, sloth. The action begins when Iuvenis renounces his studies in favor of the lazy prodigality championed by Oçio, a devilish figure he meets in the jungle while on his way to the viceregal court in Mexico City. Too sluggish to continue to the capitol, he brings his rebellious *jornada desubidiente* back to his father's home, where he ignores Urbano's exhortations to diligent study, preferring instead to follow the advice of the demonic Oçio. Oçio claims that Iuvenis is but one of many Poblanos who have succumbed to his temptations; he boasts that he has corrupted the citizenry with sloth and thus impeded the production of a virtuous social hierarchy therein.²⁵ Estudio emerges as the only figure shrewd enough to combat this devilish influence, and through his represented interactions with father and son he not only legitimates his performed moral authority over domestic households, but also advances a model of masculine behavior that is characterized by performance of diligent, industrious dedication to work on the part of New Spanish men. The allegorical nature of the play's characters extends this behavioral model beyond the microcosm that is the represented family to the Creole citizenry of Puebla, a town whose Latin name, *Angelopolis*, imbues it with Christian

virtue. Names are central to the play's message; all the characters are referred to by patently allegorical Latin names or their Spanish translations. The Latin meanings of the principal character's names, Iuvenis, Urbano, Estudio, and Ocio signify youth, urbanity, study, and sloth respectively. Interpreting the dramatic action from this perspective yields the following plot summary: Study aids the Urban patriarch of Puebla de los Ángeles in the battle to encourage industry among Youth and thus vanquish Sloth. In my discussion of this dramatic action, I will demonstrate that the corrective advice offered by Estudio positions the performance of diligent industry as a religious behavioral ideal for both the urban father and youthful son. I also attend to the impact of *Ocio's* colonial context on the play. To do this, I first examine the acceptable possibilities for male behavior that were set forth in peninsular social hierarchy, and then I demonstrate that the absence of a noble class in Puebla provided a greater latitude in the behaviors that colonial commentators could require of elite males. I hold that this enabled Cigorondo's play to proffer a decidedly New Spanish model of masculinity for historical men that constructed economic productivity as a virtue in order to further the interests of both Church and colonial state.

Ocio's dramatic discourse points to the performance of sloth as the primary marker of a character's vice. The history of sloth, then, constitutes an appropriate starting point for my analysis, since tracing its rather rarefied function in medieval Catholic dogma will illuminate the unique effect of *Ocio's* colonial context upon the model of diligent masculinity favored in the play. It is a rather daunting task to flesh out the function of diligence, or industrious dedication to labor, as it was constructed by early

modern Christian dogma. Although today diligence appears in lists of the seven deadly sins as the contrary virtue to sloth, late medieval and early modern Christian dogma neglected to significantly develop it as a theological concept. Diligence owes this lack of critical attention to the somewhat radical transformation that its contrary opposite, sloth, underwent during this time. For two-hundred years following the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), Catholic clergy regularly employed the septenary of the seven deadly sins as a category of moral analysis for penitents, encouraging them to scour their souls for signs of: vainglory, envy, wrath, sadness, greed, gluttony, and lechery (Wenzel, “Seven” 13, 4).²⁶ Curiously, sloth, or *ociosidad*, as it is defined by Sebastián Covarrubias, and as it is known to us today, did not become a mortal sin until just before the early modern period, when it replaced the deadly sin of *acedia*.²⁷ *Acedia*, a Greek term adopted by monks in the early centuries of Christianity, consisted of a “sorrow or aversion against God himself and the things that are directly related to Him. It is the opposite of the joy in the divine good that man should experience” (Wenzel, *Sin* 49). *Acedia* manifested itself in various ways, including melancholy (*tristitia*), idleness (*otiositas*), somnolence (*torpor*), and disdain (*fastidium*) (Wenzel, *Sin* 70). Siegfried Wenzel’s exhaustive study of the development of the concept from the classical period to 1500 points out that although its various manifestations “comprised many worldly faults and looked very much like plain laziness,” *acedia* was decried for the strictly theological reason that it provoked an emotional state which prevented an individual from completing religious duties and good works in the name of service to God (*Sin* 182). Wenzel asserts that the recondite nature of *acedia*’s construction as a sin, along with a secularization of the term in the world outside the monastery, contributed to its eventual replacement with *otiositas*, defined as “sloth in

God's service," and by the beginning of the Renaissance it signified the lazy idleness that it still connotes today (*Sin* 178-79, 186). Sloth's entrance into the list of deadly sins marks the last major change to the septenary before it fell out of favor as a category of moral analysis and subject of Church teaching in the sixteenth century (Wenzel, "Seven" 21). From a historical perspective, then, sloth's antithesis, diligence, had at best two hundred years to receive theological attention before early modern Church thinkers began to overlook the septenary. This relatively small historical window for a formal elaboration of diligence did not mean, however, that sloth was not commonly ascribed a contrary virtue.²⁸ Little scholarship exists on the contrary virtues, but Wenzel records that during the thirteenth century theological circles frequently employed terms such as "*strenuitas, occupatio, and busynesse*" in order to refer to the contrary opposite of "sloth in God's service" (*Sin* 249). Unfortunately, the function of sloth in early modern Europe is beyond the scope of Wenzel's investigations into *acedia*. His work does, however, help modern-day scholars to understand the theological basis for the valorization of diligence in the performance of tasks, most notably those tasks that exalted the Christian god. Interestingly, just as the seven deadly sins –and sloth with them- were on the wane as criteria for moral analysis, Spanish moralists began to condemn slothful behavior. Spain's unique historical environment, with its preoccupation for established codes of masculinity, offers several factors that help explain the reason for moralists' continued condemnation of sloth in peninsular discourse.

Spain's experience of the long sixteenth century (1450-1650) was dominated by the feeling that its citizens were unable to keep up with the financial demands of a

burgeoning capitalist economy and global empire.²⁹ Leah Middlebrook describes the transition that took place in Spain's cultural imagination to arrive at this point, observing that the sixteenth century "marks a particular threshold – we might consider it the "early" early modern – during which the country's subjects and perhaps especially its ranks of elites adjusted to a new national identity: Spain under the Habsburgs ceased to be a self-contained peninsular kingdom dominated by Castile and became a seat of pan-European and incipiently global empire" (143). The financial needs of this "incipiently global" and incipiently capitalist empire were many. Kamen documents that the Empire's overseas colonization brought it an initial prosperity that was accompanied by a sense of divine right and belief in the power of its Catholic mission. By the turn of the century, however, its financial commitments spurred an economic crisis that tested the elite's belief in the divine ordination of its imperial expansion (Kamen, *Golden* 25, 55). Spain's inability to continue financing wars abroad was patent each time Philip II bankrupted the royal treasury – in 1557, 1575, and in 1596- as part of his quest to exert his authority as the "absolutist father of the realm" (Donnell 47). Consequently, Philip II's reign (1556-98) not only impoverished the already overtaxed Castilian householders, but also resulted in an awareness of military impotency that crippled the heroic self-image Spain established through the Reconquest. The critiques against Philip II were fierce (Donnell 45), and they extended to the elite class, as sixteenth-century commentators also perceived idleness of the part of Spanish elite to be responsible for the country's woes (Lehfeldt 467). Julio Alonso Asenjo writes that Stoic and Epicurean discourse presented *ocio* as the opposite of *negocio* ("Estudio" lxxix), which is defined by Covarrubias as "la ocupación de cosa particular, que obliga al hombre poner en ella alguna solicitud." Alonso Asenjo observes

that this occupation had a decidedly economic quality about it, writing that “desde mediados del siglo XV, con el desarrollo del *negotium*, del comercio y de las actividades manufactureras, comerciales o mercantiles, se instaura en la sociedad una reflexión, que suscitó serias polémicas, sobre el *otium* u ociosidad, parasitismo y mendicidad, buscándole soluciones” (“Estudio” lxxix). Leffeldt describes the results of the heavy imperial demands of the sixteenth century: “When Spaniards looked critically and self-consciously at their country in the first half of the seventeenth century, they saw a country plagued by a diminished population, a weakened economy, and an over dependence on foreign goods. Not surprisingly, then, their remedies focused on issues of labor and productivity” (472).

The belief that low productivity caused Spain’s economic and military suffering found an outlet in early modern writings that critiqued the performance of masculinity on the part of elite Spanish males (Leffeldt 465). Donnell explains the reasons for the connection between Spain’s financial woes and the masculinity of its men: “Economic burden led to military impotency, and this embarrassment was too much to bear for a nation whose self-image was built on the heroic masculine model of the Reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula and the conquest of America” (48). As heads of state, the King and Spanish noblemen were encouraged to practice a model of masculinity rooted in the successful expression of military prowess and conquest that had been privileged in the late Middle Ages (Middlebrook 147), and their inability to reap continually higher profits led to discursive representations of Spanish leaders as effeminate. Donnell’s research attests that early modern artists and intellectuals identified an ironic gap between Spain’s

imperial misfortunes and Philip II's motto, "*Non sufficit orbis*," and that their disillusioned discourse consequently feminized the body politic and the figureheads of that body, the King and state leaders (45-49).³⁰ Didactic literature from around the turn of the seventeenth-century reveals a plethora of texts that sought to correct the problematic masculinity of the country's males by constructing and promoting "images of ideal men meant to provide a model that would combat the descent into decline" (Lehfelddt 465). Fittingly, these models centered on the performance of labor and productivity, and several commentators nostalgically asserted that a return to agriculture and artisanal work would eliminate pervasive idleness. Lehfelddt finds evidence for the condemnation of the behavior as early as 1600, when Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos railed against "the idleness that led men to turn away from virtuous labor" (473). She records two significant changes in the popular religious imaginary that offered countermodels of masculinity to eradicate the perceived sloth. First, sixteenth-century hagiography about the immensely popular Isidore of Seville (ca. 1070-1130) valorized him as the "ideal male peasant who embodied the agricultural virtue that many believed would provide the key to Spain's recovery" (473).³¹ This idealization of "simple" labor also occurred in resurgences of representations of the Biblical patriarch Joseph. Lehfelddt notes that before the mid-fifteenth century, writers often characterized him as a "frail old man," but "by the seventeenth-century Joseph was regularly portrayed as young and vigorous, even virile and was clearly identified with his livelihood as a carpenter" (474). These examples reproach sloth on the part of male peasants and artisans, and Lehfelddt finds that the vice was also discouraged for the noble elite, who were criticized for their supposed dereliction of military duties as well as for the decadence of courtly life (471). The Jesuit

Andrés Mendo summed up the situation, opining that the luxuries and indulgences of slothful men “effeminize the spirits, thin the courage, and dishearten the thoughts” (Lehfeldt 479-80). Moralists easily constructed countermodels to idle, unproductive masculinity for peasants and artisans; farmers were urged to toil more in the fields and artisans to spend more time to their workshops (Lehfeldt 475). Lehfeldt concludes that the problem of idle masculinity among peninsular nobles, however, remained unsolved since the medieval legacy of a titled, ruling class of men defined the elite as absolutely unsuited for manual labor (475).

While the rest of Lehfeldt’s work focuses upon seventeenth-century discursive treatments of unproductive men, the task of critiquing sloth in the elite populace began to occur in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as earlier evidenced by Donnell’s work on Philip II’s reign. Mar Martínez Góngora points out that a general “conciencia de una pérdida de función social del noble,” began precisely in this period, when the ruling class left off its military exploits (434). I contend that the critique of unproductive, idle masculinity nurtured Spanish discourse’s preoccupation with the sin of sloth, and vice versa. Specifically, I hold that the secularization of *otiositas* from its thirteenth-century meaning of “sloth in God’s service,” to the sixteenth-century connotation of unproductive laze and neglect of work, was likely spurred on by a widespread concern to ensure that certain social classes performed their “assigned” economic functions. This is supported by one of Wenzel’s brief forays into the use of the seven deadly sins in early modernity. He documents that at this time the ‘theological analysis of human behavior’ shifted its focus from the performance of enumerated, set vices to the evaluation of behavior “in

terms of the particular duties of one's *status*" ("Seven" 21, emphasis in the original). I argue that, although the septenary faded as a category of moral analysis in the sixteenth century, the vilification of sloth did not, precisely because it met the needs of both Church and State. It met the Church's needs by promoting virtuous behavior, and the state's needs by advancing economically productive labor.

While the limitations of noble masculinity on the peninsula left thinkers perplexed as to how to put the nobility to work, *Tragedia intitulada Ocio* demonstrates that these efforts fared better in a colonial context. By 1580, the first phase of conquest had come to an end in New Spain, but the cultural influence of peninsular thought remained strong. Patricia Seed's work on colonial Mexico records that the Spanish Empire maintained a continuity of thought between peninsular discourse and New Spanish discourse, largely because "the leadership of colonial social institutions continued to be recruited from the Old World" (20). This leadership included the viceroy, bureaucrats, and clergy. Seed notes that "[a]lthough these high bureaucrats and churchmen often had to adjust to the realities of the New World, their training, concepts, and cultural baggage were those of the Iberian peninsula" (20). My analysis of *Tragedia* will show how this Jesuit play, scripted for performance in New Spain, draws from the foundations of cultural thought manifested in Acevedo's peninsular plays, expanding upon them and transforming them to discover new remedies for youthful prodigality that were suited to the context of colonial Puebla. Specifically, it constructs a model of virtuous, economically productive masculinity, and promotes it to its colonial audience of Creole elite, a public that was not subject to the limitations experienced by the peninsular nobility.

The ideological foundations of Puebla are central to the formulation of its ideal male citizen. Angel Rama has observed that colonial cities were symbolic fortresses “protected and ideologically elaborated” by their founders for the conservation of order (13). Luis Fernando Restrepo notes that the thought put into founding New World settlements “inscribes these spaces into the hierarchic ensemble of Western places, an imagined hierarchy of places whose center has been Rome or the Holy Land and which the Spanish American cities seek to replicate” (88). The process of inscribing a settlement into the imaginary of Western civilization is made plain in the unique discourse surrounding the 1531 establishment of La Puebla de los Ángeles. Located in a formerly unpopulated, rural, valley, Puebla was originally designed to be an agricultural center whose toil and labor would not reflect the luxurious –and idle- daily life associated with the courtly capitol of Mexico City (Altman 147). The seventeenth-century Mexican friar Agustín de Vetancourt recounts the importance of industrious behavior manifested in the town’s founding documents. He writes:

La Fundación se determinó a petición de los religiosos de N.P.S. Francisco, que viendo que crecía el número de la gente española, y no teniendo más población que la de México, que no podía abarcar tantas familias, peligrarían por la multitud en la ociosidad, que es madre de los vicios, para que no se perdiese la nación castellana por holganza y vagamunda, consultaron a . . . la Audiencia Real, que sería importante que se fundase una ciudad para españoles, que se aplicasen a ejercicio de labranza y cultura de las tierras. . . . (356)

Vetancourt's summary of Puebla's founding reveals that the Franciscan Order pushed for the creation of a city that would remedy the slothful behaviors, or "holganza," practiced by inhabitants of Mexico City due to their inability to find gainful employment in the overcrowded capitol. It also makes patent the association between Church and State as regards the construction of sloth as a vice pernicious to the social order. The Franciscan use of the term "multitud" indicates the Order's belief that sloth had a propensity to lead to other vices which would cause further chaos in the social order of the capitol. The State's decision to sponsor the town suggests that it concurred with the Church's assessment, and certainly stimulating financial prosperity was in its own best interest. Julia Hirschberg has noted that normally competitive social groups, specifically the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the *Audiencia*, all agreed that the "vagabonds" strolling about Mexico City could be made to render economically productive labor if placed under clerical supervision in the new city (2).³² Thus the first Poblanos, many of whom immigrated from Old Castile, dedicated themselves to the practice of their respective trades (Alonso Asenjo, "Estudio" lxxix), and built a well-to-do regional economy that attracted neighboring settlements of Indians, becoming a center of Creole influence in the viceroyalty (Altman 45, 47). Hirschberg documents that, although Poblanos had Spanish blood, not one of the original settlers possessed the title of "don" (26). As regards the social hierarchy, this lack of titled inhabitants provided the founding fathers of Puebla the freedom to imagine –and indeed to try to realize- a space in which the execution of a laborious, productive masculinity was possible for the vast majority of its male citizens. The absence of a noble class freed New Spanish commentators, such as Cigorondo, to

promote a model of masculinity that incorporated economically productive behavior for a wide swath of Poblano citizenry.

As in Acevedo's plays, the performance of *Tragedia's* counselor, Estudio, legitimates the moral jurisdiction of a pious social father figure in the home. The supremacy of Estudio's represented judgment is evident from the outset, since the text considers Urbano's relationship to his son only after introducing the figure of Estudio and constructing him as hero in contrast to Ocio's role as villain. Immediately after Iuvenis and Ocio pair up and exit the stage, the figure of Estudio enters with his retinue and introduces himself to the audience in a represented monologue that foregrounds his authority to offer corrective advice. It begins by situating him as the driving force behind the development of Western learning. He announces that he has been praised throughout the globe since the time of Noah's flood, and takes responsibility for endowing "Grecia con las primeras letras," and elevating "al sumo grado de dignidad a Atenas" (Cigorondo 35). These claims configure his own authority as deriving from the Hellenistic ancients, and he goes on to locate himself within Spain's glorified, mythic past by declaring that his actions are solely responsible for the territory's success under the civilized auspices of the Roman Empire. He ruminates on his past: "¿Quién volvió admirable por todo el orbe a Hesperia, si no es el prolongado esfuerzo del tenaz Estudio? Si Roma toca el cielo en su vértice más alto, a mí solo se me debe la gloria por ello" (Cigorondo 27). Estudio's formidable global jurisdiction and cultural authority lend rhetorical weight to his performed judgment, which is called upon in the next scene as Urbano despairs over his son's mysterious lethargy.

While the represented fathers of *Filauto* and *Caropo* insist upon the authority of their paternal mandate, *Oçio*'s Urbano makes no such claims. After a lethargic Iuvenis returns home from the jungle, Urbano expresses his confusion that his son, formerly “vibo y diligente,” is now too tired to even “levantar la mano” (Cigorondo 34). He fears that Iuvenis's inactivity is a mortal illness, and encourages him to invigorate himself by studying (Cigorondo 35). When Iuvenis declines, Urbano readily defers to the diagnostic powers of the town's doctor, who happens to be Estudio. Iuvenis relates the cause of his ills to him: “Señor, un amargor siento al presente / con que disgusto todo quanto encuentro / que al trabaxo y estudio se aparente” (Cigorondo 39). Urbano ventures a guess that the problem is “cólera,” but Estudio quickly corrects his assumption: “Suma frialdad es quanto tiene dentro. / Deme acá el braço. Y muéstralo la vena / en el moverse pereçosa y lenta, como quien de birtud se alla agena” (Cigorondo 39). Although Estudio does not name *Oçio*, he avers: “conozco la rraíz,” and prescribes several “açeytes [y] lamedores” designed to eradicate the ill (Cigorondo 40). Urbano's performed trust in Estudio's powers of perception extends to the remedy that he advises, thus reinforcing the supremacy of his influence over the performed familial hierarchy. In addition, it establishes Estudio, or virtuous study, as the ultimate contrapuntal authority to *Oçio*'s unproductive practices. The specifics of Estudio's prescription for Iuvenis constitute an outline of the text's discursive valorization of industry. It reads: “Lamedor de exerçiço, unguento de honrra” (Cigorondo 57). This juxtaposition valorizes “exerçiço,” or diligence, by directly relating it to the possession of honor. The character of *Oçio* confirms this association by acknowledging that the remedy will surely lead to his ruin: “Sin duda que con ella / quedava el Otio en natural deshorrta / y el mancebo sanara”

(Cigorondo 57). Ocio's belief in the prescription's efficacy, along with Urbano's deference and Estudio's glowing self-presentation, all combine to legitimate the counselor's moral authority as regards the represented events of the play.

