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# When the Empire Was a Colony
## Roman Hispania and the Origins of Spanish Renaissance Culture

by

Keith H. Budner

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Comparative Literature
and the Designated Emphasis
in
Renaissance and Early Modern Studies
in the
Graduate Division
of the
University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Anthony Cascardi, Chair

Professor Ignacio Navarrete

Professor Timothy Hampton

Summer 2019

Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

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This dissertation offers a new account of how late medieval and early modern Spain revived the Iberian Peninsula's classical-colonial past as the Roman province of Hispania with an eye toward the challenges it faced as an emerging nation. Hispania was one of the earliest non-Italian colonies of the Roman Empire, and as such lays claim to its own veritable canon of Latin authors (figures such as Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian and Martial) as well as the first non-Italian emperors (Trajan and Hadrian). Attuned to this layered legacy, the dissertation examines how the Hispano-Roman communal imaginary arose as an alternative to the dominant model of Gothicism, with its aristocratic and militaristic ethos. Instead, Hispania enabled an image of pan-peninsular wholeness, shared cultural heritage and ethno-racial pluralism that was especially molded by the intellectual contributions of Sephardic Jews and later Judeoconversos, Iberia's marginalized minority community whom other national narratives sought to exclude by equating Spanishness with genealogical bloodlines and blood purity.

As its title suggests, this dissertation fundamentally reconsiders our notions of a Spanish Renaissance by proposing ways by which we can expand the literary and cultural archive of hispanism with previously unexamined works from various Iberian and Mediterranean languages and literary traditions, including texts in Spanish, both canonical and less studied, as well as writings in Latin, Hebrew, Ladino and Portuguese. By taking a broad temporal scope that spans twelfth-century Hebrew writings by Sephardic rabbis to more canonical literature of the Spanish 'Siglo de Oro,' the discussion not only bridges the medieval and the early modern but does so with the aim of challenging our categories of periodization. Within this temporal span, the core of its analysis rests in the century of Iberian experience between the mass forced conversions of Judeoconversos in 1391 and the expulsion of the remaining Sephardic Jews in 1492. From the writings of the Judeoconverso father-and-son Pablo de Burgos and Alonso de Cartagena to those of the Letrado Humanist and converso-descended Antonio de Nebrija, the cultural project of reviving Hispania is constructed, this project argues, in response to the breakdown of the so-called 'convivencia' between medieval Iberia's Christians and Jews. This Judeoconverso re-imagining of Spain as Hispania sets the stage for Miguel de Cervantes in his *Numancia* to fashion through literature new possibilities for how art and culture construct categories of communal belonging.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS and DEDICATION

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I began by mentioning the support I have found at UC Berkeley, but the people who make up these programs and departments made this place also a community for nearly a decade. Sophie Volpp has been there repeatedly with her support as a department chair, and Tom

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It as a rare occurrence to come to a place you've never been to before yet find family to welcome you with open arms, but this is exactly what I had in the Berkeley Budners who made the westward journey years before. Just as I was starting my doctoral program in Comparative Literature, my cousin Kevin was starting his at Berkeley Law, and our trips to the gym immediately made the campus and the city enjoyable places to be. Lunches with my uncle Bruce, and dinners with my aunt Maria, my cousins Brooke and Alison, Mara Boundy, more recently my cousin-nephews Reese and Asa, and Craig's periodic visits, truly made Berkeley a new home. And of course, I must also thank my family in Dallas, and beyond, for the unwavering support they have provided throughout my years of study, and before that which enabled me to get here. My mother first encouraged me to study the Spanish language that was native to her as well as to study abroad, setting the course I am on now, and my father instilled in me the belief that intellectual curiosity is a gift not to be wasted. Though further away geographically, I have come to feel ever closer to my brother Lee as we both begin our professional lives, and visits back to Dallas to see him and Shireen Rostami have made an old and familiar hometown exciting and new. Carol Stroud goes ever above and beyond as an aunt, to then compounds this with her professional insights as a professor of Spanish. And I have likewise been so lucky to have the welcoming hospitality of dear family friends Piluca and Vicky Salinas when research takes me to Spain.

I further dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my two grandfathers, Lawrence Budner and Joseph Stinson, who both embodied a life-long love of learning.

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# INTRODUCTION

## A Colony with Many Empires

Spain and empire. Juxtaposed, the two words form an almost natural affinity to the ears of specialist and non-specialists alike, conjuring images of the Spanish presence in the New World: 1492, Christopher Columbus crossing the Atlantic, conquistadors on horseback, Spanish friars and forced conversions, etc.