In this respect, *Tragedia* corresponds to Acevedo's prodigal son plays and works to legitimate the moral authority of the pious social fathers represented by the Society of Jesus in New Spain. Estudio's critique of Iuvenis's sloth and Urbano's parenting also illuminates the discursive parameters of diligence in this text, revealing that study is constructed as a virtue and that studious behavior is a requisite of economic productivity in Puebla. Previously, I demonstrated that Iuvenis's decision to practice sloth stems from his desire to abandon the two career paths he seriously considers: student and courtier.³³ Iuvenis ruminates on the difficulty of finding a path that will liberate him from the diligent labor required by any profession, asking the audience, "Adondequiera que vayas, ¿faltarán trabajos? . . . ¡Cuánto disfruto en el descanso de mi casa: todo el oro del mundo no basta para comprar la libertad!" (Cigorondo 15). He surmises: "Dichoso aquel que libre de quehaceres / lleva una vida regalada en el ocio feliz. / De todo solo me agrada ya el ocio" (Cigorondo 17). Allegorically, Iuvenis's represented rejection of the professions he believes are available to him symbolizes future Poblano elite squandering the city's wealth.³⁴ *Tragedia* takes pains to point out the economic dynamic at play in Iuvenis's decision:

Ocio. <Y> tienes con qué pagar
 la vida sin el bullicio
 de palacio ni ejercicio

de ber libros y estudiar?

Iuvenis. Sí, tengo, gracias a Dios,
una mediana buena. (Cigorondo 19)

This exchange reveals Iuvenis's plan to finance his life of leisure with his inherited wealth. In doing so he foregoes any labor that would add to his family's riches, and reveals his plans to live parasitically off of the funds he has already received until, supposedly, they are entirely depleted. Estudio openly condemns this form of economic unproductivity through his admonition that Poblano youth recognize that "[t]oda la riqueza que la fecunda tierra y el profundo mar / producen es parte de tu recompensa" (Cigorondo 33). As well as a Jesuit education, then, Estudio's prescription for "exercício," also implies the diligent labor that would transform the natural resources of colonial territory into Creole wealth.

Tragedia again emphasizes the importance of this message through Estudio's harsh critique of Urbano, a symbol of the city's leadership, for his failure to discipline Iuvenis into a productive diligence. When Urbano brings Iuvenis to Estudio's home for examination, the latter focuses his reproach not upon the enervated prodigal figure, but rather upon his father. After Urbano admits that he stopped short of forcing Iuvenis to "exercício" so that he would not "darle enojos," Estudio begins a scathing critique about New World fathers' execution of the paternal mandate. He rants: "Esto fuera de mí me tiene puesto: / no sé que complexión, no sé que clima / gobierna de este Nuevo Mundo el resto" (Cigorondo 41). He accuses fathers of neglecting their duties, and rails against their lackadaisical disciplinary style. He asserts that they enact "[u]na blandura quando

no conviene, / un Regalo que al hijo desfrena: / que ben el yerro y no ay quien se lo pene” (Cigorondo 42). According to Estudio, paternal permissiveness then leads to sons who practice “viçio” without “miedo de la pena,” and in this way they follow the example set for them by their forebears:

Mucha la livertad, ninguno el freno;
poco exerciçio, el oçio en demasía:
¿pues qué niño tendra el progreso bueno?

En viçios naçe, el padre se los cría;
comete el hierro y dóralo la madre:
¿do yrá este çiego en manos de tal guía?

Mas ¡ai! que no ay Raçon por do no quadre
Al hijo el juego, el gasto y vanidades,
Que ve estanpadas en su mismo padre:
Que oy es el día de deçir verdades. (Cigorondo 42)

Estudio’s interpretation of colonial fathers highlights their failure to guide their sons on the path of Christian virtue, and blames the sons’ sloth on the poor behavioral model set by their fathers’ practice of “el juego, el gasto y vanidades.” Estudio concludes that the patriarch has failed to insist that Iuvenis diligently execute his duties and steward his resources well, and thus with the youth’s illness he “vien tenéis el mereçido pago!” (Cigorondo 72). Consequently, Estudio configures himself as a virtuous, authoritative father figure whose prescriptions ought to be obeyed by the youth and whose advice

ought to be carried out by the father. After considering Estudio's argument, Urbano admits his guilt and throws the health of his son at the counselor's mercy:

Ara, señor, la cura

De este mi hijo en vuestras manos fío.

Ya que de su locura

a sido causa el gran descuido mío,

sea el remedio vuestro,

pues de curar dolencias soys maestro. (Cigorondo 75)

These lines read almost as if they were a sacramental confession. Urbano admits his "descuido" in disciplining his son, and affirms the authority of the pious counselor figure who will help redeem his child from vice. His humble submission to Estudio's agency evokes a tone of repentance, and this exchange thus affirms the authority of a pious counselor and communicates to the audience the need for historical fathers to discipline their sons strictly in the practice of diligence.

In fact, *Tragedia* configures the performance of industrious productivity –or the promotion thereof- as essential to the successful enactment of elite Creole masculinity by feminizing those represented men who fail to comply with this standard.³⁵ As part of Estudio's critique of Urbano, he claims that his household is as a matriarchy in which the wife rules over her husband and son. It is this accusation that finally provokes Urbano's informal confession of guilt and repentance. Estudio rails: "Y aun eso es en mal ora / lo que digo: el hijo, afeminado; / la muger, la señora" (Cigorondo 74). The counselor's

designation of Iuvenis as “afeminado,” is appropriate since it corresponds to Oçio’s earlier claim that women are inherently given to the practice of the vice.³⁶ Estudio also opines that Urbano fails to execute his paternal mandate at home, where his wife is “la señora.” The reference to the wife’s authority in the home evidences that Urbano -and perhaps historical Poblano householders as well- was failing to perform the masculinity desired of him. Urbano’s performed inability to exert his will over his household has left him, in Estudio’s opinion: “encogido, enbaraçado, / buelto, de puro bueno, / un Juan de Espera en Dios, Pedro Moreno” (Cigorondo 74). Alonso Asenjo highlights the latent effeminization in these insults by reminding readers that Pedro Moreno is likely the folkloric figure of “Diego Moreno,” who was known for his “tolerante actitud de no decir nunca malo ni bueno” (“Estudio” 107), a characteristic that uncovers an inability to express male agency. Urbano’s discipline of Iuvenis displays said lack of agency, as he remarks: “En nada quiero darle lei ni tasa” (Cigorondo 36). Juan de Espera en Dios, another folkloric figure, furthers Urbano’s feminization as tradition believed him to have been a “judío errante,” who offended Christ on the way to Calvary but received the dubious blessing of always having “cinco blancas,” whose unlimited supply allowed him to be as liberal as he liked (Alonso Asenjo, “Estudio” 107). The characterization of Urbano as something of a spendthrift Jew severely undercuts his masculinity, as Spanish discourse routinely effeminized the image of the Jewish males by depriving them of any markers of masculine agency, thereby symbolically transforming them into women.³⁷ By equating Urbano with Juan de Espera en Dios, *Oçio’s* counselor figure makes plain that Iuvenis’s father has failed to enact the strong paternal authority ascribed to heads of households during this time.³⁸ W.M. Aird summarizes that “[t]he dominant or hegemonic

construction of masculinity definitively belonged to the father” (43), and thus Estudio’s observation that Urbano’s wife is the boss at home reveals Urbano’s failure to execute the most basic attribute of the householder’s masculinity, the paternal mandate.³⁹

Urbano’s represented failure to control the behavior of those in his household has resulted in a lack of productivity on the part of Iuvenis, a figure who allegorically symbolizes the elite males who will comprise Puebla’s next generation of leaders. The text configures economic productivity as central to the performance of masculinity on the part of these men, not only by feminizing Iuvenis’s sloth but also in its description of a generalized idleness on the part of various sectors of Poblano society. From the beginning of the play the figure of Oçio puffs himself up with the gains he makes in encouraging the populace to adopt slothful ways: “Éstos son los días buenos / quales lo quiero y deseo, / do yncho con poco enpleo / de ganancia entranbos senos” (Cigorondo 6). As Alonso Asenjo observes, the devilish figure brags about his influence over “los varones, en las mujeres (damas o doncellas), en la administración de la justicia, en los palacios religiosos o cortesanos y hasta en humildes pastores” (“Estudio” cxxxix). Alonso Asenjo’s list of Oçio’s followers emphasizes his effects upon men in terms of their professional activities, and he astutely observes that these represented Poblanos are critiqued for their avaricious desire to accumulate wealth only to squander it (“Estudio” cxxxix). The majority of the text’s critique of the townspeople comes from the *rústico* Melchior Ortiz, a Spanish servant in Urbano’s home who is charged with delivering the doctor’s prescription to the pharmacist, Boticario. By trade, Boticario sells the townspeople of Puebla the pills, creams, and powders that they demand, and Melchoir’s

inquiries about his product inventory permit the text to satirize the slothful behaviors of various sectors of the town.⁴⁰ Among other things, Melchior asks Boticario to supply him with “el aceite de siçionio,” with which he can relieve the feverish passions that can cause a shepherd to wander away from his sheep, “desvariado;” “olio riçino,” in order to cure judges who are “pronptos en la varilla y tardos en el oír;” and “agua de açero,” which will cure the “ydropesía,” of those citizens who discard industrious labor in favor of “mil trapaças” that will satisfy their thirst for wealth (Cigorondo 63,64 , 66). Instead of these cures that will return men to their labors, Boticario offers several remedies through which colonial men might gain power without engaging in diligent labor. For example, the Boticario prescribes “onrras y pretensiones” for shepherds, and an “ünguento blanco de liga de Çacatecas” for the city’s judges. Alonso Asenjo aptly notes that the application of the Zacatecas ointment symbolizes the use of silver from the Zacatecas mine to bribe judges and city officials into taking action (“Estudio” 104). As for those who thirst for easy wealth, Boticario admits defeat since the temperance needed to sate this desire simply does not exist, given that “el que aquese golfo pasa / no es con intentos buenos / de dexar solar ni casa, / sino de enchir los senos” (Cigorondo 66). Perhaps the most stunning metaphor for the passive depletion of colonial resources is Oçio’s own prescription for Iuvenis, which consists of a draught of “agua dorada” (Cigorondo 62). This remedy elides any labor on the prodigal’s part, while at the same time allowing him to exhaust one of the New World’s most precious commodities. Boticario further characterizes colonial men as economically unproductive by pointing out that they eschew the goals of building a self-sufficient household, presumably through their own labor, and prefer to walk about reveling in their “trapaças.” *Tragedia*, then, satirizes this

unproductive model of male behavior onstage in an attempt to discourage its use by historical audiences.

Cigorondo's text goes on to articulate a model of economically productive masculinity characterized primarily by industrious devotion to social occupations. The play repeatedly insists on the importance of industrious labor, allegorically intertwining it with studious behavior and the possession of honor. This begins in Act One, when Estudio explains to his retinue the cure for sloth: "La casa del Honor la habita el Trabajo dichoso, / mi único compañero y amigo íntimo; / él es enemigo acérrimo del repugnante Ocio" (Cigorondo 31). These words situate the performance of study and work as the two most fundamental behaviors required for young men to obtain honor. Once again, the admonition to *ubidiencia* is patent as the text casts the acquisition of honor in spatial terms, telling young men to metaphorically remain under the domestic jurisdiction of "la casa del Honor," where with the help of "Trabajo," a youth may "con toda facilidad expulsará al deshonroso Ocio" (Cigorondo 33). The later soliloquy that the figure of Honor delivers to introduce himself underscores his association with economic productivity:

Soy el que allano al hombre la carrera
en la más entricadas ocasiones,
y del trabajo a la más alta sphaera
subir le hago en carros de leones,
y a la imaginación más altanera
la tengo a rraia no con más prisiones

que con el miedo que le pongo al lado
de no perder el crédito ganado. (Cigorondo 122)

Honor claims that he will shepherd men who diligently labor to the glory of the “*más alta sphaera*” in their careers through the consistent reminder that they might lose their “*crédito ganado*.” While “*crédito ganado*” primarily refers to the good social reputation earned by laborious men, its financial connotation, the loss of credit, is palpable. Honor, then, belongs to those men who enact a productive masculinity through the diligent execution of their careers.

Indeed, the play mentions two specific careers that Poblano men could practice in order to exemplify this productive manhood. First, all young men should devote themselves to prolific study. Honor advises that youth “*entrar en la rromana / escuela, adonde se guardava entera / la erudición*” (Cigorondo 135). Honor and Estudio cite the example of Saint Jerome, who is renowned in Catholic theology for applying his multilingual learning to create the Vulgate. As he expounds upon Jerome’s greatest accomplishment, however, Honor mentions only Daniel and Job by name (Cigorondo 136). The mention of Daniel is quite intriguing, as his titular book records that he was a member of the Jewish nobility, “*skillful in all wisdom, acute in knowledge, and instructed in science,*” who employed his learning in the Babylonian court but remained steadfastly faithful to the virtuous behaviors prescribed by the Judaic god of the Old Testament, even when thrown into a den of lions (1:4, 6:22). The mention of Daniel thus evokes his life story as an exemplary tale of the benefits of diligent study in a courtly career. This discursive gesture constitutes a significant critique against contemporary

notions of courtly masculinity, replacing it with a Biblical example that, most conveniently for the Jesuits, incorporates diligent study. Honor's reference to the figure of Job also contributes to the play's attempt to promote a productive model of masculinity, as the Bible records that "among his [Job's] possessions there were seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she asses, and a family exceeding great: and this man was great among all the people of the east" (1:3). The figure of an elite man whose agricultural labors brought him great wealth that he stewarded virtuously constitutes the perfection of the masculinity that should be embodied by Urbano, himself a *rico hacendado*, who "ensanche covijos / y cure y coja . . . sembrados" (Alonso Asenjo, "Estudio" lxx, Cigorondo 71). Urbano remarks that, while he spent time at his tutor's side, his Spanish father prepared him for the labors of adulthood by depriving him of luxuries that Iuvenis enjoys:

Doce años tenía

y qué cosa era capa no savía.

No porque le faltava

a mi padre caudal para pintarme,

que subir me mandava

sobre el jaez bordado y pasearme

junto a mi ayo a rratos

sin gorra, en cuerpo y rrotos los çapatos. (Cigorondo 72-73)

Urbano's nostalgic lament for his ascetic upbringing implicitly valorizes the role of disciplined education in his maturation into a *rico hacendado*. Urbano and Estudio concur that industrious, well-educated youth and the fathers who raise them exemplify ideal manhood. Estudio comments to him that it is crucial to enact this masculinity lest unproductive children prodigalize their hard-earned wealth. Urbano laments:

De eso y no de otro entiendo
naçer, señor, haciendas estremadas
que en rrenta yban creçiendo
por manos de los biejos cultivadas,
en poder de los hijos
se vuelven humo estancias y cortijos. (Cigorondo 73-74)

Urbano's valorization of "haciendas estremadas" underscores the importance of maintaining the wealth created by plantation homes through rigorous agricultural labor. While I do not suggest that the play argues that Iuvenis or Urbano, the city's elite, should undertake to toil in the fields themselves, I do contend that the play positions laborious study as necessary to the performance of masculinity for the elite class of Poblano men whose social responsibilities included overseeing the large *haciendas* that financed a good part of the local economy. By constructing this laborious study as a Catholic virtue, *Tragedia* furthers the economic production desired from the colonial enterprise while simultaneously inscribing the Society of Jesus's prized humanist education into the model.

Discursively, *Tragedia* promotes a model of masculinity that is well-aligned with the principles espoused by historical texts that conceptualized Puebla as an industrious social sphere fit for “los ángeles,” free of the idleness and slothful unemployment associated with the court at Mexico City. Earlier, I drew from Hirschberg and others to illuminate the ideological establishment of Puebla according to these values, but *Oçio*’s representation of Poblano life repeatedly satirizes the citizenry for its failure to enact the diligent labor for which the town was created. This heavy satire makes plain that the performed city’s social practices contradict the town’s designated purpose, and leads to questions concerning the relationship between *Tragedia* and its actual historical context. Indeed, further examination of the social practices of early modern Poblano society uncovers that *Oçio*’s proposed model of masculinity sought to correct the historical behaviors of a citizenry largely composed of social climbers who aspired to the lazy luxury of the Spanish nobility in Mexico City and Spain.

Ida Altman’s study of Puebla in the late sixteenth century reveals that its early prosperity eventually led to its designation as the seat of the archdiocese of Tlaxcala (47). She notes that, ironically, with this religious appointment came a new level of wealth and political power that that enabled the kind of aristocratic lifestyle that the founders had hoped to prevent, and the elite class of Creole society in Puebla reproduced the idle, slothful ways of life that characterized the capitol (Altman 47). Julia Hirschberg’s prosopographical analysis of early Poblano life reveals that the parasitic sloth of later Poblanos is not surprising, as many of the earliest inhabitants failed to live up to the town’s imagined purpose, preferring instead to press “for every merced the crown would

bestow” (17). The citizenry was also given to inflating their social status within the hierarchy of the traditional Spanish class system. John Elliott remarks that Spain’s titled aristocracy did not participate in the conquest of the New World, and in fact it sought to prevent the development of this class in the colonies (*Empires* 163). In the absence of a formally titled ruling class, the social hierarchy of most colonial communities was determined by those who could afford the status symbols that would validate a spurious claim to nobility (Elliott, *Empires* 163-64). Hirschberg’s work confirms that Poblanos took advantage of this mobility in spades. As previously mentioned, historical records indicate that no original settler even possessed the title of “don,” yet a 1531 review of Poblano’s claims to nobility found that forty percent of the population claimed *hidalgo* status. As the years went on, this percentage hovered around one-third. Hirschberg writes that these social pretensions were in keeping with normal levels documented throughout the overseas colonies in the same period (26), and they are also represented in Cigorondo’s *Oçio*.

Through the figure of Estudio, the play blames the deficient practice of colonial masculinity and the Poblanos’ desire to attain a life of slothful idleness and waste for the practice of parasitic social climbing. *Oçio*’s prologue previews this message for the audience by proclaiming that the play will foreground a youth who has courtly aspirations but “<Esc>oge por mejor la vida oçiosa, / <do> los moços no ven, de puro banos, / <dón>de ponen los pies, menos las manos” (Cigorondo 4). Alonso Asenjo explains that the expression “poner los pies,” signifies ““no saber tras de lo que se andan,”” or the act of ““exponerse a mil peligros”” (“Estudio” 43).⁴¹ Alonso Asenjo goes

on to observe that next expression, “menos las manos,” is contextualized by the “puros banos” of the preceding verse, and thus “podría significar ‘tener o hacerse exageradas ambiciones’” (“Estudio” 43). Given Hirschberg’s historical evidence that very few Poblanos were titled, Iuvenis’s previous claim of noble heritage suggests that perhaps he too has inflated his social status. A false claim to nobility would certainly be in keeping with the represented society of Puebla, in which the Boticario sells “. . . infusiones / de onrras y pretensiones, / que hacen perder el seso / y Redoblan las açiones” (Cigorondo 63). Urbano and Estudio later trade frank opinions on the practice of claiming noble status through the accumulation of luxuries. Estudio recounts that in New Spain:

. . . no a salido
del caxcarón el pollo y ya le tienen
de púrpura vestido,
quaxado en sedas y antes le previenen
con el nuevo aparejo
que el vestido primero llegue a viejo. (Cigorondo 73)

He condemns the use of expensive cloths for the ridiculized “pollo” infants of the New World, as well as the wasteful spending that accompanies this show of wealth. Urbano agrees with him, lamenting to Estudio that this method of social climbing is practiced throughout all the classes of Puebla:

Si eso sólo corriera
entre los hijos nobles bien nacidos

más tolerable fuera.

Mas ya de seda al hijo los vestidos

Cortan por un rasero

El público ofical y cavallero. (Cigorondo 73)

Urbano cannot distinguish between the children of public officials or nobles, as they all outfit their children in silk. This unrestrained use of luxury to support the pretense of elite status serves as a direct rebuke to those historical Poblanos who engaged in the practice. In its place, *Tragedia* supports a model of masculinity that constructed industry as a virtue, and praised those who devoted labor to agricultural pursuits. The figure of Honor closes the play by exiling Oçio to sea, a null space whose inability to be inhabited by humans, dramatic or otherwise, provides a fitting prison for the allegorical vice. Thus, the text responds to the realities of colonial life by arguing for a social hierarchy that forbids spurious claims to nobility, but which also promotes a new model of masculinity in which elite males were expressly encouraged to study and gain the knowledge and discipline necessary to oversee great agricultural profit.

In the vein of *Éubulo* and *Lelio*, the representation of *Oçio's* Estudio convincingly establishes the judgment of a counselor figure as authoritative within the domestic sphere. On the peninsula, Acevedo's plays employ the superiority of the counselor figure to communicate the utility of Jesuit judgment and thus extend the Society's influence over the familial relations of historical households. In addition, Acevedo's *Caropo* critiques the prodigal figure's wasteful spending as indicative of an immature, unrestrained masculinity, and in doing so it anticipates later condemnations of elite

masculinity as decadent and economically unproductive. This failure of noble masculinity did not go unnoticed by New Spanish commentators, as evidenced by Cigorondo's *Oçio*, which proposes a solution to this crisis of masculinity in the form of men who are well-educated and capable of devoting themselves to cultivating economic productivity through agriculture. In proposing this remedy, *Oçio*'s dramatic action responds to the realities of its colonial society, in which elite men were not subject to the behavioral limitations placed upon titled nobles in Spain and could become *ricos hacendados* whose close association with agricultural labor was viewed as a sign of their religious virtue. Through the diligence embraced with Iuvenis's visit to the house of Honor at the end of the play, the represented society returns to the parameters of holy social space set forth in the town's founding documents and voiced in the play by Estudio. Indeed, *Oçio*'s banishment assures that Iuvenis, and by allegorical extension the next generation of Poblano society, is free from sloth and safely on the path to eternal salvation. In the following pages I shall return to Acevedo's troubled prodigal figures, and to the dire straits of Federico in Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*. Happily, however, all is well in the represented Puebla de los Ángeles, where young men shall embody the diligence required of them in order to save their souls. As Honor's servant remarks at the end of the play, "Denme un hombre, señor, buen ocupado / y no será el infierno poderoso / a acometerle (Cigorondo 125).

Notes

¹ This was especially true for Jesuit plays, as their playwrights explicitly told audiences to learn from the moral lesson presented onstage (González Gutiérrez 222-30).

² For a detailed discussion of the relationship between aesthetic drama and social drama, see Chapter One, pages 40-48.

³ The first verses of the parable read: “And he [Jesus] said: A certain man had two sons: And the younger of them said to his father: Father, give me the portion of substance that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his substance. And not many days after, the younger son, gathering all together, went abroad into a far country: and there wasted his substance, living riotously” (Luke 15:11-13).

⁴ Pedro de Salas’s play, *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (*Coloquio*, 1611), is perhaps the most faithful and the most troubling in terms of the moral authority of the represented father figure. *Coloquio* does not depict the father-son relationship at all, but rather follows the Biblical paradigm by introducing the main character, Federico, as he leaves home to study in Salamanca. It stresses Federico’s represented relationship with Escolástica, a pious counselor figure. I will thoroughly flesh out the complexities of the omission of Federico’s father from the text and his replacement with Escolástica in the next chapter.

⁵ While *Caropo* was performed in 1565, Acevedo’s tradition of reworking the Parable of the Prodigal Son began in 1555, when he adapted the Protestant Willem Gnaphaeus’s popular play, *Acolastus* (Picón García 429). This extinct manuscript likely followed the dramatic action of the Gnaphaeus’s *Acolastus* by including the character of a pious counselor.

⁶ For more on this topic, see Chapter One, pages 3-4.

⁷ The Jesuits were not the first to attempt to educate the public. The first doctrinal schools were founded in the early 1500s to educate *morisco* children in Andalusia, and Juan de Avila had some early success with his private schools in Andalusia and Castile (Nalle 111).

⁸ Chapter Five of John O’Malley’s *The First Jesuits* observes that this mobility also enabled Jesuit efforts to improve the lives of prisoners, prostitutes, the sick, and orphans.

⁹ The Society’s colleges educated students in Renaissance humanist subjects –it especially prized rhetoric– it did so while at the same time teaching a firm support for the scholastic theology of the Saint Thomas Aquinas (O’Malley 226). This pedagogical approach thus trained students to become masters in the art of persuasion while at the same time presenting them with a “proper” theological point of view.

¹⁰ These were the general confession, the Our Father, the Ave Maria, and the Credo and Salve (Kamen 84).

¹¹ Luke Clossey’s book, *Salvation and Globalization in Early Jesuit Missions*, documents some of the numerous methods the Society employed to introduce themselves to communities that stretched from Germany to China to Mexico, each time adjusting their presentation to be accepted within the cultural peculiarities of a community.

¹² The Tridentine Catechism designated men who held positions of authority in a community as social father figures who were worthy of the same type of filial obedience. These men included political leaders, householders, teachers, artisanal masters, and the like (411-12).

¹³ All references to *Filauto* are taken from the Vicente Picón's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*

¹⁴ I will investigate the relationship between *Filauto*'s penitential process and the play's represented social order in Chapter Four.

¹⁵ For more information, see Chapter One (26-28).

¹⁶ This doctrine has its roots in the Apostle Paul's discursive construction of celibacy as holy ideal. He writes: "It is good for a man not to touch a woman. But for fear of fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband. But I speak this by indulgence, not by commandment. For I would that all men were even as myself: but everyone hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that. But I say to the unmarried, and to the widows: It is good for them if they so continue, even as I. But if they do not contain themselves, let them marry. For it is better to marry than to be burnt" (1 Corinthians 7:1-2, 6-9).

¹⁷ This innovative, Jesuit attempt to exert control over the behavioral norms of domestic space falls in line with the more general tradition of moralists exhorting men to adhere to acceptable models of male behavior. Elizabeth Leffeldt notes that moralists throughout the sixteenth century promoted "a range of acceptable models of behavior for men" that sought to shape their behavior according to selected cultural values (467).

¹⁸ All references to *Caropo* are taken from the Vicente Picón García's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo S.I.*

¹⁹ Perhaps the most influential Jesuit pedagogue of the day, Juan Bonifacio felt it important to tenderly encourage pupils' efforts while still maintaining rigorous standards for intellectual progress. For more on this topic, see Chapter One (3-4).

²⁰ The text stresses the care with which Eutrápelo circulated his account in the community to outwit Lelio's keen judgment. Lelio counsels Megadoro: "No se me habrían escapado las argucias, créeme, y no hubiese creído a Tigelio, el padre, si no lo hubiera escuchado también de otros" (Acevedo 513).

²¹ See Chapter Two (25).

²² In Chapter Four, I will return to discuss the relationship between the Acevedian construction of masculinity and the represented social order, specifically addressing the relationship between class structure and the masculinity constructed by these early texts.

²³ Scholars generally recognize that gender is a cultural construct (Leffeldt 464), as Judith Butler has so eloquently argued. Butler demonstrates exhaustively that masculinity and femininity arise from individuals' performance of behavioral norms that maintain a degree of correspondence to the "regulatory practices of gender coherence" that are unique to each society (Butler, *Gender* 24), and which require individuals to enact specified attributes that "effectively constitute the identity they are said to express or reveal" (Butler, "Performative" 528). Thus, "[t]here is no universal standard of manhood [or womanhood] that transcends

time and place. Instead, these codes are socially and culturally constructed and may vary by class, age, and other factors” (Lehfeltdt 464).

²⁴ In Chapter Four, I will also address the relationship between Megadoro’s performed inability to restrain his paternal affection and the model of masculinity constructed by the text.

²⁵ For more on Oçio’s strategies for disrupting the production of a virtuous social space in Puebla, see Chapter Two, page 22.

²⁶ The writings of Evagrius Ponticus record the first designation of certain behaviors as mortally dangerous to the soul in the fourth century AD. In the sixth century, Pope Gregory I condensed this list into seven sinful behaviors, adding the weight of his papacy to their prohibition (Wenzel, “Seven” 2, 4).

²⁷ The *Nuevo Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* does not list an entry for *ociosidad*, but it defines *oçioso* as the adjective for a man who: “no se ocupa en cosa alguna”.

²⁸ “Contrary virtues” are those virtues that should be practiced in order to ward off the temptations of the mortal sins, and should not be confused with the four cardinal virtues Christianity adopted from Antiquity - prudence, justice, restraint, and fortitude- or the three Pauline virtues recorded in the New Testament -faith, hope, and love (*caritas*) (Wenzel, “Seven” 10-11).

²⁹ This time period marks the era in which the modern capitalist economy came into being around the North Atlantic and its colonial territories (Connell 186). It encompasses the apex of Jesuit theater productions, which occurred from 1555-1615.

³⁰ Allyson Poska mentions that one sixteenth-century critic even ridiculed Philip II’s personal grooming as effeminate (4).

³¹ Isidore’s fame throughout the sixteenth century would be cemented with his canonization in 1622 (Lehfeltdt 473).

³² The push to bring vagabonds under clerical authority supports the argument I advanced in Chapter Two, that the Church sought to locate *hijos desubidientes* in spaces authorized for the practice of Christian virtue under the leadership of biological or metaphorical father figures.

³³ See Chapter Two (38-40).

³⁴ As Urbano’s son, Iuvenis believes himself to be Poblano nobility. He makes his social standing explicit for the audience: “Nobles padres me engendraron, / en nobleça fui naçido” (Cigorondo 19).

³⁵ Scholars working on the construction of masculinity in early modern Spain generally concur that, in almost all of its complex forms, it was at its heart antifeminine. In Poska’s words: “Under no circumstances were men supposed to act like women, and effeminacy was a serious insult” (4).

³⁶ In Oçio’s opening monologue he asserts: “Mugeres me son las cosas; / por demás mi rreyno bive, / pues bemos que ya se sige: / son mugeres, luego oçiosas” (Cigorondo 8).

³⁷ Medieval medical discourse claimed that menstruation was a frequent ailment of Jewish men, and regularly believed them to be sodomites, an accusation that stripped them of any power or authority in society (Mirrer 73, 75).

³⁸ D.M. Hadley notes that males who did not lead their own households, such as clergy, servants, and youth, were on the losing side of the battle for social recognition of a fully masculine identity (“Introduction” 5).

³⁹ The supposition that the dominant form of masculinity belonged to the father circulated heavily during the apex of Jesuit theater (1555-1615). Poska notes that the basic attribute of adult masculinity remained the ability to provide for a family as a *paterfamilias*, and observes that much advice to married men targeted the ordering of their household (14, 4).

⁴⁰ In order to counteract Estudio’s prescription, Oçio intercepts Melchior on his way to the pharmacy, invokes the power of sleep over him, and replaces the pious script with one for lethargy. Melchoir is confused by his sluggish state, and this confusion provides a pretext for his inquisition of the pharmacy’s holdings (Cigorondo 53-63).

⁴¹ This reinforces the notion inherent in *desubidiencia*, that the prodigal sins by leaving the space of his father’s jurisdiction to follow a contrapuntal moral authority.

Chapter Four

Jesuit Prodigal Son Plays and the Social Order in Spain

*Surca una nave ligera,
viento en popa y mar en calma,
y en la próspera fortuna
la vida y conciencia ensancha.*

(Salas 41r)

At the end of the Jesuit Juan de Cigorondo's *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (*Tragedia*, 1586), the pious counselor figure exiles a devil from the represented town of Puebla de los Ángeles, saving colonial youth by ensuring that they are not tempted to a life of parasitic sloth. The play's performed resolution models for the audience a new paradigm of virtuous masculinity, one that prescribes study as necessary for elite young men to become profitable landowners. This paradigm thus executed an important cultural function by conflating virtuous behavior, a goal of the Church, with economic profit, a goal of the Empire. While the lived realities of New Spanish society facilitated the construction of this solution, in Spain the prohibition against associating elite men with agricultural production forced early modern commentators to seek a different remedy for the historical nobility's profligate behaviors. In this chapter, I focus upon Jesuit theater's representation of high-born prodigal figures on the Iberian Peninsula. I especially attend to the depiction of the prodigal's repentance and return to Christian behavioral norms, since through this process these works articulate the paradigm of masculinity desired of young men by the represented religious authority figures. This, in turn, offers insight into

the ways in which the performed social order ought to function according to the Society of Jesus.

I began my discussion of this relationship in Chapter Three with a look at the way in which two of Pedro Pablo de Acevedo's prodigal son plays, *Comedia Caropo* (*Caropo*, 1565) and *Comedia Filauto* (*Filauto*, 1565), anticipated the crisis of elite masculinity that occurred throughout the Spanish Empire at the turn of the seventeenth century.¹ Written during the first decade of Philip II's reign, Acevedo's plays showcase counselor figures who discourage prodigal sons from wasting their inheritance on corporal pleasures, advice that was startlingly similar to that given to courtly nobles by seventeenth-century Spanish moralists. These commentators sought to cultivate a paradigm of male behavior, or a masculinity, that would return a struggling empire to its former glory.² Whereas earlier I focused upon the advice given by represented counselors, in this chapter I investigate the plays' construction of masculinity from the perspective of the prodigal figure by attending to those passages that narrate his repentance. I uncover that Acevedo's works devote little dramatic attention to the prodigal's point of view, instead focusing upon the father's perspective, even as the son repents. This performed emphasis on the father confirms that the prodigal repentance privileges a social order in which elite, youthful masculinity is best enacted through physical and spiritual obedience to father figures. In addition, the representation of each prodigal's ruin allows Acevedo's plays to condemn the influence of numerous servants whose domestic work enables them to fleece the prodigal out of his inheritance. I maintain that the depiction of these characters as wicked reinforces a historical division

between elite members of society and the exploding numbers of marginalized workers whose economic needs threatened the wealth of the upper classes.

I then take up Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (*Coloquio*, 1611), a work featuring Federico, a noble youth whose father separates him from his wife, Escolástica, by sending him to the University of Salamanca. There, he betrays Escolástica by marrying Sofia, the Princess of Babylon, who symbolizes "sabiduría humana," and opposes the divine wisdom represented by Escolástica. His marriage into the Kingdom of Babylon thus constitutes a *jornada desubidiente* and qualifies him as a prodigal figure.³ Previously, I mentioned that *Coloquio* diverges from the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son in several important ways. Namely, the play fails to represent Federico's biological father, even though this figure is central to the parable found in the Gospel of Luke. Second, *Coloquio* departs from other Jesuit prodigal son plays by casting the pious counselor not as a male authority figure, but rather as the protagonist's wife. I begin my analysis of this play with the first divergence, that of the omission of Federico's father. Through the youth's discourse, the audience learns that Federico's father has sent him to study in Salamanca in order to undermine his marriage to Escolástica, a union which symbolizes his son's entrance into the Society of Jesus. In this way, Federico's performed prodigality in Salamanca criticizes those fathers who opposed a clerical vocation for their sons, and I contend that the play's deliberate omission of Federico's father evinces a desire to bypass this problematic figure in an effort to realize a social hierarchy based upon filial obedience of spiritual sons to their clerical fathers. I then analyze the theatrical construction of this social order to reveal that, in spite of her gender, *Coloquio* endows

Escolástica with the pastoral power normally reserved for male clerics.⁴ This gender-bending casting serves two purposes. First, Escolástica's represented femininity attempts to mitigate the historical tensions which arose as young men rendered obedience to their male superiors, and second, its uncommon union of female wife and male cleric constitutes a Baroque *conceptismo* that dazzles the audience with the sophistication of Jesuit learning, thereby reinforcing their moral authority within the community.

The Prodigal Figure in 1565: A Question of Class

As I mentioned in Chapter Three, the Biblical tale of the Prodigal Son foregrounds the son's experience as he travels throughout the world "living riotously" (Luke 15:13). It allots half of the parable's verses to narrating the prodigal's ruinous journey, one that is represented in Jesuit prodigal son plays as a *jornada desubidiente*. This journey starts with the prodigal's sin of *desubidiencia*, or the transgression of leaving the virtuous father figure's jurisdiction in the hopes of enjoying the impious pleasures of a worldly sphere. The Biblical tale focuses upon this part of the journey, introducing the father's first-person perspective only after the son has experienced *metanoia* and returned home to ask for forgiveness.⁵ In contrast, Acevedo's *Filauto* and *Caropo* emphasize the father figures' experience of their sons' prodigality, even as these youths repent and readopt Christian behavioral norms. This discursive subordination of son's perspective to the father's aims to strengthen the social order desired by the Society of Jesus, one in which young men should be keen to render filial obedience to their biological and social superiors.

The first two acts of Acevedo's *Filauto* employ dialogue between the father, Megadoro, the counselor, Eúbulo, and the servant, Psédolo, to discuss the prodigal figure's actions. Megadoro reveals that his son, Filauto, has disrespected the paternal mandate ascribed to virtuous father figures by the Catechism of the Council of Trent with his *desubidiencia*.⁶ The beginning of the play attributes Filauto's spatialized rebellion to Psédolo's wicked influence, effectively making the servant a contrapuntal father figure in regard to Megadoro and Eúbulo. Act One emphasizes the antagonism between these two opposing moral authorities, and devotes little dramatic attention to the representation of Filauto's perspective. In fact, Filauto does not appear onstage until Act Two, which features his repentance. According to Tridentine dogma, repentance for sins ought to be heartfelt, sincere, and accompanied by contrition, or inner sorrow over impious acts and a hatred for them (*Catechism* 91). Filauto's description of his experiences, however, foregoes his emotions and frames his repentance in terms of his obedience to his father. He expresses his *metanoia* thus: "Me atenderé a la norma de mi padre, a la que adaptaré mis costumbres, mi vida y mi pensamiento. Pues sé que si él siente que yo quiero volver al buen camino y hacer lo que conviene a los jóvenes inocentes, se portará conmigo con gran benevolencia" (Acevedo 357). Filauto's professed desire to follow the "buen camino" of Christian practice to his father's pious home elides his emotions and privileges his father's response to his decision. Megadoro's authority again pervades the scene when Filauto returns to petition him for forgiveness. The scene skips the representation of Filauto's plea, instead opening with Megadoro's proclamation of restored social order: "Has hecho feliz hoy a tus padres, Filauto, si la actitud que has adoptado es de corazón y no te arrepientes del camino emprendido, como es costumbre

en los adolescentes” (Acevedo 363). A long lecture on the virtues of obedience follows, after which Filauto reaffirms the morality of his decisión to practice *ubidiencia*: “ahora después de haberte escuchado, has confirmado con tus saludables consejos mi decisión hasta tal punto que ya nada deseo más vivamente que entregarme enteramente a mi padre, para que ordene y mande lo que quiera” (Acevedo 365). This reconciliation, dependent upon Filauto’s obedience to his father, reestablishes order among the represented men of Megadoro’s well-to-do household.