Yet such a connection between "Spain" and "empire" also has an almost paradoxical prehistory that few think of today when the words are joined: Spain (or at least the Iberian Peninsula) within an empire, and Iberia as a colony, the Roman colony of Hispania.[1] And beneath this colony lies an even deeper history of colonization. Centuries before Iberia was Roman Hispania, various areas were colonized by the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians and (if more legendary accounts are to be believed) even the Kingdom of Judea and Babylonia.[2] During the third century BCE, further Carthaginian expansion in Iberia catalyzed the Second Punic War that began when Hannibal of Carthage laid siege to the town of Saguntum (today Sagunto north of Valencia), a community of Greeks and Iberians that allied itself with Rome. After nearly twenty years of war (218-201 BCE), Rome emerged victorious under the generalship of Scipio Africanus and claimed the entirety of the Iberian Peninsula as its prize. Along with the islands of Sicily and Sardinia (today of course a part of Italy), Iberia thus became the first territory to be incorporated into the Roman Empire outside of the Italian Peninsula. As a point of reference, it would be nearly two centuries before Rome would conquer other provinces beyond the Alps such as Gaul and Britain. Thus, the tourism catchphrase of the 1950s held some truth even in antiquity; Spain was different.

Iberia's early imperial incorporation as the colony of Hispania naturally gave it an early start on processes of Romanization (both imperialistically violent and cultural), which contributed to its becoming the only Roman colony that can claim its own veritable canon of Latin authors with renowned names such as Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian and Martial, and also the first non-Italian born emperors in Trajan and Hadrian. Later authors were sure to champion such Iberian contributions to Latin letters and imperial politics, particularly amid the classicizing fervor of Renaissance humanism, though, as we shall see, such developments also took place as

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[1] Since the develop and overlap of these place-names are central to my discussion, I will preserve certain distinctions in their meaning: 'Hispania' will refer to the Roman colony, and 'Iberia' and the 'Iberian Peninsula' to the geographic region independent of political belonging. However, many authors I cite – not only pre-modern but also contemporary scholars – will elide these terms, most often by using "Spain" as shorthand for various political structures or to refer to the geographic peninsula. Reflecting historical circumstances, I will tend to use 'Iberia' when referring to the context of the Middle Ages when the kingdoms were independent and fragmented, and 'Spain' for the post-1492 early modern period, though I also follow José Antonio Maravall (1954) in believing that there nonetheless existed an imagined concept of "España" during the Middle Ages.

[2] See Adam Beaver's "Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions: Sephardic Legends' Journey from Biblical Polemic to Humanist History" (2016).

early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Both in antiquity and later, Hispania thus came to more closely resemble Rome than any other colony, which was something of a prophetic destiny for the two westward peninsulas that in earlier Greek mythology were both called the Hesperias, leading to inevitable confusion, at times a telling one. Romans, Hispano-Romans and later Renaissance authors thus came to see Hispania as a reflection of Rome, even something of a twin, and like that twin of Rome's legendary founder, the colonial sibling of Hispania could also be seen as a threat and rival to Rome.

Alongside the classicizing ethos of the European Renaissance, post-1492 Spanish empire-building gave way to the historical paradox that this emerging global empire was once itself but a colony. Authors on both sides of Spain's Atlantic empire appreciated a certain irony in this historical reversal. In his antiquarian discussion of ancient Iberian coins, the humanist Antonio Agustín reflects how "en aquellos tiempos era España para los Romanos como las Indias agora para los Españoles" (94) (in those times Spain was for the Romans what the Indies are for Spaniards today). Delving into the somewhat related topic of mining precious metals, the New World chronicler and natural historian José de Acosta again captures such sentiments when he describes the Potosí mines of Peru by referencing a passage from *The Natural Histories* of Pliny the Elder where the Roman encyclopedist gives an account Roman mining practices in Iberia, one that potentially came from firsthand observation since Pliny served as Procurator of Hispania Tarraconensis. Commenting on Pliny's account, Acosta writes that, "De España los traían, y como a tributarios, hacían a los españoles labrar minas. Lo propoio hace agora España con Indias" (From Spain, [the Romans] took [precious metals], and like tributaries, they made the Spanish work the mines. The same as Spain does today with the Indies; IV.8; p. 173). History is flipped; the colony becomes the empire; the exploited colonized now imperial exploiters.