More so than in *Filauto*, *Caropo*’s representation of the title character’s repentance foregrounds the corrective advice offered by its father figures, Megadoro and Lelio. For four acts, the faithful Lelio assists Megadoro as he deals with his son’s rebellion, instigated by the impiety of his servant, Eutrápelo. Indeed, the servant impoverishes Caropo during the final act, when he robs him and flees. Abandoned and destitute, the prodigal instantly blames his downfall on his own disobedience: “Yo, desgraciado de mí, me he buscado mi propia ruina, porque no me ha importado nada desdeñar las advertencias paternas y nunca he querido escuchar pacientemente los consejos de Lelio. ¡Ay!, ahora sé por experiencia que todo aquello de lo que me advertía mi padre era verdad. ¡Oh, pérfido Eutrápelo, cómo me has arruinado!” (Acevedo 575). Caropo’s brief expression of sorrow is overshadowed by an affirmation of the beneficial moral authority of his father figures, Megadoro and Lelio. He acknowledges his father’s praise of virtuous behavior as “verdad,” and then concurs with Megadoro’s admonition that youth should remain under a paternal roof. The play presents his affective experience in terms of *desubidiencia*: “¡Que el cielo y la tierra y todo lo que ha sido creado me acusen, me agobien y me persigan con violencia! Me liberé del yugo paterno, que, tras

acostumbrarme a él, me habría resultado suavísimo; creía que había encontrado la ocasión de disfrutar de los placeres como deseaba. ¡Ay! ¡Qué justamente sufro!” (Acevedo 575, 577). In citing his break from the “yugo paterno,” Caropo valorizes the filial obedience which Lelio and Megadoro construct as proper for young men. He yearns to be firmly located under his father’s authority, lamenting that “[e]stoy cansado de andar descarriado” (Acevedo 577). Subsequent scenes focus upon Megadoro’s worry for his son, thereby enclosing the scene of Caropo’s sorrow in terms of its impact upon the father figure.

The play continues to privilege Megadoro’s experience of Caropo’s return from prodigality when the youth next appears onstage, disheveled, to inform the audience of a dream in which he “sentaba en la mesa de mi casa y que veía a mi padre y a toda la familia felices con mi llegada” (Acevedo 581). Although he admits that this reconciliation would be unjust, he reasons: “Pero ¿y si Dios ha metido en mi cabeza estas cosas para que vuelva a mi casa y me someta obedientemente a mi padre?” (Acevedo 583). By attributing this imagined scene of paternal reconciliation to the will of God, Caropo’s discourse underscores the early modern exegetical interpretation of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son, in which the father figure’s forgiveness symbolizes the Christian god’s reconciliation with sinners (Minelli 1). This notion, then, emboldens him to be reconciled in spite of his guilt. The performed prodigal returns and begs aid from Lelio, averring that he longs to “aprender lleno de vergüenza a mostrarme en adelante obediente con [Megadoro],” a statement which Lelio welcomes (Acevedo 583). Pleased with Caropo’s acceptance of Megadoro’s moral authority, Lelio reunites the youth with his father. This scene opens with the represented father’s query: “Este que veo ante mí es

mi hijo?” (Acevedo 585). Stage directions indicate that this question refers to the youth’s impoverished appearance. Symbolically, however, it subtly seeks to determine if Caropo will submit himself to a social order of filial obedience. Caropo’s response evokes the obedience rendered to priests in the moment of confession by their spiritual sons: “Padre, soy indigno de ser llamado hijo tuyo. Confieso que soy un depravado y un criminal; sin embargo, padre clementísimo, no desprecies mis suspiros ni mis lágrimas ni las súplicas de Lelio. Ténme, al menos, entre tus criados, padre, puesto que soy indigno de ser llamado hijo” (Acevedo 587). Caropo’s words concur with Megadoro’s interpretation of his actions, confessing that he rejected the role of “hijo” and its attendant obedience. This statement conforms to confessional discourse, in which penitents recount their sins as matters of “self-accusation,” conveying an affirmation of their guilt in order to obtain pardon from discerning clerics (*Catechism* 283). Caropo’s plea to his father next appeals to the mercy of the “clementísimo” Megadoro, attempting to reinscribe the youth in the hierarchy of filial obedience. Vicente Picón García has noted the didactic intent of this performed return to social order, which “invita a los espectadores a recibir el texto como una fructífera lección que les impulse a no desviarse del ‘buen camino’” (“Caropo” 431). The representation of Caropo’s repentance closes the play with the message that the “buen camino” of Christian virtue includes returning home, seeking forgiveness and subordinating oneself to paternal authority. The play’s ending, however, precludes an exploration of the prodigal’s future functions within the social hierarchy, eternally privileging the social status of the represented father and defining Caropo as virtuous only inasmuch as he enacts the obedience befitting his filial role.

The notion that “son” is a role to be enacted through the performance of certain behaviors extends beyond the dramatic action of Acevedo’s prodigal son plays to lived social experience. Richard Schechner has observed that individuals reproduce, or restore, behaviors that society designates as proper to the identities that they seek to enact (35).⁷ Acevedo’s works stage this dynamic by requiring sons to enact submission to the paternal mandate of older, pious males in order to conform to the norms of Christian virtue. The theatrical valorization of filial obedience, however, directly contradicted prevailing formations of masculinity in early modern Spain, where factors such as class, age, and occupation fostered the practice of competing and contradictory forms of masculinity, with men differentiating themselves from other men by a variety of means” (Hadley 4). I argue that the emphasis on filial obedience in Acevedo’s prodigal son plays responds to the historical antagonisms between two paradigms of manhood, that of the son and that of the father. Specifically, these works constitute discursive attempts to cast filial submission in positive terms in an era when, historically, sons strove to practice the dominant masculinity of the patriarchal householder. The construction of the father figure as a dominant male has its roots in the valorization of the Old Christian knight, whose masculinity depended upon the successful military conquest and domination of other men in the name of the Church (Larson 8-9). Elizabeth Lehfeltdt notes that early modern Spanish commentators often utilized this model in their advice to elite men, encouraging them to “live virtuously, avoid immoderation, and receive proper military training” (470).⁸ Ruth Mazo Karras’s research on late medieval masculinity has found that the valorization of aggression, prized in the conquering masculinity of knights, carried over into other paradigms of masculinity as time progressed. For example, the university

student jostled in rhetorical combat, and the cleric battled spiritual temptations (*Boys* 90; “Thomas” 59). Thus European societies employed the social dynamics of patriarchy, an operating principle which involved not only the subordination of women, but also the subordination of other men, “either younger, weaker or simply different” (Aird 40).

This helps clarify the historical function of symbolic male combat in the father-son relationship in medieval Europe, which afforded a superior position to the householder. Marriage constituted the primary sign of a youth’s entry into adulthood (Mazo Karras, *Boys* 54), and for noble families, the medieval custom of primogeniture obliged the eldest son to exercise patience while he awaited the inheritance of his patrimony and its accompanying social status of *paterfamilias* (Aird 43). Obtaining this social status was critical to a young man’s ability to exercise the strength of his mandate by subordinating others, the behavioral marker of the normative conquest-based masculinity. Consequently, becoming a householder was roundly considered necessary by any youth seeking to be recognized as “a fully gendered adult male” (Aird 43). Elite young men, however, did not always await their inheritance and adult maturity patiently. Aird cites the eleventh-century example of William the Conqueror’s son Robert as an exemplary case of the competition that may arise between father and son when the *iuvenis* seeks to appropriate the dominance that culture ascribed to the *paterfamilias*.⁹ Certainly, the practice of primogeniture waned over time, but the legacy of tension persisted between father and son as both strove to practice the dominance accorded to normative masculinity. Alexandra Shepard provides examples of this tension in Reformation England, which constructed biological father figures as responsible for cultivating the practice of virtue among their family members, who in turn were to obey

the paternal mandate.¹⁰ Shepard writes that “heading a household was associated with the mastery not only of a man’s self, but of his subordinates and his resources, and in this way it was often equated with manhood itself” (70). Thus she views the tendency of young men to carouse through English towns as acts of misrule that sought to subvert the father figures’ dominant social order (94). In Spain, Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro’s research on student life at the University of Salamanca reveals that youths there were similarly prone to disorderly activities, such as staying out all night, gambling, and visiting ““dubious ladies”” (63). These actions likely stem from the same desire manifested by English youth, a desire to disrupt the patriarchal order, if only for a time.

In light of the competitive tension between the masculinities of fathers and sons, I contend that Acevedo’s *Filauto* stages the prodigal’s repentance to suggest that youth are better off abandoning their quest for the normative masculinity of the *paterfamilias* in favor of a clerical vocation. This becomes clear when Megadoro utilizes his paternal mandate to send his son to the University of Salamanca. Although Filauto and Eúbulo preapprove the trip, the decision to send his son to Salamanca ultimately rests with him, as he will finance the journey. In accord with the paradigm of an obedient son who patiently awaits his turn to become a householder, the play depicts Filauto’s acquiescence to the plan. Unfortunately, Megadoro sends Pséudolo as his son’s escort, and the servant beats him, robs him, and leaves him for dead. As a former prodigal, Filauto fears that his father will believe that he squandered the stolen money, and decides: “Me entregaré mejor al plan de vida de los que roban por los caminos públicos . . . y hacerme devoto de Venus” (Acevedo 409, 411). Before he returns to prodigality, however, he falls asleep and the allegorical characters of Mors, Justicia, Paz, and Misericordia convince him to

continue on the path to virtue. After finding succor at the temple of Mercy, Filauto vows obedience to a new father figure:

Adiós puerta y dintel de la casa paterna. Adiós también padres, parientes, vecinos e incluso mis muchos amigos. Desde ahora destierro ya mi espíritu la solicitud por este mundo engañoso, desprecio las riquezas perecederas y desdén por completo los gozos de la carne. La Misericordia me ha exhortado que me acompañe el Temor de Dios, que solamente éste sea mi guía, mi compañero y mi maestro . . . me ordena que vaya a los dominicos y me una a su comunidad, si deseo gozar de la vida eterna. (Acevedo 421)

In order to assure himself of his spiritual salvation, Filauto renounces the ties of patriarchal society, and its attendant temptations, and takes vows of obedience to the social father figures of the Dominican Order.¹¹ In so doing, Filauto reveals that he will render *ubidiencia* to the Church by removing his body and his spirit from the worldly sphere and locating it under the jurisdiction of the clergy. This performed preference for a clerical vocation is significant, given that secular culture tended to conceptualize clerical masculinity in feminized terms in contrast to its favorable characterization of the householder's normative masculine identity. R. N. Swanson remarks that if medieval and early modern European masculinity was defined by "the threefold activities of 'impregnating women, protecting dependents, and serving as provider to one's family,' then the medieval clergy as unworldly celibates were not meant to be masculine" (160). In order to counteract the prevailing characterization of clerics as effeminate, *Filauto's* emplotment places the blame for the youth's suffering squarely upon the representative of

normative masculinity, the patriarch. The play then saves Filauto from his father's poor judgment by offering his dedication to the Dominican Order as evidence that clerical masculinity is the safest paradigm for elite youth – both physically and spiritually. Consequently Filauto vows to throw himself at the feet of the Dominican prefect, so that “me tenga como un hijo suyo para siempre” (Acevedo 421). Any doubts about the play's attempt to entice young men to become clerics are removed in the peroration which follows Filauto's decision. It is given by the allegorical character of Temor, or fear of God, who advises the audience directly that: “os guardéis del riesgo ajeno y, sobre todo por los ejemplos de otros, preveáis con cuidado lo que os puede resultar ventajoso, no vaya a ser que la Muerte os sorprenda desprevenidos mientras seguís tras el mundo impostor y engañoso y tras el lujo y las delicias” (Acevedo 421-23). This exhortation to learn from the dramatic example of this prodigal figure first aims to realize a social order in which sons obey father figures, and second it strives to present clerical masculinity and obedience to clerical figures as the surest methods of enacting virtue.

In addition to encouraging young men to locate themselves under the moral authority of clerical father figures, *Filauto's* peroration uncovers yet another latent theme in the production. The character of Temor advises the audience that Filauto's performed example ought to caution them not to give themselves over to the moral influences of friends, who “incitando a mil infamias . . . suelen aniquilar los bienes del espíritu” (Acevedo 423). In the context of this play, Temor's warning recalls the prodigal figure's association with Pséudolo, the “siervo malo bien disimulado” (Acevedo 337). The peroration attributes Filauto's spiritual danger to his friendship with a member of the working class, and throughout the play the servants do consistently espouse a rather

problematic set of moral values. In my discussion of the prodigal figure's *desubidiencia*, I argued that he violates the social order of filial obedience by leaving the space of his father's virtuous moral authority to explore extra-domestic space under the tutelage of a contrapuntal, impious father figure who eventually robs him of his inheritance. Until now, I have refrained from commenting upon the fact that Acevedo's plays cast these wicked influences as servants, and also explore their interactions with other roguish characters in detail. Given that the representation of the servants' successful criminal acts could have proved attractive to some audience members, it is necessary to question their presence in Acevedo's plays. I maintain that these works depict successful rogues for two very specific purposes. First, staging the interactions of the lower class allows these plays to construct servants whose discourse and performed experiences favor the practice of Christian virtue even in the midst of their sinful acts, and second, the servants' ultimate escape at the end of the play reminds the plays' elite spectators of the utility of the counselor figure against the powerful threat that this restless social class will continue to pose.

In order to better understand the social dynamics between the noble families and those who serve them in these works, it is necessary to investigate briefly the historical relationship between these two social classes in sixteenth-century Spain. During the second half of the century, Charles V's economic prosperity faded into Philip II's troubled reign, and peninsular society witnessed a startling rise in the numbers of poor who moved from city to city in search of a livable wage. Anne Cruz records that the Empire's New World prosperity was nullified by "the rupture of the feudal system, urban development . . . intermittent plagues, price increases, and food shortages" that resulted

from imperial expansion and from European political unrest (xiv). The Spanish government and moral commentators alike debated the manner in which the growing numbers of the poor should be integrated into society, culminating in a recognized division between the urban elite and manual laborers, the latter of which were marginalized, either due to physical disability or due to their assumed moral and legal anomie (Maravall 140-42). Cruz analyzes legal records, religious commentaries and fictional discourse from this century and uncovers the Empire's assumption that the latter group of the poor willfully neglected work and favored criminality (45). Given that Christian virtue and vice served as founding principles for determining illegal acts, the belief that a good section of the poor were naturally given to crime implied that they were also a potential source of moral corruption for the social body (Cruz 43). Cruz explains that Philip II reinforced efforts to combat the rise in crime by corralling the poor into hospitals, restricting them to their natal cities, and by requiring them to register for licenses to beg (47, 54). The Spanish government thus made a point of physically confining those who were believed to be harmful to society's economic and spiritual well-being.

The historical condemnation of the poor for their perceived immorality emerged in Spanish fiction with the bold, first-person narratives of the picaresque, which feature marginalized characters striving to support themselves. Their protagonists, *pícaros*, are roguish types who regularly break social laws as they try to advance themselves in the social hierarchy, many times exposing the hypocrisy of the upper-classes along the way (Cruz 5). While the term *pícaro* came into widespread use at the end of the sixteenth century, Cruz notes that it was applied retroactively to the 1554 protagonist Lazarillo de

Tormes, whose titular story chronicles his efforts to survive through begging, stealing, and dissembling.¹² Acevedo's prodigal son plays, most notably *Caropo*, engage in contemporary dialogue about this social class by featuring proto-picaresque servants who practiced the moral impiety that Spanish society believed would corrupt the virtuous upper class.¹³ These rogues thus exemplify the historical danger that Spanish commentators identified in the numerous urban poor who went through various masters seeking employment. While archival correspondence does not offer details about specific social backgrounds of the audiences who attended Jesuit school plays, it does record that students' families, presumably of every social class, attended (O'Malley 226). Although it is impossible to ascertain the exact makeup of Acevedo's audiences, the evidence indicates that they were heavily composed of the elite, well-educated class, and then a number of lower class individuals who were related to schoolboys from poorer homes. Those who produced *Caropo* and *Filauto* could presume that their message would be heard by a good number of well-to-do individuals who might have servants in their employ. The impious servants' dealings with a knavish world of parasites, then, serves to remind the historical fathers in the audience of the utility of pious counselors who will help them guard against this ever-present threat.

In *Caropo*, the dramatic depiction of lower-class impiety centers on a tantalizing presentation of Eutrápelo's way of life. Once he escapes with the prodigal, Eutrápelo takes charge of spending the youth's inheritance in a most sumptuous manner. Through the preparations that Eutrápelo makes for *Caropo*'s final banquet, the dramatic emphasis in Act Five firmly lands on the proto-picaresque world of the local food market, where Eutrápelo introduces other roguish characters from his social class. He first conspires

with Tricongio, a character who proclaims that poverty has driven him to become a chef worthy of kings. Tricongio recounts his experiences to Caropo:

En otro tiempo, mi rey, yo era rico, tenía muchísimas propiedades. Pero, como todo cambia, ahora me encuentro sucio, descuidado y vestido con harapos; pues, desgraciado de mí, todo lo que tuve lo he pedido. La pobreza me arrojó a la cocina y en ella trabajo mucho y desde hace tiempo. Por mi arte se me llama cocinero real . . . Soy capaz de adornar en un momento mesas dignas de un rey con innumerable platos variados y exquisitos sabores. (Acevedo 543)

Tricongio's boasting qualifies him as a suitable chef for Caropo, who is the "rey" of Eutrápelo's duplicitous court. Next, the play introduces Balbino, who, like numerous picaresque figures, travels to the city in search of "algún ilustre varón a quien pudiera servir," only to remain unemployed and hungry (Acevedo 557). Tricongio welcomes him into the plot to rob Caropo, along with Apicio, a parasite ironically named after a celebrated Roman gourmand (Picón García, "Caropo" 435). Through their represented interactions, the play's dialogue details the sumptuous wine and dinner dishes that have been prepared, and which are so attractive that Apicio glorifies the plates on which they are served in a rousing song: "Oigo extender las mesas, me parece ver fuentes de plata cuadradas, circulares, redondas, aguamaniles, palanganas, jofainas, cipos, cálices, ciatos, nimbus, caresias, cráteras para mezclar" (Acevedo 569). Although the play's stage directions do not indicate the props used for the banquet scene, the documented tendency of Jesuit school plays to show off their riches onstage leads me to believe that Apicio's narration of the gluttony is likely an accurate description of the scene (González

Gutiérrez, *Teatro* 269-76). Along with the enticing nature of the dishes themselves, the performance of this scene provides evidence that, at this point the plays parasitic characters live off the riches of others quite successfully.

Nevertheless, *Caropo* proceeds to undercut the performed attractiveness of this parasitic way of life with the introduction of Balbino, a penitent rogue. When he first appears onstage, Balbino associates Eutrápelo with the use of material resources by seeking him out in the market, where Eutrápelo has “trato frecuente con atuneros, cocineros, carniceros, salchicheros, cazadores de pájaros, [y] pescaderos” (Acevedo 555). Balbino desires to integrate himself into this profitable “negocio” by working with Caropo who “intenta colocarse al lado de jóvenes muy ricos, a los que, desprevenidos e inseguros de las situaciones, envuelve en sus redes hasta que gastan completamente todos los bienes que poseen” (Acevedo 555). Balbino soon finds Tricongio and hears the happy news that the group plans to rob Caropo. The positive representation of their schemes soon changes when Balbino has a change of heart as the scam gets underway: “¿Qué voy a hacer? ¿Quedarme aquí más tiempo? No me gusta este modo de vida. Además, ahora debo velar por mí mismo; pues según he oído, éstos, ¡ay! van a robar a Caropo, el hijo de Megadoro. . . . Y si les sorprenden, servirán, como sospecho, de alimento a los cuervos, ya que los crímenes que han cometido son merecedores de un cruel castigo” (Acevedo 573). Balbino’s sudden decision to distance himself from this performed robbery is exemplary in that he now conforms to the behavioral standards established by civil law and by the Christian Decalogue. He embraces the practice of *ubidiencia*: “me marcharé a mi patria; prefiero llevar entre los míos una vida con escasez y penalidades que disfrutar aquí de abundantes riquezas” (Acevedo 573). Balbino rejects impious behaviors in favor

of returning across the territory that separates him from the sphere of his paternal authority, or “patria,” where he will embrace a virtuous poverty. The representation of a prodigal figure who comments upon the immorality of his own actions serves to annul the temptation presented by the feasting and swindling. Given that sixteenth-century religious discourse constructed poverty as a virtue and prescribed that it be endured patiently (Cruz 22), Balbino’s theatrical repentance exemplifies the Church’s approach to the practice of poverty.

Although Balbino repents and flees, the fact remains that Eutrápelo and his band escape with a good deal of money, and the same holds true for Psúdolo and his companions in *Filauto*.¹⁴ The servants’ performed escape could be interpreted as a reward for their crimes, and such an ending might encourage youth to look favorably upon the practice of vice. The representation of the servants’ success constructs an oppositional relationship between the upper-class and the working poor that encourages elite men to remain vigilant against the exploitation of their resources. *Filauto*’s recitation of Psúdolo’s impious acts supports this notion. He shrewdly identifies his money as the target of the servant’s schemes: “no hay que creer a los siervos falaces, que buscando sus propias ganancias echan a perder a los jóvenes ingenuos y de buenas costumbres” (Acevedo 357). The represented desire to protect his family’s financial means strengthens the depiction of servants as dangerous to the noble class. In fact, the youth blames Psúdolo for his impiety: “Pues si no hubiera tenido a éste como colaborador en mis fechorías, de las que es inventor, en absoluto me habría juntado con esos perdidos amigos, que quieren considerarme uno de los suyos mientras yo tenga dinero de donde poder gastar” (Acevedo 357). Psúdolo, eavesdropping, confirms this theatrical

perception of his class: “Es verdad lo que dice” (Acevedo 357). Filauto’s discourse makes Psúdolo’s greed indicative of the entire class of “siervos falaces,” whose threat extends beyond Filauto’s home, and consequently the servant becomes a figurehead of a widespread menace.

Further evidence for the generalization of the lower class as a source of impiety arises in *Caropo* when the prodigal figure’s brother, Heliodoro, discusses Megadoro’s grief with his servant, known only as Criado. Both boys denounce Caropo’s actions, a judgment that seems to evince their moral virtue. Criado, however, abruptly changes the subject by asking: “Pero, ¿quieres que juguemos un rato a la pelota?” (Acevedo 539). Heliodoro acknowledges that the game is “recomendable,” but rebuffs the idea in favor of studying his schoolbooks. His servant then advises him to treat his father’s wealth as a resource to be exploited, asking: “¿Por qué pierdes tus pocos años en el estudio de las letras, si tu padre tiene un espléndido patrimonio?” (Acevedo 539). Heliodoro’s response is exemplary: “No me vuelvas a dar este consejo si no quieres recibir una paliza; pues mi padre dice que la mejor herencia, superior a todo patrimonio, es el estudio de las letras y el amor a la virtud. Adiós; no quiero nada más contigo” (Acevedo 539). This exchange communicates the youth’s unquestioning obedience of the paternal mandate that requires him to study and to practice Christian virtue. The threat of physical violence toward Criado for disparaging these behaviors creates an adversarial relationship between the two boys, one in which the noble defends his father’s patrimony in the face of those who would exploit it. It is the servant, however, who has the last word: “¡Vete! Si ésta es tu religión, a mí me ha de entrar a golpes. Me voy a buscar a alguien con quien pueda distraerme un poco” (Acevedo 539). Just as Eutrápelo and Psúdolo successfully abandon

their respective prodigal figures to continue their search for new marks, the scene closes and Criado escapes unpunished.¹⁵

For the well-to-do audiences of these plays, the servant figures' successful escape, symbolic of their continuing threat, was likely a more salient feature than any performed attractiveness of their impiety. Heliodoro's servant vows that he will look for someone else to distract him from the virtuous pursuit of study, and I have already recorded that the play establishes Eutrápelo's pattern of relieving wealthy youth of their money. *Filauto's* Psédolo arranges for his fellow rogues to rob the repentant prodigal at knifepoint and then escapes into the woods. Although these tricksters keep their ill-gotten goods, within the dramatic action of these plays their escape also signals their ability to continue menacing young men as they take on new positions in new households. Their freedom reminds the viewing audience of the continued existence of their threat, as the performance aims to insulate the influence of the poor from the rich elite, who must guard against the exploitation of their resources.

A Prince in Babylon: Noble Masculinity in *Coloquio's* Court

In the forty-six years that separate the performance of Acevedo's prodigal son plays from the production of Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia*, the crisis of elite masculinity described in Chapter Three comes to fruition on the peninsula. The sixteenth-century Spanish concern with greater conformity to established codes of masculinity by elite males was motivated by the Empire's economic decline, which commentators linked directly to Spain's inability to support its overseas

colonization and European wars. Despite the overwhelming financial demands of imperial activity, historians record that Spanish nobles spent their resources lavishly (Kamen, *Golden* 25, 55).¹⁶ Both Elizabeth Leffeldt and Sidney Donnell have noted that this resulted in harsh criticisms, which were expressed in discourse that feminized nobles for their inability to reproduce the virtue and self-restraint attributed to normative, conquest-based Spanish masculinity (Leffeldt 465; Donnell 48).¹⁷ As ministers of state, Spanish noblemen were expected to epitomize these characteristics, and effeminacy, often signaled by economic decadence, was a serious insult (Nalle 4). Consequently, Spain's precarious social and economic position reflected very poorly upon the prowess of its noblemen.¹⁸ Donnell finds that the failure of the Empire's leaders to successfully reproduce the conquering masculinity attributed to their forebears resulted in the circulation of a cultural anxiety among Spanish commentators over a "certain lack . . . in the formative function of the very figure that attempts to fill the role of the father" (49). As a result, Donnell argues that both fictional and nonfictional texts began to feminize the father figure and question his importance, and that "even those who identified with Castilian hegemony underwent an unending battle with the imaginary ghosts who were perceived as continually penetrating the nation's soul and feminizing its masculinity" (50).

This was startlingly evident in the years preceding Salas's production of *Coloquio* in 1611, when Philip III made little secret of the fact that his favorite, the Duke of Lerma, directed statecraft while he entertained himself theatergoing and throwing parties (Donnell 146, 157). I contend that Salas's *Coloquio* reflects an anxiety over the impious behavior of the historical nobility. It offers a performed critique in which the counselor

figure, Escolástica, reproaches the Babylonian court for many of the same misdeeds that historical commentators attributed to the Spanish nobility. Previously, I mentioned that *Coloquio* diverges from other prodigal son tales in its failure to represent Federico's father and in its depiction of the counselor figure as a wife. *Coloquio* provides insight into this unusual situation near the end of Act One, when Federico recounts his life story to a disguised Escolástica. This exchange pinpoints the prodigal figure's position in the social hierarchy: "En la villa de Madrid, / de tercero Filipo corte . . . / nací de padres ilustres" (Salas 53r). He describes Philip III's court in Madrid as "honor de la ilustre España / cetro y corazón del orbe," and locates his lineage firmly within this sphere. He relates that as a child he fell in love with Escolástica, "sapiencia . . . divina," who offered him the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry in exchange for his religious vows. Federico then informs the audience that his father threw him in jail to prevent their union: "y al cumplimiento se opone / mi padre y al cuerpo libre / echa en cárcel y prisiones" (Salas 53r). Eventually, his father separates him from Escolástica by sending him to study in Salamanca, where he falls into moral ruin by marrying Sofía (Salas 53r). The representation of a noble father who actively prevents his son from joining the clergy implies a theatrical critique of noble males who preferred vice to virtue. John Elliot's description of noble life during Philip III's reign stresses the irresponsibility and impious leisure of the elite: "Hunting, the theater, and lavish Court *fiestas* occupied the days of the king and his ministers, so that diplomatic representatives would constantly complain of the difficulty of obtaining audiences and transacting their affairs" (*Imperial* 300). Given this historical background, Federico's lofty description of the court expresses hegemonic praise for the King's reign while also evoking an undercurrent of irony for

those audience members who knew of the monarch's failings. While I do not mean to fall victim to intentional fallacy, it is highly suggestive that Pedro de Salas was born in Madrid in 1585, and Jesuit records show that he spent his entire life teaching in the Society's Castilian colleges (Menéndez Peláez, *Jesuitas* 143). It is likely that his regional background, combined with his sophisticated education in Jesuit schools, allowed Salas to maintain a working knowledge of the controversies surrounding the royal court's governance of the Empire. This strengthens the conclusion that *Coloquio* figurally identifies Federico's father as a member of Philip III's court, and that his opposition to his son's chosen vocation is a reflection of the work's distrust in the ability of early modern, elite father figures to raise virtuous sons.

The decision of Federico's father to send him to study at Salamanca adds to the performed expression of distrust in noble father figures. Although the notion of studying at the University of Salamanca seems to be a virtuous endeavor, history records that student life at the university was often raucous and filled with moral temptations. This peril began on the students' journey to the city, located five days away from Madrid by mule (Rodríguez-San Pedro 51). If a youth survived the bandits, the relaxed student lodgings in the city allowed ample opportunity to indulge the passions, and strolling the city to enjoy *fiestas*, admire nuns, and watch *comedias* filled students' free time easily (Mazo Karras, *Boys* 80; Rodríguez-San Pedro 88-89). Although virtuous students and pious boarding houses did exist (Rodríguez-San Pedro 64), the literary stereotype of university life presented in picaresque literature is well-founded. Luis Enrique Rodríguez-San Pedro chronicles the physical abuse inflicted upon first year students, such as the *maltraca* and the *nevada*, and notes that rival colleges even established a

dueling-site by the river to resolve conflicts through violence (91-92).¹⁹ These historical realities –well known in the early seventeenth century- suggest that the play depicts Federico’s father as careless of his son’s virtue. Moreover, the dramatic proximity of Salamanca to the Kingdom Babylon in Salas’s *Coloquio* further emphasizes the city’s performed impiety since the Bible characterizes Babylon as “doomed and wicked” (Finkel and Seymour 12). Studying at the University of Salamanca, then, implied a good degree of exposure to the temptations of the flesh as well as to the practice of disrespectful, if not disobedient, behaviors that sought to disrupt the social order of patriarchy.

Coloquio’s identification of Federico as a member of Philip III’s court adds a new dimension of historical meaning to his actions as a royal son of Babylon. In Chapter Two, I detailed Federico’s represented prodigality, noting that he ignores his counselor’s warnings to reject Sofía and crosses the threshold into the Kingdom of Babylon. This *desubidiencia* to Escolástica’s Christian piety submerges him in an impious court where, much like the historical actors of the Spanish Empire, he will become a decadent, lazy nobleman.²⁰ Escolástica, disguised as a doctor, makes him patently aware of the situation: “Hijo, este rey [the King of Babylon] es el mundo / que promote de oro montes Todo el reino es confusión / ¿no ves que su mar te sorbe?” (Salas 53v). In addressing him as “hijo,” the counselor assumes a position of moral authority from which she judges Babylon to be a worldly sphere of iniquity, whose unstable sea belies a spurious promise of riches (Salas 52r). In the same vein of Acevedo’s penitent rogue, in *Coloquio* a Babylonian royal, the greedy Ricardo, takes a brief moment to express the wickedness of his own greed. He explains that gold does not bring happiness: “Como es

el oro amarillo, / melancólico en color, / aquel que le tiene amor / le hace salir al carillo” (Salas 52r, 57v). His attributes his sadness to the fact that “[v]erdades me afligen,” a statement which supports the Christian interpretation of greed as detrimental to the soul.²¹ The figure of Mencía, however, heartens him by reminding him that he may employ her particular vice, deceit, in order to hide his sorrow. She claims that deceit helps everyone in the kingdom advance himself: “Si el mercader no mintiera / ¿cómo la hacienda doblara? / Si el sastre verdad tratara / di Ricardo, ¿qué comiera?” (Salas 57v). Courtiers especially depend upon deceit and avarice to earn their living: “Pues pretendientes de corte, / truhanes y lisonjeros, / la mentira y los dineros / son de su ruta el norte” (Salas 57v). This metaphor inverts the traditional place of virtue as a worthy “north” for the laity by placing deceit and greed as the northerly objective of courtiers’ perverted spiritual practices. *Coloquio* later reveals that this search for riches has manifested itself in a veritable gold fever when Ricardo arrests Escolástica’s handmaid Clara, imprisoning her with golden chains (Salas 62v).²² Clara, who embodies divine truth, plainly accuses the corrupt royals of obscuring truth with their lust for gold: “han de presa la verdad / con cadenas de oro ahora. / ¿Faltan en palacio yerros?” (Salas 62v). She allegorically condemns one error in particular, that of bribes:

. . . a los perros

porque no ladren les dan

astutos ladrones pan,

a mí aquesta gente loca

con oro tapa mi boca

porque verdades no diga. (Salas 62v)

Clara likens her golden chains to the bread with which thieves bribe dogs to remain silent. By applying this analogy to the palace, she suggests that the nobles have risen through bribery and misappropriated funds. This recalls common methods of self-advancement in Philip III's court where the *de facto* ruler, the Duke of Lerma, once paid so much money in bribes that the realm obtained "virtually no benefit" from the 1,500,000 ducats paid in taxes by Catalonia and Valencia (Elliott, *Imperial* 299).

In fact, Clara's represented description of Babylon's lust for gold mirrors the accusations that historical commentators launched against the Spanish imperial court. Her reproach is worthy of an extended citation here:

Federico.	¿Lloras?
Clara.	No lloro, pues tornan los siglos de oro.
Sofía.	¿Siglos de oro?
Clara.	Y bien dorados, el fino oro en sus colores escapa de pecadores, y todo es oro, no hay cobre,

pues nadie cobra si es pobre,

que es más rica la cobranza

que con más oro se alcanza.

Ricardo. ¿No lo llores?

Clara. No lo lloro,

pues tornan los siglos de oro.

A la que viene la flota,

que si el mar tanto la azota,

es porque su oro codicia,

que al mar corrompe avaricia.

Ya es oro cuanto reluce,

pues nada sin oro luce,

pero no son luces puras

que al fin os dejan a oscuras.

Ricardo. ¡Calla!

Clara. Canto ya y no lloro,

pues tornan los siglos de oro. (Salas 62v)

Clara cleverly applies the newly minted term “siglos de oro,” to a far different vision of Spain than the one idealized by *Don Quixote de la Mancha* in 1605.²³ In Miguel de Cervantes’s work, the title character seeks to reenact a bucolic golden age in which “el bien. . . sí encierra la andante caballería” (97). In the same way that Don Quixote was unable to restore a society based upon a knightly identity for men, Clara’s discourse ironically reveals the impossibility that the Babylonian court authentically enjoys its decadent “siglos,” which are golden for some and shrouded in poverty for others.²⁴ Clara’s critique also speaks directly to the Empire’s mismanagement of funds by claiming that the ships sailing to Spain from the Americas are so loaded with riches that the ocean waves rise up to take the wealth as their own. Elliott’s research into the cultural moment of the first decade of the seventeenth century uncovered that those closest to Philip III treated the Crown’s colonial riches as a never-ending resource to be exploited to the fullest extent. He describes their attitude thus: “The mines of Potosí brought to the century untold wealth; if money was short today, it would be abundant again tomorrow when the treasure fleet reached Seville. Why plan, why save, why work?” (*Imperial* 295).²⁵ In keeping with this spirit, the noble Ricardo callously tells Clara to shut up when she avers that gold’s sheen will leave the court in spiritual darkness. In so doing, he evinces the play’s perception of courtly masculinity, one which depends upon falsehood and exploitation in order to support its decadent way of life. Thus the decision of Federico’s father to send him to study in Salamanca serves as the catalyst for his son’s entry into a court of misrule, where he will be seen as a princely leader of a deceitful, greedy set of royals whose conduct reflects historical concerns for the behavior of Spain’s ruling elite.

A Performed Cleric's Place at Court

Following the traditional prodigal son plotment, through Escolástica's counsel Federico eventually repents of his decision to marry into Babylon and returns to the merciful arms –and holy orders- offered by his first wife. *Coloquio's* representation of the prodigal's return home continues to explore the practice of noble manhood by constructing an alternative to the effeminate, decadent masculinity of courtly males.²⁶ Specifically, it employs Federico's performed moral perdition in Babylon's court to valorize the realization of a social order that circumvents the nobility's authority by encouraging youth to become spiritual sons under the leadership of clerical fathers. Reinterpreting the prodigal son tale to propose an alternative to courtly masculinity formed part of a wider historical trend of offering countermodels for elite male behavior that were designed to combat the nobility's practice of decadent, effeminate behaviors (Lehfeldt 465). Numerous commentators posited Catholic virtue as the cornerstone of Spanish noble masculinity, including the Jesuit Andrés Mendo in his polemic against the indulgences of wealth, which “effeminize the spirits, thin the courage, and dishearten the thoughts of men” (Lehfeldt 479-80).²⁷ According to seventeenth-century commentators, a nobleman's failure to enact the Church's virtuous masculinity would undermine the Spanish Empire's military and economic success, thereby undermining society. Advancing a masculinity based upon the practice of Christian virtue was thus of the utmost importance to society, and *Coloquio* participates in this dialogue by foregrounding the prodigal's behavior at court. Through its depiction of Escolástica's relationship with

Federico, *Coloquio* lobbies for a new social order in which men embrace clerical masculinity and the virtuous behaviors it entails.

Coloquio's need to promote clerical masculinity to young men might seem a redundant goal for a theatrical piece produced by a Jesuit dramaturge for, primarily, Jesuit college students and their families. Yet as I briefly noted earlier, historical research has revealed a discursive tradition of feminizing men who took holy orders (Swanson 160). This feminization occurred through comparisons of clerical males, theoretically beholden to chastity, with their married, house-holding, virile contemporaries. This critique intensified in the early modern period, when Protestant reformers harshly denigrated the profile of priesthood in their efforts to create a male clergy authorized to participate in the normative activities of procreative sex and biological fatherhood (Strasser 53). Given the prevailing view that householders practiced normative masculinity, and given the Reformation's assault on celibate priests, it is not surprising that Catholic officials sought to assert themselves as fully masculine. In fact, Catholic clergy had been defending themselves against charges of effeminacy for some time. Mazo Karras observes that the Catholic response to the feminization of its clerics began in the Middle Ages with a "rather successful effort among the clergy to create an ideology in which the standard of masculinity was not sexual activity or aggression but rather strength of will," resulting in the promotion of an attitude of militancy against spiritual temptations ("Thomas" 54).²⁸ According to Ulrike Strasser's interpretation of Loyola's *Autobiography*, this foundational Jesuit text also transferred normative masculinity's emphasis upon sexual activity and aggression to the spiritual plane.²⁹ The *Autobiography* records that Loyola exchanged his soldier's sword for a pilgrim's staff

during a stop at Montserrat, an act which Strasser interprets as exemplary of the transition of masculinity from the battlefield to the spiritual arena. Strasser comments that in this exchange: “Ignatius is changed from a soldier to a soldier of Christ. He will continue to be brave but will now be brave on behalf of God. He will no longer think of ‘a certain lady’ but pledge all his loyalty to the Queen of Heaven” (60). By reimagining clerical masculinity in this way, Loyola’s text appropriates the virility of normative masculinity and puts it to work in the service of a holy virgin. Furthermore, it incorporates the physical strength of a militant masculinity, which brings with it the strictly hierarchical order of obedience used to regiment military companies. The text advances a virtuous social order based upon obedience to the Christian god and its representative, the *Padre General* of the *Compañía de Jesús*. Strasser writes that this construction of masculinity circulated throughout the Society, since it believed Loyola was “a male role model to be imitated by a male readership with a possible interest in joining the Society,” and thus the “spiritual conversion runs parallel to a social conversion” (48).³⁰

Salas’s *Coloquio* utilizes the representation of Federico’s *desubidiencia* to promote a similar social order, one in which the counselor figure no longer advises biological fathers, but assumes moral jurisdiction over their sons. Previously, I asserted that the addition of a counselor figure to Jesuit prodigal son plays sought to garner cultural authority for the Society’s brothers as they established their colleges.³¹

Coloquio’s failure to represent Federico’s father, however, necessitates that Escolástica’s advice be delivered directly to the prodigal figure. The omission of the biological father figure advances *Coloquio*’s promotion of a social order in which courtly nobles have no authority to raise youth, since the represented relationship between Escolástica and

Federico symbolizes the obedience of spiritual sons to clerical fathers. This message manifests itself from the beginning of the play, when Escolástica's marriage to Federico establishes her as a representative of Christian virtue, and therefore his rightful moral authority. In Chapter Two, I outlined the discursive construction of Escolástica as Federico's moral authority, an identity clearly communicated through the play's designation of her as "sapiencia del cielo" (Salas 42r).³² Throughout the play, the representation of Escolástica makes plain that her divine knowledge enables her to function as a clerical figure whose pastoral authority extends over the performed Babylonians (Salas 42r). *Coloquio* most clearly communicates her clerical status to the audience through two of the disguises she takes on in her quest to provoke Federico's repentance, that of an observant doctor and that of a persistent shepherd.