Yet just as interest in the classical-colonial image of Hispania well predated the emergence of the Renaissance in Iberia, so too did a language of empire predate Spain's New World expansion. Before the conquest of America there was the Reconquista. Scholars have come to question the historicity of a Reconquista that gradually unified medieval Iberia from the 711 invasion of the Moors to the 1492 fall of Granada. And yet even if the Reconquista was not a historical reality, as an ideology and discourse its guiding tenets were articulated as far back as the Kingdom of León or "Leonese imperium" that arose in the tenth and eleventh centuries when the remnant Christian Kingdom of Asturias gained further territory.[3] Eventually the expansion of the Kingdom of León would create the Kingdom of Castile, with the language and ideology of empire following. The imperial Reconquista ideologies of these medieval kingdoms held on to an image of Hispania, as we will see in greater detail later in the next chapter. But more than the Reconquista wars that pitted polities and religious factions against one another, the chapters of this dissertation will discuss how Hispania functioned within the companion, though also somewhat inverse, concept of the so-called Convivencia that imagined a certain harmonious interrelation between medieval Iberia's Christians, Muslims and Jews. As we shall see, the ascendency of an imagined Hispania in the Middle Ages in many ways owes more to the intellectual contributions of Sephardic Jews writing in Hebrew than it does to Christian authors writing in Castilian or Latin. Amid these concepts of Reconquista and Convivencia (however imperfect they are), Hispania could evoke both the expansionism of empire as well as the need

[3] See especially O'Callaghan's opening discussion in *Reconquest and Crusade* (2003); and Catlos' *Infidel Kings* (2014: 80-88)

for imperial politics to negotiate and accommodate the pluralism of ethno-racial and religious differences.

More too will later be said about these dual faces of empire. But for now, let us also remember how the two conceptual pillars of Reconquista and Convivencia served as focal points within the scholarly discussions of the mid-twentieth century known as the 'Hispanidad debates' which took place among a handful of Spanish intellectuals who sought to define what Spanishness was and how it was formed.[4] In many ways, my discussion takes up these questions of communal Spanish identity that motivated the Hispanidad debates, yet I return to such discussions informed by new theoretical tools of cultural and literary analysis that have emerged since then, including the post-colonialism of Edward Said as well as Michel Foucault's post-structural analysis of historical systems.

Benedict Anderson's famous notion of the nation as imagined community likewise establishes the primary difference I want to draw between my approach and those which guided the Hispanidad debates. Of the two main interlocutors it has been said that Claudio Sánchez Albornoz took the more traditional stance of arguing for an immutable Spanish identity while Américo Castro emphasized the shifting process of identify formation by especially looking at the Semitic element of Spanishness in the cultural contributions of Moors and Sephardic Jews, the aforementioned idea of a Convivencia. Though trained as a philologist and scholar of literature, Castro framed the idea Convivencia as one centered on the lived experiences of medieval Iberia, yet in such a way that made him rather hostile to preceding cultural legacies. In a chapter of particular relevance to this dissertation that Castro no so subtly titled "No habia aun españoles en la Hispania romana," he refutes the idea that the Cordovan-born Seneca was Spanish, and from there builds his larger conclusion:

> Por los mismos motivos que hacen insostenible la creencia en la españolidad de Séneca, ha de desecharse el que Lucano, Marcial y los demás escritores latino-romanos nacidos en Hispania tengan nada de españolidad. (117)
>
> For the same reasons that renders it untenable to believe in the Spanishness of Seneca, we reject that Lucan, Martial and the rest of the Latin-Roman writers born in Hispania have any bit of Spanishness. (translation my own)

Yet what does it even mean to say that Seneca and other Hispano-Romans lacked "españolidad"? As we'll see in the ensuing chapter that foregrounds the idea of Hispania in Classical Antiquity, figures like Seneca and even more so the poet Martial made references to their provincial birth and Iberian features. So while these Hispano-Romans could not have used a term from a language that was yet to exist, they did self-identify with Iberia. Even if we wanted to be particular about the use of a term like "españolidad", we could turn to later writers from

[4] Following the 1948 publication of Américo Castro's *España en su historia* (subsequently edited and expanded as *La realidad historica de España* in 1954, 1962 and 1966) came José Antonio Maravall's *Concepto de España en la Edad Media* (1954), Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's *España: Un enigma histórico* (1956) and Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *España y su historia* (1958).

medieval Leon and Castile and early modern Spain who would celebrate these Hispano-Roman authors as "españoles antiguos" and "naturales de España."