The play first presents Escolástica in disguise after Federico sets off for Salamanca, and she follows him with her handmaid, Clara, and their servant, Arsenio. Dressed as a man, Escolástica runs into Federico in Salamanca as he experiences a clammy fever brought on by Sofía. He presumes that Escolástica is a doctor, and she plays along, diagnosing him with "[f]río y calores de amor" (Salas 46v). She orders him to recuperate by forgetting his passion, but he ignores her and becomes progressively weaker as Sofía pursues him (Salas 50r). Finally, he faints at school and is carried to the home of a Babylonian royal, Ricardo. Escolástica follows, and sets about an examination of his body and soul that reflects the investigative responsibilities given to early modern Catholic confessors.³³ She ascertains the poor health of Federico's spirit through the signs present on his body, taking his pulse and then lamenting: "¡O traidor, que intercadencia de mi amor muestra tu pulso!" (Salas 50r). The double-meaning of

“intercadencia” denotes both Federico’s irregular heartbeat and his irregular passions, from which the insightful physician deduces that “El mal / ya empozoña el corazón” (Salas 50r). Without mentioning either of Federico’s loves by name, Escolástica-as-doctor prescribes the remedy for this poison of the heart: “Esos contrarios amores / dentro os revuelven humores, / y habéis de exepeler, adiós” (Salas 50r). The counselor’s proposed remedy seeks to reorder Federico’s passions by reorienting his spatial practices; in order to get well, he must leave Ricardo’s impious home and return to his virtuous counselor’s sphere of jurisdiction.³⁴ In the same way that the figure of Estudio examined the sickly prodigal Iuvenis in Cigorondo’s *Tragedia*, here the representation of Escolástica’s considerable powers of observation manifests Catholicism’s longstanding recommendation that a confessor reconcile a penitential soul to the Church by examining it as a doctor would his patient (de Boer 55).

In spite of Escolástica’s arguments, the prodigal figure marries Sofía and swears fealty to her father, the King of Babylon (Salas 52v). Still disguised as a doctor, Escolástica accuses him of inconstancy. He lunges at her with a dagger and the first act ends with him believing the physician to be dead (Salas 545r). Act Two reveals to the audience that Escolástica merely feigned her death when she and Clara reappear disguised as the shepherds Cristóbal and Lucía, respectively. This disguise allots the performed counselor a clerical status through the Church’s traditional description of clergy as spiritual shepherds of souls.³⁵ Spanish moralists seeking to reform early modern clergy placed special emphasis upon guiding parishioners as a shepherd would his sheep, given that the Bible also presents Jesus commanding his disciple John to “feed my sheep” (John 21:17). Lu Ann Hozma explains that for Spanish priests, feeding one’s sheep “was

a holy and direct assignment enjoined on every priest responsible for the care of souls; it involved spiritual and corporal food, just as the sacraments entailed material substances with spiritual import” (127). For the Society of Jesus, offering pastoral care meant striving for “the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine,” and they sought to accomplish this through the administration of the *Spiritual Exercises* (Aldama 1). The *Spiritual Exercises*, widely considered to be the Society’s foundational text, consist of a series of mental activities given by a spiritual director to a retreatant, or exercitant, and which purport to help the retreatant strengthen his devotion to Christianity.³⁶ This occurs as the retreatant engages in various technologies of the self, or mental exercises through which one “attempts to attain a certain state of perfection” (Foucault, “About” 162). The dialogic nature of the *Spiritual Exercises* requires the retreatant to examine his actions and then narrate them to a spiritual director. This type of verbalization, when practiced in obedience to a spiritual director, is called *exagoreusis* (Foucault, “About” 179). By incorporating this into the *Spiritual Exercises*, the Jesuit leader may guide the retreatant’s interpretation of his self-examination. The importance of this directed discourse is especially salient in the practice of Loyolan compositions, which ask the exercitant to visualize himself interacting with Biblical scenes in order to strengthen his desire to practice virtue. Frédéric Conrod writes that through these compositions, Loyola deliberately seeks to modify the way in which retreatants perceive the world so that they better accept the moral authority of the Church (24, 26). According to Michel de Certeau, all of these exercises have as their goal the creation of “an initial rupture upon which all subsequent development is based,” so that in the “vanishing point” the retreatant’s devotion may be examined and improved (“Space” 93). In Chapter One, I demonstrated

that the counselor in Cigorondo's *Tragedia* incorporates these techniques as he persuades the prodigal to adopt the Christian point of view and repent. Escolástica, in her role as shepherd, makes use of the same techniques as well.

The performance of the counselor's pastoral care begins in Act Two when Escolástica, disguised as Cristóbal, enters Federico's royal audience and accuses the Prince of murdering him. Confused by the change of clothes, Federico does not realize that Escolástica refers to the murder of the physician, and thus *Coloquio's* discourse effects de Certeau's initial rupture, challenging the prodigal figure's confidence in his own powers of interpretation. When Federico asks Cristóbal how he can possibly be alive if he has been killed, the shepherd replies simply: "Pues dios / mucho más que eso hacer sabe" (Salas 56v). Federico manifests a profound confusion for the first time in the play, delivering the line: "¿Puede haber más confusion?" (Salas 52v). These words will serve as an anaphora throughout the rest of the work, and they highlight Federico's inability to trust his own interpretation of the events represented onstage. Escolástica continues to destabilize Federico's ability to judge the world around him by insisting that he himself killed her character. Convinced that Escolástica must be referring to another man, the prodigal figure asks:

Federico. ¿Sabéis su nombre?

Escolástica. A la he,
tiene el principio de fe,
mas de poca, a Federico. (Salas 56v)

This exchange expresses Cristóbal's sincere claim that he has been killed by the Prince. Incredulous, Federico inquires how it is that he has killed a living man, and instead of responding directly Escolástica says: "Hasta él la [vida] tiene quitada / mas el verse la ganada / que anda la triste perdida" (Salas 56v). The counselor figure thus begins her pastoral care by stating that even Federico has lost his life. Her discourse then becomes metaphoric, as she comments that upon seeing his life become "ganada," in Babylon, he does not realize that it "anda . . . perdida" in Christian devotion. This enigmatic discourse evokes the description of pastoral care offered by counselors to lost sheep in the Biblical text, a subtle theme developed in Federico's reply. He asks if the murderer "¿Es oveja?," and for once he is correct:

Escolástica. Del rebaño

de quien me hizo amor pastor.

Federico. Menos lo entiendo.

Escolástica. Es peor,

que te ciegue el desengaño. (Salas 56v)

As Cristóbal, Escolástica attempts to persuade Federico to view the physician's murder as unjust and entreats him to return to her flock by referring to the murderer as a sheep whom she guides through love. Although her pastoral care fails to persuade him of the validity of her perspective, her represented efforts succeed in destabilizing his faith in his own interpretation of the events, as evidenced in his current bewilderment and the continued refrain: "¿Puede haber más confusión?" This confusion evinces de Certeau's

initial rupture by separating the prodigal figure from the “specific practices or doctrinal affirmations” of Babylon (de Certeau, “Space” 94). In addition to showcasing the performed counselor’s wit, Escolástica’s destabilization of Federico’s interpretive powers prepares him to be more receptive to her future pastoral guidance.

Immediately following this interview, the prodigal figure delivers a monologue in which he contemplates the morality of his actions. *Coloquio*’s represented moral authorities overhear this discourse and respond to it, thus enacting a competition in which they battle for leadership of Federico’s *exagoreusis*. The scene opens with Federico pining for his former wife: “O mis años pasados, canto endechas / cuando al lado Escolástica mi esposa, / no velaba a temores y sospechas (Salas 58r). This nostalgic discourse articulates an incipient return to Christian beliefs, and Federico even professes that Babylon is an “ídolo es esto a quien por dios adoro” (Salas 58r). Escolástica then begins to guide the *exagoreusis* directly. Hidden, she identifies her disembodied voice as an echo of his first wife, and encourages him to leave the court, which has chained his soul with “cadenas de oro,” because “mi amor rescata / a tu amor carnal” (Salas 58r). Sofía rebuts in vain; Federico now concurs with the counselor’s opinion that he has betrayed his first wife, and he is heartily ashamed: “Soy hombre de historia / y tengo verguenza” (Salas 58r). The performance of *exagoreusis* inspires his contrition, or inner sorrow over sin, on the part of the prodigal figure. Nonetheless, Federico’s shame does not cause him to repent and readopt Christian behavioral norms. The dramatic action continues, and the Babylonians arrest Clara and Arsenio, still disguised as shepherds. Escolástica escapes, and tries once more to guide the prodigal figure through *exagoreusis* during another of his monologues. In a reflection upon his glory, he hears the voice of his

clerical shepherd remind him that his first wife still awaits him in spite of his betrayal (Salas 63r). Although he still does not renounce his life at court, he acknowledges the moral authority of his counselor's opinion. He remarks:

¿Quién habla aquí? ¿Yo sueño o yo me engaño?

Quiero echarme en el baño, que algo tibio

daré un secreto alivio a tantos males.

Fuera señales del honor fingido,

que todos somos uno sin vestido. (Salas 63v)

These lines identify Federico's inner malaise as stemming from the feigned honor of his princely garments, and through the presentation of this new perspective *Coloquio* demonstrates that Escolástica's *exagoreutical* guidance has considerably weakened the prodigal's desire for the riches of Babylon.

The dramatic action next moves to Federico's performed bath, an act charged with symbolism. Just as the text of the *Spiritual Exercises* asks retreatants to remove themselves from the daily attachments which vie for their dedication (de Certeau, "Space" 94), by disrobing to bathe the prodigal figure distances himself from the greed and deceit that characterize those who participate in Babylon's court. The act of bathing thus marks the creation of a spiritual space from which Federico might better reorient his desires in accordance with Christian virtue, and indeed the represented geography of the river reinforces the possibility of spiritual change during his bath.³⁷ De Certeau observes that in narration, spaces such as walls, trees, and rivers often discursively mediate

frontiers, around and in which exchanges and encounters of all kinds are apt to occur (*Practice* 127). Federico's immersion constitutes an entry into a fluid site where "somos todos uno sin vestidos," or signs of social identity become irrelevant. The prodigal's bath, then, occurs in a liminal sphere, which is "betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony" (Turner, *Ritual* 95). Richard Schechner notes that when such signs of social identity are removed, individuals "enter a time-place where they are not-this-not-that, neither here nor there, in the midst of a journey from one social self to another. For the time being they are powerless and identityless" (66). The fact that Federico has stripped himself of the trappings of Babylon to enter this liminal state greatly aids Escolástica, who immediately realizes that his action has given her the opportunity to "hacer una mudanza de su estado" (Salas 63v).

The choice of use of "mudanza" to describe Escolástica's goal of returning Federico to the practice of Christian virtue tellingly hints at Escolástica's next strategy for shepherding him back to the Catholic fold. Since she has failed to establish a relationship of obedience through the use of *exagoreusis*, Escolástica proclaims: "fuera el cayado, empuñaré la vara / fuera mi rostro, tomaré su cara / mudanza se ha de usar con un mudable" (Salas 63v). *Coloquio's* dramatic emplotment employs a pastoral technique only possible onstage; in a stunning display of *mudanza* Escolástica assumes Federico's identity and enacts his princely role before him as if it were a Loyolan composition. Casting off her crook for his royal staff, Escolástica steals his clothes and impersonates him at court, forcing the now anonymous Federico to observe the imposter passively. He wonders: "¿Si aquí estoy, quién allí va? / No soy yo, mas si allí esta / mi individuo, ¿por qué no?" (Salas 64v). Federico relents to the self-examination that arises as a result of

Escolástica's gambit, and concludes that only his first wife could have caused this displacement. He then wholeheartedly longs to be restored to Christian behavioral norms through baptism: "si dios quiere en tanto abismo / darme en segundo bautismo / de su auxilio la eficacia . . . me desnuda hoy de mí mismo" (Salas 64v). Escolástica's performed composition shrewdly utilizes Federico's entrance into a liminal space in order to usurp his identity and force him to question the morality of his actions.

This process begins when Federico receives a royal audience with Escolástica, Ricardo, and the King of Babylon. The sight shocks him:

Federico. ¡Jesús!

Escolástica. ¿De qué os espantáis?

Federico. De veros cual yo mi vi. (Salas 65v)

As he enters the composition set before him, his fright at the situation quickly turns to an examination of his own existence as Escolástica asks him: "Quién sois?" (Salas 65v). He replies:

Federico. Lo que vos sois fui.

Escolástica. Yo, ¿qué soy?

Federico. Lo que me hurtáis.

Escolástica. ¿Qué os hurté?

Federico. Ser yo.

Escolástica. ¿Yo a vos?

¿Pues quién era yo?

Federico. No sé,

¿o éramos uno los dos?

No, el pasado solo fue. (Salas 65v)

These inscrutable questions lead Federico to the realization that he was once joined to the figure standing before him, and consequently he concludes that: “Dios me haya humillado” (Salas 66r). Although Federico has begun to agree with the perspective of his virtuous moral authority, Escolástica continues to enact the composition by throwing him in jail. This marginalized location allows him to reflect upon his former glory and repent of his impiety. The prodigal figure expresses his repentance as he observes the flight of a dandelion: “¿Quién te hace subir vilano? / Soplo que de mí ha nacido. / Subí cuando hube salido / del conocimiento humano” (Salas 67r). In a pun on the words *vilano* and *villano*, Federico expresses a new humility by likening himself to a dandelion that rose too high in Babylon’s court. The prodigal figure now moves beyond agreeing with Escolástica’s authoritative perspective on his actions, and evinces a contrite sorrow over his performed decision to become the Prince of Babylon.

Federico’s formal moment of *metanoia*, in which he sincerely readopts the practice of Christian behavioral norms, occurs in Act Three, when the disguised Escolástica holds an audience to condemn the Babylonian royals.³⁸ The representation of his repentance reinforces Escolástica’s clerical identity as well as her moral authority

over Federico. He enters to be judged, and she asks if he would like to “volver / a vuestra gloria y subir?,” to which he replies: “¿Para qué? ¿Para caer? / Más vale una vez morir / que tantas veces temer” (Salas 69r). This performed assertion clearly communicates Federico’s intention to reject his courtly life, and it makes plain that he does so in order to practice virtue after learning that Escolástica has sentenced him to death for the physician’s murder and he thanks her: “De albricias daros quisiera / unas indias de oro y plata / por el gozo que me espera. . . . porque en el juicio de Dios / pueda yo volver en mí” (Salas 69r-v). This joyful reaction to Escolástica’s verdict first communicates the prodigal figure’s rejection of the Babylonian court, which valued riches, and next it expresses the extreme *ubidiencia* he is prepared to practice by dying in order to enter into the divine space of Heaven.³⁹ Federico’s repentance satisfies the counselor figure, who cements her clerical status by commanding him to enter a nearby chapel and “confesaos enteramente” (Salas 69v). He obeys, and Escolástica pronounces that she has completed her work with him. Indeed, the counselor figure’s numerous disguises enabled her to follow Federico on his *jornada desubidiente* through Babylon, shadowing him to compete for moral authority in *exagoreusis* and realizing a Loyolan composition through which her corrective guidance led him back to the Christian fold. The representation of this character displays to the viewing audience the benefits of both the observant spiritual doctor and the persistent spiritual shepherd, and her success with Federico valorizes the realization of a social order in which the laity obey clerical fathers.

In addition to demonstrating that the prodigal figure’s virtue is assured inasmuch as he renders obedience to the social father figure constituted by Escolástica, *Coloquio* also utilizes Escolástica’s performed relationship with the Babylonian royals to vanquish

any remaining authority the secular court might possess. The play constructs Escolástica as not only a cleric, but as a divine representative of Christian virtue. The depiction of her superiority occurs throughout the play, but intensifies after Federico makes a formal confession.⁴⁰ The prodigal figure emerges from the chapel to find that Escolástica has returned his clothes, and with them his status as Prince of Babylon. He now must answer to the King for the harsh punishments Escolástica prescribed for the Babylonian royals during her rule, and once again Federico is ordered to die (Salas 71v). As this climactic exchange unfolds, Escolástica triumphantly enters the stage seated upon the throne of wisdom to vanquish the royals and restore order.⁴¹ This visual presentation displays her Christian virtue and Biblical authority, and she begins to assert her moral jurisdiction over the realm by authorizing Clara to issue an open invitation to the Eucharist.⁴² Federico accepts the Eucharist and is fully restored to his first marriage, after which *Coloquio* concludes with the counselor's final battle with the impious royals.

Just before this conclusion, the members of Babylon's performed court voice their love of impiety once more. Federico comes upon the royals as they sleep and narrate their dreams aloud. Ricardo avers: "O sabrosa idolatría / del dinero, yo te adoro," while Sofía entreats Federico with carnal lust: "Venid, gocemos amores . . . que marchita el tiempo flores" (Salas 73r). The King proves himself to be a monarch worthy of the mythical builders of the Tower of Babel.⁴³ He declares "guerra al cielo," proclaiming that: "Ya me encumbro a par de dios, / y retocado de estrellas / pondré mi solio sobre ellas, / y seremos dioses dos" (Salas 73r). In desiring to travel to the heavens and reign alongside god, the King offends Escolástica's moral superiority, and the play condemns such hubris with a loud sound that knocks the King off his throne and awakens the other sleeping royals.

The contrast between the riches of their dreams and the emptiness of their waking state changes their interpretation of their own morality, bringing them closer into alignment with the Church's perspective on their behavior. The King comments that only "un loco" would ascend the tower of Babel knowing that he could so easily fall. Sofía contemplates a skull which she discovers in her hands, and Ricardo laments that his riches were but a dream, and that "despierto me hallo dueño / de nada, que todo es nada" (Salas 73v).

Despite this change of perspective, the royals mourn the loss of their vices until Escolástica enters the stage to officially challenge their authority. She claims the earth as her jurisdiction: "Yo que habito las alturas / doy en torno al cielo vueltas / penetro el profundo abismo / ando el mar, vuelo la tierra" (Salas 75r). Like Estudio in Cigorondo's *Tragedia*, this counselor roams the earth, teaching her "sacra y divina sapiencia" to men (Salas 75r). She accuses the court of inciting Federico to rebel against her authority: "Con embelecocos y encantos / Vuestras, Circes y Medeas, / derribaron a mi angel" (Salas 74r).

Coloquio further showcases her dominion by ascribing a heroic capacity to her; she challenges the forces of impiety to a duel. Her masculine strength of will is evident in her call to physical violence: "Ea infames Babilonios, / alto a las armas y guerra, / empuñad lanzas y picas, / soltad maricas las rucas" (Salas 75v). As the epitome of a soldier of Christ, the counselor declares: "Reto os los deleites sucios," (Salas 75v).⁴⁴ An aggressive tone permeates these lines as Escolástica challenges perhaps all of Babylon to meet her in battle, including its nobles, sun, air, land, water, fire, food, beds, dining tables, music, dances, and profane galas (Salas 75v). This global challenge articulates a claim of moral jurisdiction over the court, the geographical space of the city, and the social practices found therein. Sofía, Escolástica's contrary opposite, meets her in battle, but she is struck

down and enslaved (Salas 77v). The play then concludes with Escolástica crowning Federico the “vencedor,” as he vows to become a Jesuit and Clara concludes: “y Escolástica es triunfante / de la Babilonia nueva” (Salas 77v-78r). *Coloquio*’s final scene communicates a positive vision: Federico and Escolástica side-by-side, the Babylonians enslaved at her feet. The performance of Escolástica’s dominion over both her husband and the court leaves little doubt that the work harshly critiques the decadence of noble masculinity, and that it seeks to realize a social order in which clerical fathers assume responsibility for the moral well-being of youth.