This dissertation proposes that the very labeling of Hispano-Romans as Spanish, and relatedly of Hispania as Spain, produces the ideas of Spain and Spanish identity during the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity. The labeling and the labels go hand-in-hand. To fully explore the lived experiences of Spanish identity that enabled Castro to emphasize the Semitic elements of Spanishness, we must likewise trace the imagined narratives that mediate such lived experiences, for as Anderson shows us, lived experiences cannot but rely on the imaginary. In similar fashion, my narrative proposes that we cannot fully understand the Sephardic and Judeoconverso experiences without discussing the cultural legacy of Hispania. The two legacies and traditions are intertwined, because fundamentally it was the Sephardim and Judeoconversos who first looked back at Hispania, who constructed through writings in Castilian, Hebrew and Renaissance Neo-Latin the imagined cultural narrative that the Spanish nation is Hispania revived.

Beyond an Iberia that was divided into separate medieval kingdoms and a Spanish nation that retained regional autonomy well into the seventeenth century, the very notion of pre-modern nations and national identity during the late Middle Ages and Early Modernity is contested, and thus requires our attention. Though the Latin term "patria" was used frequently in medieval and early modern Iberia, there is debate as to whether this denotes a national community or whether it merely refers to the place of one's birth, the 'patria chica' as it is so called. I follow I.A.A. Thompson when he argues in his discussion of "the political community from *patria natural* to *patria nacional*" that we should do away with the binary and instead see that "the consciousness of community is not, of course, singular. Communities coexist, in concentric layers, or in adjacent sectors, imposing different loyalties which are not necessarily mutually exclusive" (125). And if Thompson proposes ways for us to think about an overlapping relationship between the local and the national, to his argument we can add the argument of Thomas Dandelet, that "Spanish nation-building and Spanish empire-building went hand in hand" (113). Just then as the 'patria chica' could coexist with, and was informed by, the 'patria nacional' so too could the concentric circles project outward between national and imperial projects.

Aspects of this simultaneous building of a Spanish empire and nation are no doubt familiar to scholars of Spanish history and culture. Indeed, what is perhaps the dominant historical narrative rests on the idea of Castilian hegemony where Castile imposes its national ambitions on other regions and its imperial might on the New World. And yet both Thomson and Dandelet emphasize how Spanish national identity was not imposed on, but rather created at imperial peripheries and national margins. [5] Thus, to counter the widely accepted notion of Castilian hegemony national and imperial, Thompson outlines a process of "hispanization" in which Castile at the center is forced by communities at the peninsular peripheries to submit to a broader national imaginary (pp. 137-141). And though Thompson does not specifically address Iberia's classical-colonial past as Hispania, or the etymological root of hispanization in this Latin place-name, Catalan historians such as Juame Vicens Vives and Santiago Sobrequés Vidal –

[5] Both Thompson and Dandelet refer to and build on Peter Sahlins's *Boundaries* (1991) which taking a somewhat later chronological focus than either of them argues for the creation of both Spanish and French identity during boundary negotiations over the Pyrenes and valley of Cerdenya.

when offering their own contributions to the Hispanidad debate – preferred to use the Latin 'Hispania' over 'España' because of the former's more regionally inclusive, non-Castilian connotations.[6]

Thompson's notion of "hispanization" from the peripheries has seen little traction among literary scholars where a narrative of Castilian hegemony largely persists. In, for example, his study of national and "transnational" identity in the works of Cervantes, William Childers foregrounds the following:

> the colonization of the New World and the imposition of a unified national identity turn out to be parallel processes. Religion plays a particularly important role. Militant national Catholicism furnishes the rationale for the exclusions on which this national identity will be based, and the conversion of the indigenous in the New World gives impetus to the sense of this mission. (2006: preface xi)

While I would be remiss to deny the historical force of "militant national Catholicism", I am proposing throughout this project that our image of Spanish national identity need not be so hegemonic and oppressive. Indeed Childers himself seeks such an alternative by turning to the Spanish author and expatriate Juan Goytisolo's idea of a "nacionalidad cervantina", and proposes that his scholarly work is an attempt to map this "imaginary state" by delving into the "colonized imagination" of Cervantes (xiii). Yet I shall examine how this Spanish state (or nation) was closer to historical reality than accounts like Childers' recognize, and that well before Goytisolo or even Cervantes, this nation was first imagined by those at the social margins and communal peripheries. I speak of the Sephardic Jews and later Judeoconversos who were Iberia's internally colonized Other, as they were in positions of perpetual precarity even despite (and often because of and in direct reaction to) their ability to attain certain levels of economic wealth and political advancement.