Living Happily Ever After: Gender, Obedience, and the Prodigal Figure

It could be objected that Escolástica’s position atop the represented social hierarchy of Babylon is invalid, since *Coloquio* casts her as female, and consequently unfit for the pastorate. The Jesuits certainly endorsed Catholicism’s prohibition of women in pastoral positions; Loyola himself even obtained a papal decree which outlawed the establishment of a female branch of the Society (O’Malley 75). Strasser observes that the exclusion of women helped cement bonds among men, both horizontally as they moved throughout the world, and vertically as they related to each other in their religious hierarchy (65). Given that the Society carried out its activities with an exclusively male leadership, it is remarkably curious that Salas’s *Coloquio* casts the counselor as female. This odd decision, however, becomes less problematic when read against the singularly Jesuit approach to clerical masculinity, and when considered within the emerging aesthetics of Baroque literature.⁴⁵ My analysis of the figure of Escolástica first reveals

that her gender casting reflects a wider Jesuit tendency to utilize feminine attributes to mitigate the frustration of filial obedience. Moreover, the investment of social authority in a female figure enables an unconventional inversion of gender relations through which Escolástica's wit and cunning shine. I argue that these topsy-turvy gender relations, and the complex discourse that presents them, exemplify the emerging Baroque aesthetic of *conceptismo*, thus sharpening Escolástica's condemnation of Babylon as the correct moral stance toward the court portrayed onstage. I conclude that *Coloquio's* innovative representation of the counselor figure, Escolástica, displays the sophistication of Jesuit learning through a conceptually challenging aesthetic grounded in wit in order to impress upon the audience the superiority of the Company's moral and social authority.

The medieval belief that biological sex identity was based upon bodily humors helps illuminate the gender play present in *Coloquio*. Jacqueline Murray explains that in the Middle Ages, medical thought theorized sexual difference along a spectrum, with one end dominated by women's cold, wet, porous humor, and the other dominated by men's hot, contained humor (39). Christian discourse asserted that individuals who existed at the far reaches of either extreme were in danger of becoming enslaved to the flesh, and consequently it encouraged both sexes to move toward the midpoint of the continuum; women so that male heat would help them enact the moral virtue attributed to the superior sex, and men so that they did not become too inflamed with passion (Murray 43). In spite of this push away from extremes, medieval thought paradoxically posited the center of the spectrum of sex difference as "the location of the monstrous hermaphrodite" (Murray 39), and consequently both sexes needed to enact carefully a gender-identity that fell into an acceptable place along the spectrum.

In direct contrast to the idea of a monstrous middle on the spectrum of sexual difference, early modern Jesuit discourse combined both masculine and feminine attributes in its depictions of Ignatius of Loyola, its ideal spiritual leader. Jerónimo Nadal (1507-80), considered by Jesuit scholars to be the foremost teacher of “what it meant to be a Jesuit,” stressed the importance of Loyola’s life as a role model for Jesuit brothers on his numerous visits throughout Europe (Strasser 50). Strasser notes that Nadal, in his conversations with the communities he visited, ascribed to Loyola both masculine and feminine attributes, averring that Loyola worked as the militaristic commander of the *Compañía de Jesús* and also offered maternal comfort to younger men in the Society. Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526-1611) described his relationship with Loyola in these terms, writing that Loyola “‘raised [him] at his breasts since my childhood and tender age’” (Strasser 55). Strasser interprets these examples of maternal succor, along with Loyola’s tendency to engage in an emotive religiosity by weeping and fasting, as evidence for a strategic application of feminine characteristics in discursive constructions of Loyola. Far from diminishing his manliness, Strasser contends that this discourse skillfully employs selected feminine attributes to mitigate the “inevitable tensions of father-son relationships” created in the Society’s strict hierarchy, thereby “softening the emotional impact of male authority on subordinate men” (55).⁴⁶ He hypothesizes that admission to the Society of Jesus placed an indelible mark of masculinity upon a Jesuit that allotted brothers some liberty with the appropriation of feminine traits (67).

Coloquio’s representation of an authoritative female cleric may be best understood as a reflection of the Society’s construction of Jesuit masculinity. Like the historical depictions of Loyola, Escolástica’s discourse reflects her ability to utilize male

and female attributes to her advantage. In addition to a pastoral authority over Federico, Escolástica's discourse also allots her a maternal role over the youth: "Federico ese estudiante / ha que curso en mis escuelas / largos años, y la leche / mamó de mi sacra cunera" (Salas 74r). As the allegorical embodiment of divine wisdom, Escolástica describes Federico as a son whom she entrusted to a sacred wet nurse for edification. *Coloquio's* prologue leaves little doubt that this sacred wet nurse is the Jesuit college system: "Cría nuestra escuela sacra / un estudiante a la leche / de la ciencia soberana" (Salas 41v). Escolástica thus expresses a maternal concern for Federico, which is quickly complemented by a strategic use of wifely charm. This dynamic arises quite plainly when she appears as Federico's doctor and the prodigal comments: "Cierto que amé a una mujer / que es tan parecida a vos / que, a no haceros hombre Dios / ella pudierades ser" (Salas 52v). Escolástica's reply articulates her ability to fulfill her clerical responsibilities using a mutable set of gender attributes: "Tal mudanza no os asombre, / quizá por vos hombre es ella" (Salas 52v). Although the counselor makes use of a masculine disguise to pursue her charge to Salamanca, Federico cannot help but note the doctor's resemblance to his beautiful first wife: "Para mujer era bella, / no lo pierde por ser hombre" (Salas 52v). Escolástica's feminine beauty and medical disguise encompass the prodigal figure's need for both a nurturing spouse and a male, clerical doctor, and *Coloquio* reiterates the performed comfort of this leadership by visually presenting the counselor's calming effects upon Federico's body. Having just rebuffed Sofía, Federico is visibly hot, removing his clothes and pouring water on himself:

¡Ay que en agua el fuego prende,

y como a fragua le enciende
el ciego apetito dentro,
de fuego y agua soy centro,
de agua soy lloroso mar,
fuego de desasosiego
por amor,
si por fuego y agua paso! (Salas 46r)

Escolástica draws near, takes her patient's pulse and he immediately finds relief:

“Contigo un poco sosiego” (Salas 46r). Escolástica's touch calms the prodigal's disordered humors, which have become a painful mix of water and fire -the extremes of female and male humors- that ignite the blind passions of his soul. This scene thus communicates that the clerical figure of Escolástica transcends the traditional spectrum of sex difference, miraculously combining both the masculine observational powers of a confessor and the comfort of feminine beauty as she successfully remedies the prodigal's pain.

Coloquio foregrounds Escolástica's strategic deployment of masculine and feminine attributes as its dramatic action draws to a close. Earlier, I noted that the work displays the dominance of the counselor figure's moral authority by casting her in the male role of a hero who challenges most of Babylon to a duel. The masculine overtones of the scene present her as an epic warrior who rides out to prove his valor over other

men. Any potential for frustration in the face of the counselor's dominance fades in light of Federico's admiration for his wife. He swoons: "O mi Escolástica fuerte / robada el alma me llevas" (Salas 75v). Federico reiterates the sweetness of subjecting himself to a wifely moral authority, averring: "Mi dulce y divino amor / yo sujeto de otra suerte / me enlace en tu nudo fuerte" (Salas 75v). The play rewards this obedience by crowning him "vencedor," and the performance concludes with the repentant prodigal figure restating his intention to take holy orders. The happiness with which Federico obeys his first wife results from her deployment of both male and female attributes, to the extent that she fulfills the psychological functions of pious social father and virtuous spouse. In this way, their represented marriage evinces a feminine component in the "emotionally sustaining father-son relationships" which were proper to those who practiced filial obedience to gender savvy Jesuit clerics (Strasser 66). Escolástica's use of feminine succor and masculine heroics thus constitutes a logical extension of the gender attributes discursively ascribed to Jesuit spiritual leaders.

While the uniquely Jesuit construction of clerical masculinity helps explain the counselor figure's atypical gender casting, it does not account for her occasional use of maternal discourse to ridicule Federico, nor for the play's feminization of the prodigal figure as he submits to Escolástica. I interpret these more daring aspects of Escolástica's discourse as examples of Baroque *conceptismo* that aimed to impress upon spectators the sophistication of Jesuit learning.⁴⁷ Jeremy Robbins observes that Baroque discourse developed as the seventeenth century progressed and authors increasingly employed a plethora of literary tropes to densely ornament their discourse and astound their readers (143). Arturo Zárate Ruiz explains that literary scholars commonly distinguish this

Baroque discourse into two stylistic trends. The first trend, *culteranismo*, utilizes cultivated, Latinate neologisms and syntax that seeks to surprise readers with new images and sensations. The second trend, *conceptismo*, favors the “ingenious discovery or creation of ideas, words, and new uses for ordinary terms, abundantly used elaborate wordplays, witticisms, antithesis, hyperbole, and symbols . . . keen forms of judgment, maxims, and humor” (Zárate Ruiz 12-13). *Conceptismo* further distinguishes itself from *culteranismo* by placing a stronger theoretical focus upon the discovery of innovative abstract concepts (Zárate Ruiz 13), a process regularly carried out through the use of the conceit, or an unexpected juxtaposition of extremes. The Jesuit Baltasar Gracián (1601-58) clarifies that the conceit consists of “una primorosa concordancia, en una armónica correlación entre dos o tres conocibles extremos, expresada por un acto del entendimiento” (16). According to Gracián, the application of human understanding, or wit, is necessary for readers to grasp the underlying similarity that joins the apparent extremes presented in a linguistic conceit. The conceits of *conceptismo* helped Baroque writers to develop a “new aesthetic of wit,” whose “central concepts of difficulty, surprise, novelty, and wonder” aimed to increase the audience’s interaction with the text (Robbins 143). I interpret the depiction of Escolástica’s gender-bending relationship with Federico as a theatrical conceit whose play with gender attributes creates a novel performance that actively engages the audience at the same time as it reinforces the superiority of Jesuit learning and moral authority.⁴⁸

The unexpected combination of oppositional gender attributes begins in the first scene of Act One as Federico takes leave of Escolástica. While Federico mourns the parting in the emotive fashion of a woman, Escolástica stoically reminds him to enact his

social role in the male hierarchy. She ridicules his sorrow and chides him for his immaturity:

Para otra ocasión mejor
guarda ese lloroso estilo.
Si no, llóralo interior,
también llora el cocodrilo
y no es la señal mejor.

Galán vas. (Salas 42v)

She does not offer comfort, but rather ironically singles out his feminine, lovelorn behavior.⁴⁹ The counselor's wit is palpable in these lines as well; instead of comparing Federico's tears to those of a crocodile, she synecdochically contrasts the entirety of his person to a crocodile, thereby emphasizing her ridicule of his actions. In fact, the counselor's disparaging opinion of her charge leads her to infantilize the prodigal figure and to desire to supervise him as a mother would a son. Escolástica explains: "¿Qué confianza he de hacer / de un niño que nació ayer?. . . . Seguiré su paso a vuelo" (Salas 43r). These lines broaden the depiction of Escolástica as a pious wife to include an attitude of maternal condescension as well. I argue that this unexpected dimension of her character seeks to persuade the audience more thoroughly of Escolástica's moral authority by allowing her to condemn spiritual immaturity from the perspective of both cleric and mother. This occurs in Act Three, when Federico formally rejoins Christian practice through the Eucharist. Escolástica's handmaid, Clara, invites him to the

Eucharist: “Salid, niños, de pañales / vivid la apacible vida” (Salas 72v). This command, delivered at the behest of Escolástica, exhorts Federico give up his diapers, thereby reproaching his spiritual immaturity in maternal terms. The image of a maternal cleric presiding over the Eucharist communicates a valorization of spiritual maturity symbolized by Federico’s performed repentance in the uncommon, arresting manner of a Baroque conceit.

Escolástica’s discourse again evinces the conceits of *conceptismo* through the feminization of the prodigal figure in his marriage. Although Catholic doctrine and Spanish moralist commentaries posited the husband as the household leader and the wife as the submissive helper, the opposite occurs in Federico’s relationship with Escolástica.⁵⁰ While *Coloquio* articulates Escolástica’s position as Federico’s moral authority from the beginning of the work, her virtuous mandate takes on an especially forceful tone just before she assumes Federico’s identity. She remarks to Clara that “por el pena el loco es cuerdo,” and so she shall “humillar sus fantasias,” or destroy Federico’s social position in Babylon, punishing him so that he will again embrace the Church’s doctrine (Salas 61v). The image of a female figure punishing a male figure onstage inverts the founding principle of Spain’s historical patriarchy, which privileged male control and assertiveness over female independence, especially in the context of the marriage covenant (Swanson 176). By subverting the traditional gender dynamics of patriarchal marriage, *Coloquio* reinforces the moral authority of Escolástica, a figure whose female identity underscores her position as the allegorical embodiment of the divine wisdom taught in Jesuit colleges through a scholastic (*escolástica*) approach to the humanities.⁵¹ Additionally, the representation of Escolástica’s dominance becomes

especially provocative given that she regularly speaks of her ability to penetrate Federico's soul. While Tridentine Catholicism encouraged clergy to access the inner reaches of a parishioner's soul in order to ensure that they believed Christian dogma (Schroeder 97), the performance of a female counselor carrying out the penetrative responsibilities ascribed to male confessors likely provided a startling image to the viewing audience. Escolástica avows: "Ya que Federico ha abierto / el alma a mi sol tan puro / me entraré en su pecho oscuro / daré vida al cuerpo muerto" (Salas 57v). These words characterize her attempt to guide the prodigal figure through *exagoreusis* during the second act as if she were the sun entering his dark, lifeless chest. The intensity of the wordplay here is complemented by visual novelty onstage as *Coloquio* represents the tension between spiritual authority and spiritual subject, a dynamic typically engendered masculine, through the portrayal of a female authority figure whose discourse describes her plans to penetrate the soul of her male subject. At the allegorical level, this gender play highlights the ability of Jesuit colleges to penetrate the souls of the uneducated laity with the divine wisdom of its teachings.

The closing lines of *Coloquio* once again utilize a Baroque conceit to stage the Jesuits' preferred response to the authority of its college system. Just after Federico vows to subject himself to Escolástica's "nudo fuerte," she commands:

Escolástica Coronadme al vencedor.

Federico Yo Reyna, tu vencedora.

Escolástica Tú en mi vences, yo en tí triunfo. (Salas 77v)

Addressing the queen, Federico describes himself a female victor. The apparent nonsense of this remark only becomes intelligible if it is interpreted as a conceit that joins the oppositional gender attributes of female submission in a male figure in order to suggest that historical male students submit themselves to the authority of their Jesuit college's teachings, here embodied as an enticing wife. Indeed, Escolástica's reply to Federico proclaims that those who render obedience to her leadership will not experience spiritual uncertainty: "Ya no hay confusión, pues lleva / mi verdad su luz delante" (Salas 78r). The figural representation of Escolástica's moral superiority, emphasized through Baroque *conceptismo*, thus seeks to persuade spectators of the sophistication of Jesuit learning, and its ability to shepherd their intellectual and moral growth. In addition, the performance of Federico's decision to take holy orders to the Society of Jesus valorizes a society in which noble fathers are replaced by the moral authority of clerics, who, at least in this dramatic work, provide for the emotional and spiritual needs of youth. The entirety of the work thus models an alternative to the historical social order in which a large swath of the Spanish elite under Felipe III eschewed virtue as they emulated courtly greed and decadence.

Spanish Jesuit school plays present the *metanoia* of their prodigal son figures as a return to *ubidiencia* by relocating Acevedo's protagonists under their fathers' pious roofs and by showcasing Federico's performed subjugation to the allegorical embodiment of divine knowledge that leads the *Compañía de Jesús*. Through the representation of this dramatic employment, the plays criticize the prevailing social influences upon young, elite males. Acevedo's 1565 productions depict sensual pleasures as wasteful expenditures, and in 1611 Salas's *Coloquio* strengthens this generalized critique against

decadence into a full-blown condemnation of the historical court's exploitation of colonial resources. While Acevedo's early works present the pious counselor figure as a vital helpmate to represented biological fathers, Salas's later work blatantly dismisses the biological father figure's authority, privileging instead the clergy as uniquely authorized to cultivate virtue in young men. By valorizing performed clerical figures in this way, these works -*Coloquio* in particular- offer up clerical masculinity as a viable countermodel for elite youth who might otherwise embrace the impious practices associated with courtly life. These productions reveal that early modern Jesuits sought to shape the behavioral practices of elite young men, many of whom were likely Jesuit students or members of the audience. By encouraging noble youth to take up a clerical vocation, the Society attempted to infiltrate the family dynamic and stave off the practice of vice before it grew and flourished in the next generation's administration of the Empire.

Notes

¹ All references to these works are taken from Vicente Picón García's edition, *Teatro escolar latino del siglo XVI: la obra de Pedro Pablo de Acevedo, S.I.*

² In accordance with the analysis of numerous other scholars, my analysis of masculinity as pertains to the father and to the son assumes it to be socially constructed and enacted through the performance of predetermined behaviors. Ruth Mazo Karras explains the prevailing view that "'masculine' and 'feminine' are not universal characteristics that each person throughout history possesses to a greater or lesser degree, but are created differently within each society" (*Boys* 3-4).

³ In Chapter Two, I defined a *jornada desubidiente* as the misdeed of dishonoring the father by leaving the space of his authority, and demonstrated that all prodigal figures undertake this journey, thereby becoming *hijos desubidentes* (10).

⁴ By "pastoral power," I denote the authority Christianity attributes to its clerics to guide the laity into greater dedication to those behaviors which will bring eternal salvation (Foucault, "Subject" 333). The Catholic Church, and the Society of Jesus, reserved this power exclusively for men in spite of the fact that several seventeenth-century women distinguished themselves for their piety and spiritual insight. In doing so they conformed to a literal interpretation of the Apostle Paul's words in 1 Timothy: "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence" (2:12).

⁵ The Greek term *metanoia* has been used since Antiquity to describe the change of heart that occurs when a lay individual decides to accept religious dogma as true and practice its doctrine. It can be used to refer to the conversion of a pagan individual to Christianity, and also to denote the return of lapsed Christians to the tenets of the Church (Foucault, "About" 179).

⁶ I reviewed this relationship throughout much of Chapter Two, showing that the Roman Catechism's exegesis of the Decalogue's Fourth Commandment posits virtuous older men, be they biological fathers or no, as social father figures worthy of young men's obedience. Thus Megadoro, Filauto's biological father, constitutes the youth's moral authority, as does his close friend and adviser, Eúbulo.

⁷ For more on the performative constitution of identity, see Chapter One (45-46).

⁸ Ruth Mazo Karras observes that late medieval European discourse was largely responsible for the valorization of this conquest-based masculinity, as its penchant for representing ladies' swoons over military valor cast this model as erotically desirable (*From* 54).

⁹ Aird writes that Robert's goal was "to assume a particular social identity which would enable him to function as a fully gendered adult male," by gaining access to independent political power and the right to oversee the distribution of the family's riches. Church discourse on the matter depicted Robert as a disobedient son, thus allotting "the hegemonic construction of masculinity to the father" (43).

¹⁰ As I argued in Chapter Three, Jesuit prodigal son plays manifest this same concern for constructing the biological father figure as responsible for the cultivation of virtue in his home, albeit to a lesser extent (14-16).