My dissertation's discussion will rest on the century between the massacres and forced conversions of 1391 and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. In this century we likewise see the greatest steps toward pan-peninsular unification, not only with the fall of Moorish Granada in 1492 but also before that with the union of Castile and Aragon via the marriage of Fernando and Isabel in 1469, an event that the Catalan humanist bishop and advisor to Fernando, Joan Margarit i Pau, described as the long awaited re-unification of the Roman administrative territories of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior.[7] The recovery of Iberia's classical-colonial past as Roman Hispania was thus a response to these overlapping processes of pan-peninsular nation building and the breakdown of Convivencia. After 1492, Hispania continued to function as a culture project that helped negotiate the ensuing socio-political and ethno-religious tensions

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**Hispania: A Lost Cultural Narrative?**

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[6] Vicens Vives' translator Joan Connelly Ullman writes "Hispania, rather than Spain, is the term preferred by Vicens Vives and other Catalan historians … For these historians, Hispania expresses more adequately the heterogeneous origins of the nation while Spain is associated with the Castilian-based government developed from the sixteenth century on. (preface x, n. 1).

[7] In his *Paralipomenon Hispaniae*, that was reprinted by the press of Antonio de Nebrija.

We might ask why if Hispania was such a prevalent and defining cultural image, more attention has not been paid. It is no doubt telling that within literary studies, the discussions that have most acknowledged the cultural importance of Roman Hispania are by scholars trained in Classics who then gravitated to Hispanism: David Lupher's *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* and Sabine MacCormack's *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (both 2006).[8] And as their titles suggest, these works focus more the Spanish New World than the peninsula. Much then has certainly been overlooked, if not outrightly ignored and rejected, by scholarship that has inherited a certain predisposition to focus on other national narratives. And yet, just as intellectuals of the 1400s brought Hispania to the surface by excavating an otherwise buried past, so too must we as scholars attune ourselves to what is often hiding in plain sight. An example from literature can help elucidate what I mean. In an early episode from *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Lazarillo leaves his parents to serve his first master, the blindman. Leaving his hometown of Salamanca, Lazarillo arrives at the city's bridge where he encounters "un animal de piedra, que casi tiene forma de toro" (22) (a stone animal, that nearly had the shape of a bull). Lazarillo's master tells him to put his ear up to the bull so as to hear "un gran ruido dentro" (a great noise within), only to then slam the boy's head against the bull's horn.

Lazarillo's blind master purports to have taught him a lesson in awareness, and even Lazarillo characterizes it as an awakening in which "desperté de la simpleza en que, como niño, dormido estaba" (ibid) (I awoke from the foolishness in which, as a child, I was sleeping). So what should we as readers be aware of and what lessons should we draw? There is clearly an emphasis on sense perception: the master who cannot see teaches Lazarillo a lesson by telling him he will hear a noise, though in the end there is only physical pain. But there is also an underlying historical, indeed even antiquarian, dimension. Though never specified as such, this bridge is of Roman origin and was possibly even constructed during the reigns of the Iberian-born emperors Trajan and Hadrian. The provenance of the stone bull is, moverover, Celtiberian, a totemic protector built by the tribes that predated Roman imperialism, and who then went on to interact with the Roman colonizers, either through more violent military conflict or more harmonious exchange, alliance, and even intermarriage.

That the young Lazarillo does not know the Roman and pre-Roman origins of these structures is not in itself surprising, but his silence and ignorance should not preclude our own awareness and appreciation of this ancient past. Some three centuries after *Lazarillo* was written, the Swiss intellectual Jacob Burckhardt invented the very idea of the Renaissance with language reminiscent of Lazarillo's lesson. Burckhardt's Renaissance was at once a civilizational maturing away from "childish prepossession" as well as an awaking in which humanity no longer "lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil" (98). A central aspect of Burckhardt that remains with us amid revisions and questions of his argument, is that the 'reawakening' of the Renaissance is a revival, what Burckhardt called the "Revival of

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[8] In history we can also look at José Miguel Morán Turina's *La memoria de las piedras: Anticuarios, arqueólogos y coleccionistas de antigüedades en la España de los Austrias* (2010); Hispania also comes at various points in essays by historians Jeremy Lawrance (1990) and before him Robert Brian Tate (1951, 1952, 1954, 1959), who both examined Spanish humanism and historiography.