¹¹ Although there is no archival information that pinpoints the reason for Acevedo's decision to have Filauto join the Dominican Order, in the mid-sixteenth century the Society of Jesus maintained a favorable relationship with this brotherhood due to their esteem for Thomistic theology, which is central to their own understanding of Catholicism (O'Malley 146; Hozma 117).

¹² In addition to Lazarillo, Horacio Chiong Rivero notes that in the early sixteenth-century Fray Antonio de Guevara depicted country *hidalgos* and *vagamundos* whose struggles to survive in *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* constitute a proto-picaresque prose (234).

¹³ I do not contend that the depiction of these characters should be considered picaresque literature, since that genre is characterized by a "complex, deceptive narrative discourse" which often subverts dominant discourse, and in which the *pícaro* often constitutes a figure of ridicule (Cox Davis 49).

¹⁴ By the end of the play, *Filauto's* Pséudolo has gained the riches of two young men, Filauto and another whom he fleeces at cards (Acevedo 393).

¹⁵ The desire to preserve the insularity of the upper-class from the working poor also explains one of the most challenging passages of *Caropo*. After he has been robbed and dreams of returning home to a merciful father, Caropo contemplates how to best effect this reconciliation. He wonders: "¿Cómo le hablaré? No encuentro palabras. Me postraré a sus pies. Y ¿si me echara fuera? ¿Le pediré que al menos me alimente aunque sea con el pan ordinario de los criados, por mi servicio? ¡No! He pensado otra cosa mejor. Iré a casa de Lelio; le rogaré e insistiré que consiga que me reconcilie con mi padre" (Acevedo 583). Caropo's plan to manipulate Lelio into advocating on his behalf so that he avoids entering his father's service could very well evince an astute youth's cynical approach to repentance. Given the social and historical context of this play, however, I find this to be a rather implausible conclusion and instead I maintain that the significance of this puzzling remark is best understood in terms of the division of classes which the work seeks to enact. Specifically, I contend that Caropo disdains the thought of returning home as a servant in order to reinforce the notion that the noble class is fundamentally set apart from the working poor. Just as the figure of Heliodoro models a moral superiority to his Criado, despite his penitent state I believe that here the prodigal figure appropriately distinguishes himself from the lower classes.

¹⁶ This decadence was at its most apparent each time the royal coffers went bankrupt, in 1557, 1575, and 1595 (Donnell 47).

¹⁷ Donnell notes that decadent spending did nothing to alleviate Spain's economic burden, which was seen as the primary cause of its military impotency (48).

¹⁸ Dian Fox underscores the nobleman's responsibility to succeed in military ventures by noting that a noble lineage was viewed as a prerequisite for the attribute of bravery (38).

¹⁹ A *maltraca* consisted of a gang of young men hurling verbal insults at one target, while a *nevada* was a similar group that hurled spit (Rodríguez-San Pedro 91).

²⁰ See Chapter Two (33-45).

²¹ The Decalogue explicitly forbids Judeo-Christians from coveting: "thy neighbor's house: neither shalt thou desire his wife, nor his servant, nor his handmaid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is his" (Exodus 20:16).

²² This occurs in Act Two, when Escolástica and Clara, disguised as shepherds, reproach Federico for becoming the Prince of Babylon. I will return to this scene shortly, situating it within the overall dramatic action of the play.

²³ Although I cannot assume that Salas read Cervantes' most work, the intentionality of the anaphora, "tornan los siglos de oro," is undeniable and evocative of Don Quixote's famous speech on the glories of the pastoral golden age, popularized by *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

²⁴ This is consistent with the realities of life on the seventeenth-century Iberian peninsula, where the tax burden exempted the rich and penalized the poor (Elliott, *Imperial* 300).

²⁵ These practices even extended to the courtiers who studied at the University of Salamanca, whose *colegios mayores* maintained at court former pupils who would advance their interests as they worked in various parts of the administration (Elliott, *Imperial* 312).

²⁶ In the last section of this chapter, I directly address the apparent contradiction of a female figure advocating for clerical masculinity.

²⁷ As Lehfeldt writes: "For many writers, the heart of noble virtue rested in one's devotion to Christianity" (476).

²⁸ Mazo Karras remarks that medieval clerics were well-aware of the deleterious consequences of celibacy upon their masculinity, and posits that in response they "consciously styl[ed] themselves as "Father," an epithet which attempted to appropriate the authority that patriarchy allotted to progenitors ("Thomas" 65).

²⁹ Although the delay in publishing Loyola's *Autobiography* urges caution in applying the text's influence to the early seventeenth century, during this time Jesuit leadership regularly held up Loyola's life as exemplary and encouraged its imitation (Endean 4).

³⁰ The notion of practicing a militant masculinity as a soldier of Christ and rendering filial obedience to spiritual "fathers" also manifests itself clearly in the form of the *Spiritual Exercises* (1522-24), a practice in which the retreatant's cultivation of virtue depends upon obedience to the male director. The dialogic nature of *Spiritual Exercises*, required of every Jesuit brother annually, reinforces the notion of a historical social order based upon filial obedience to spiritual leaders.

³¹ In Chapter Three, I demonstrated that the prodigal son plays of Acevedo and Cigorondo foreground the relationship between a biological father and a counselor figure, communicating the utility of the latter, whose representation reveals them to be vital allies in protecting the fathers' families, and patrimonies, from the threat of wicked servants.

³² For more on this topic, see Chapter Two (44-46).

³³ A discussion of the confessor as spiritual doctor can be found in Chapter One (25).

³⁴ For more on the spatial theory that underlies this remedy, see Chapter Two (45-46).

³⁵ By donning the seemingly humble vestments of the shepherd, Escolástica and Clara reenact the divine role which Jesus Christ ascribed to himself according to the Gospel of John, which reads: "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep. . . . And the hireling flieth, because he is a hireling; and he hath no care for the sheep. I am the good shepherd; and I know mine, and mine know me.

As the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father: and I lay down my life for my sheep. (John 10:11, 13-15).

³⁶ Michel Foucault emphasizes the importance of religious devotion to early modern individuals by noting that Christianity is a salvation religion which claims to offer eternal life to those who espouse its dogma and practice its doctrine (About” 159).

³⁷ It is certainly in keeping with the sacramental use of water during infant baptism (*Canons* 33).

³⁸ I will discuss the counselor figure’s performed treatment of the Babylonian royals in more detail shortly. Suffice it to say here that Escolástica prescribes harsh physical punishments for Mencía and Sofía.

³⁹ The performance of a noble son willing to exchange “indias de oro y plata” for eternal life is a powerful contribution to *Coloquio*’s critique of the historical nobility’s exploitation of colonial resources (Salas 69r).

⁴⁰ Several comments evince Escolástica’s superiority over the Babylonian court as the dramatic action builds to the climactic confrontation between the two contrapuntal moral authorities. For example, she positions herself as an arbiter of kings, saying: “por mí hay justicia y predominan reyes” (Salas 63v). A subsequent aside confirms that she represents the divine law that governs kings when she quips: “leyes [son] mejor que reyes” (68v).

⁴¹ Proverbs 9:1-2 provides the Biblical basis for this victorious scenography: “Wisdom hath built herself a house, she hath hewn her out seven pillars. She hath slain her victims, mingled her wine, and set forth her table.”

⁴² The articulation of Clara’s invitation specifically targets noble youth: “Si es alguno infante o niño / allegue a mi mesa rica” (Salas 72v). This invitation encourages “infantes,” or sons of kings, to “allegar” (gather up riches) the virtuous riches of the host in lieu of material wealth.

⁴³ Scholars note that the Biblical myth of the Tower of Babel serves as a fable against those who act with unrestrained pride, thinking themselves equal to god (Finkel and Seymour 108).

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Rhodes observes that early modern Jesuits conceived of the Society as the “army of God,” whose brothers were militant soldiers of Christ (35). This aggressive stance, however, is not reflective of the Jesuits’ approach to every community. In fact, Walter Rela’s *El teatro jesuítico en Brasil, Paraguay, Argentina: Siglos XVI-XVII* records that their methods for converting indigenous groups were much kinder than those of other Catholic orders. The militancy attributed to Escolástica thus reinforces her criticisms of courtly culture in the early seventeenth century.

⁴⁵ By using the term “Baroque,” I signal the shift in Spanish literary aesthetics away from the clarity of sixteenth-century Renaissance forms and toward the complex, difficult tropes that sought to surprise and astound readers in the seventeenth century (Robbins 143).

⁴⁶ Strasser notes that the maternal aspect of the Christian divine was first recognized by Jodi Bilinkoff in medieval Cistercian texts (55).

⁴⁷ Cayo González Gutiérrez reminds us that, although these plays often utilize female characters, they were intended as allegorical figures and not fully developed, theatrical personalities (257). Consequently, I do not view the performance of Escolástica as one which seeks to subvert the historical dynamics of patriarchy, but rather one meant to reflect the tensions of the masculine world.

⁴⁸ Here I am indebted to Professor Michael Sherberg for bringing to my attention that the school was often gendered feminine in early modern discourse. Escolástica's allegorical identity is paramount to understanding the gender play of Salas's work, and in a forthcoming article I elaborate upon her importance to Jesuit pedagogy as she is a figure which joins scholasticism (*escolástica*) to humanist rhetoric, two concepts that were often at odds in Catholic pedagogy.

⁴⁹ Here, I am grateful to Professor Nina Davis for highlighting the romantic emotionalism of theatrical *galanes*. A *galán* was the leading man of the early modern Spanish *comedia*, known for his romantic entanglements onstage. The *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* describes him thus: "el que anda vestido de gala, y se precia gentil hombre."

⁵⁰ For comprehensive summaries of scholarship on the construction of gender in early modern Spanish marriages, see Yvonne Yarbro Bejarano's *Feminism and the Honor Plays of Lope de Vega*, and Georgina Dopic Black's *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain*.

⁵¹ For more on the Jesuits' scholastic approach to the humanist classroom, see Chapter Seven of O'Malley's *The First Jesuits*.

Conclusion

In the chapters of this dissertation, I have analyzed the conceptualization and representation of virtue on the Jesuit stage in order to further modern scholarly understanding of the Society of Jesus's educational role in the context of the early modern Spanish Empire. Jesuit school plays that reinterpret the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son were a logical choice for study since the constitutive elements of the tale foreground the relationship between religious authorities and a disobedient subject who must be persuaded to practice Christian virtue. The performance theory of cultural anthropologists Richard Schechner and Victor Turner provided a model for the function of the Jesuit stage as a platform from which the Society sought to influence the laity by demonstrating convincingly the advantages of a sincere practice of Catholic doctrine. In contrast to the virtue ascribed to the familial home, these plays characterize public social space as a morally contested arena in need of regulation so as to prevent young men from committing transgressive behaviors. Onstage, this regulation comes in the form of pious counselor figures whose advice assists inept fathers by persuading their prodigal sons to return home.

The performed mission of devout counselors to regulate behavior reveals that the theatrical discourse of Jesuit prodigal son plays does not merely praise a generic notion of virtue, but that through the voice of the counselor figure each work constructs a paradigm of masculinity that posits filial obedience to father figures as necessary for youth to be judged spiritually virtuous. Each work analyzed in this study tailors the behavioral

parameters of pious masculinity to address the specific needs of its surrounding community. The Iberian prodigal son plays written by Pedro Pablo de Acevedo and Pedro de Salas promote a model of masculinity based upon good stewardship of financial resources and membership in a religious order, while Juan Cigorondo's play takes advantage of its colonial context to construct unremitting devotion to study and diligent labor as requisites of male virtue. In their attempt to shepherd the performance of masculinity into an ideal regulatory paradigm, these plays manifest the Society of Jesus's active role in the historical debates concerning the relationship between elite masculinity and Spain's inability to exert successfully its imperial power.

By investigating the construction of religious practice in these distinct dramatic texts, I have discovered that the Society of Jesus utilized the notion of virtuous masculinity to encourage behavioral models for elite youth that would protect their family's financial resources. The roots of this message are found in Jesuit prodigal son plays' depiction of the prodigal's journey as one of *desubidiencia*. This performed prohibition against unauthorized travel for young men reveals that not only did the Society –like other Christian discourse- conceptualize the unknown lands of the New World as pagan realms, but also that it viewed Iberian public social space as potentially subject to the harmful practice of iniquity. Acevedo's prodigal son plays, *Comedia Caropo* (1565) and *Comedia Filauto* (1565) further the depiction of public social space as prone to impiety through the representation of several proto-picaresque characters who move from city to city in search of gullible, rich youth. The association of these figures with public spaces indicates that Jesuit prodigal son plays responded to Spain's burgeoning urban populations by furthering the division between the well-to-do upper

classes and the poor who struggled to earn a living. The performed escape of these servants with the prodigals' riches embeds in these works a discursive concern for protecting the wealth of the elite, a message intended to appeal to historical audiences that were consistently composed of representatives of the upper class(O'Malley 211).¹In this way, *Comedia Caropo* and *Comedia Filauto* help to circulate a vision of the urban poor as a menace to the pious elite, and thus constitute excellent examples of the type of hegemonic discourse that works such as *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), the prototype of the picaresque novel, sought to problematize.

While Acevedo's texts utilize the Parable of the Prodigal Son to envision the vulnerability of the rich to the lower class, Cigorondo's *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* (1586) allegorizes the characters of the Biblical tale to demonstrate that, in the colonial town of La Puebla de los Ángeles, this wealth was in danger of depletion due to upper-class sloth. An allegorical interpretation of the characters' names reveals that the prodigal figure's allegiance to the devilish Oçio symbolizes urban youth's failure to contribute to economic productivity through labor. This performed waste of labor continues until the counselor figure, Estudio, exiles Oçio from the city. Through Estudio's critique of sloth, the play communicates that the realization of virtuous masculinity depends upon obtaining the education necessary for good stewardship of the agricultural resources of the New World. Whereas the Iberian nobility shunned an association with the challenges of rural life, *Tragedia intitulada Oçio* capitalizes upon the lack of a titled class in New Spain to help realize a new paradigm of masculinity, that of the *rico hacendado*, whose agricultural wealth advances the interest of the Spanish Empire while his devotion to study evinces his virtue for the Church. Cigorondo's text thus reveals that the Jesuit

college at Puebla was complicit in discouraging those who sought to ascend society's ranks by living parasitically off others' goods, and instead encouraged elite men to protect their resources by raising their sons to participate actively in the colonial economy.

Pedro de Salas's *Coloquio de la Escolástica triunfante y la nueva Babilonia* (1611) demonstrates that parasitic social climbing was a transatlantic concern at the turn of the seventeenth century, when Spanish nobility fervently sought to replicate the luxurious habits of Philip III, a king whose lavish expenditures far outpaced imperial revenues (Elliott, *Imperial* 299). Commentators often decried the vice of decadence, and Salas's play participates in this cultural dialogue by representing the prodigal figure as Federico, a noble from Madrid whose father sends him to study at Salamanca in order to separate him from his chosen wife, Escolástica, a symbol of the divine knowledge taught in Jesuit colleges. Once there, Federico falls for Sofía, the Princess of the iniquitous realm of Babylon. The rest of the play follows the artful strategies of Escolástica as she persuades the prodigal to return to his virtuous first love, and indeed by the end he reunites with her by taking holy orders into the Society of Jesus. By identifying Federico as a Madrilenian noble whose father prevents him from pledging himself to religious virtue, Salas's play offers a highly unfavorable view of the religious devotion of the capital's court. This criticism intensifies in the representation of the Babylonian royals as the incarnations of various vices, including Don Ricardo, who embodies wealth, and Doña Mencía, who symbolizes deceit. *Coloquio*, then, discourages young men from seeking a life of luxury at court, where virtue is held prisoner with "cadenas de oro" (Salas62v). Such characterization of courtly life as impious is startling, given that the

Society of Jesus regularly financed its activities through funding from the Spanish nobility, and it is highly likely that representatives from this class would have attended a production of the play. This risky critique appears, nevertheless, to have had a positive social impact due to the artfully performed discourse of the counselor figure, whose superior mentoring is gendered as female.

The play depicts Escolástica as the prodigal's rightful moral authority, yet her role as his wife is novel in its deviation from the traditional casting of the counselor figure as a male friend of the father. I view the representation of a pious female counselor as a dramatic strategy whose appropriation of certain attributes engendered feminine, such as beauty and succor, worked rhetorically to mitigate the hierarchical tension of filial obedience within an exclusively male social hierarchy. The text's willingness to ascribe feminine attributes to the allegorical figure representing the Society appears to confirm the assertion of recent scholarship that the Jesuits embraced this construction of masculinity to make their Society more appealing to young recruits.² The complex function of this represented allegory of Jesuit learning is accompanied by the sophistication of Escolástica's discursive wit. Through puns and rhetorical gambits, she bests her adversaries and ultimately convinces Federico to repent, demonstrating discursive qualities prized by the emerging Baroque aesthetic of *conceptismo*, which sought to evoke astound readers through unexpected combinations of conceptual opposites.³ The construction of this character, which sought to evoke surprise through the combination of male authority in a female figure, ultimately underscores the superiority of Jesuit learning, which Escolástica allegorically embodies. The performed critique against courtly decadence is thus accompanied by a promotion of the Jesuits' religious

vocation and clerical masculinity as a more fitting outlet for young men who wished to practice virtue.

Each of these theatrical reinterpretations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son executes a very different social function. Acevedo's works discursively reinforce the hegemonic tension between the upper and lower classes, Cigorondo's play furthers the interests of the Spanish Empire, and Salas's work uses the prodigal son tale as thin veil for its critique of courtly decadence as responsible for Spain's imperial decline. The variety of these social functions helps explain the popularity of their stage and their Society since each work utilizes the pious counselor figure to address the prevailing concerns of the community for which it was written and performed. Embedded in the positive depiction of the counselor's advice in each play are specific behavioral requirements nuanced by each work so as to best respond to the problems of its social context. In the 1560s, Acevedo's works offered the counselor figure as a loyal helpmate to fathers seeking to protect their sons –and their patrimonies- from falling prey to parasites; in the 1580s Cigorondo's allegory against sloth singled out the utility of Jesuit colleges in helping combat the historically noted problem of sloth among elite colonial youth; and in 1611 Salas's work took a stand against the well-known problem of courtly decadence by offering membership in the Society of Jesus as fulfilling alternative for young noblemen. In each case, the represented action on the Jesuit stage advances the authority of the Society, first by constructing the pious counselor figure, or cleric, as a father's loyal ally against impiety, and then by bypassing the father figure altogether and advocating for full clerical supervision over both domestic social space and the public sphere. The ability of the Jesuit stage to adapt its message to suit the needs of the public

surely contributed to its rapid growth and expansion. While it has long been noted that these works displayed the sophisticated level of Jesuit teaching to the community, I argue that they also used the stage to obtain a hold over the practice of domestic piety throughout the Spanish Empire. If they could not trust the biological father to be a preacher in the home, as did Protestant Christianity, then these plays demonstrate that Jesuit brothers extended clerical authority over the domestic sphere in order to regulate the behavior of young men. The large numbers of theatergoers, along with the impressive recruitment of youth through the college system, attests to the fact that the Society had great success in making itself attractive to the public both in the classroom and on the stage. Through my study of reinterpretations of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, I conclude that the pastoral power of the Jesuits was well-received because it sought to guard the patrimony of individual families, and, ultimately, that of Spain itself.

Notes

¹ John O'Malley remarks that while Jesuit colleges rarely favored the sons of the elite over those of the poor, their funding did come through donations from the wealthy (211). This implies that the target audience of school plays would indeed be the upper classes.

² Here I refer to the work of Ulrike Strasser.

³ Contemporary scholars of early modern school plays often note that several influential secular playwrights known for similar gendered conceptual displays, such as Calderón de la Barca, were trained in Jesuit colleges, but few have established direct links between the Society's plays and the works of the national stage. Salas's reinterpretation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son reveals that Jesuit works participated in the development of this Baroque aesthetic, which would be fully realized by secular playwrights and poets as the century progressed.

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