Antiquity." But what Lazarillo shows us and adds to Burkhardt is that such 'reawakening' can be painful, that it can come about through the violence of clash and bloodshed.

My own narrative complicates our ideas of a medieval-Renaissance breach by demonstrating that the classicizing impulses of Renaissance humanism in Iberia are preceded by Sephardic Jews whose Hebrew texts demonstrate an interest in Roman Antiquity as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The later Judeoconversos who went on to craft their own cultural project of reviving Roman Hispania did so during a century that began with massacres and forced conversions (1391), whose midpoint was marked by exclusionary laws of blood purity (1449), and which ended in expulsion (1492). Classical reawakening and the revival of antiquity thus went hand-in-hand with violent clashes and bloodshed. As I will go on to discuss and emphasize, the cultural image of Roman Hispania was called upon to culturally mediate the social strife that arose as Iberia's Sephardic Jews, and then Judeoconversos, faced this increasing persecution and marginalization. The two narratives of cultural revival and ethno-religious persecution are not parallel by coincidence but are rather meaningfully and innately interconnected. This hispanization through the cultural image of Roman Hispania thus occurs at margins that are not geographic but social as well as ethno-religious, and through an imagination that is doubly colonized, produced by the internally-colonized Serphardim and Judeoconversos who gravitated toward an image of colonization in Roman Hispania. But to better understand the intersecting dynamics of cultural classicism and a persecuted minority, we will have to broaden out from our historical and cultural discussion of medieval and early modern Iberia to a theoretical framework.

### Nature, Culture and the Postcolonial Nation

The story told of Américo Castro has been largely emphasized a Spanish narrative of debates among Spanish intellectuals and of a scholar exiled from Franco's Spain to universities within the United States. But Castro's biography as an intellectual in exile coincides with that of many Jewish scholars who sought refuge from Nazi Germany and occupied European territories, many who were themselves Romance philologists (famous among them Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach). Castro's thesis of a multiconfessional Convivencia and the Semitic contributions to Spanish identity overlaps, moreover, with the broader resurgence of the "Jewish Question" in the Holocaust's wake. Within such parallels, I want to propose that we can elucidate our understanding of the Sephardic and Judeoconverso experiences in late medieval and early modern Spain by turning to Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1958).

Though Arendt's work is most often remembered as a political theorization of Nazism and Stalinism, her capacious treatment of such 'origins' prompts a wide-ranging discussion whose various branches touch on the interrelation and difference between racism and nationalism, as well as the cultural foundations of political community. Indeed, of the work's three parts, the first two are dedicated to and titled 'Antisemitism' and 'Imperialism,' and while Arendt primarily focuses on the nineteenth-century phenomena of Europe's persecution of Ashkenazi Jews, and Britain's empire in India and Africa, the broader categories of antisemitism and imperialism speak to my aim of aligning Iberia's medieval Convivencia with its classical-colonial past as Hispania.

Running through, and in some ways uniting, *Origins'* chapters on antisemitism and imperialism is Arendt's treatment of pre-twentieth century attitudes toward race, or what she

calls “Race-Thinking Before Racism.” As an example of her expansive historical perspective, Arendt begins with the French Revolution, and by drawing on various eighteenth-century historiographies, outlines how the French aristocracy saw themselves as a separate race, indeed one that was not even French at all but that had descended from the Germanic Franks who in the late-fifth to early-sixth century conquered what had been Roman Gaul. To combat this “race of aristocrats” the revolutionaries of 1789 looked to the politics of the Roman Republicanism which they refashioned to instead imagine France as a “nation of citizens”:

> For if the men of the French Revolution identified themselves mentally with Rome it was not because they opposed to the ‘Germanism’ of their nobility a ‘Latinism’ of the *Tiers Etat*, but because they felt they were the spiritual heirs of the Roman Republicans. This historical claim, in contrast to the tribal identification of the nobility, might have been among the causes that prevented ‘Latinism’ from emerging as a racial doctrine of its own. (214-215)

Though I want to follow Arendt’s argument in various directions, we can already see certain resonances to the vision of Hispania I have laid out. Both Arendt’s notion of French Revolutionary Latinism and our Hispano-Roman imaginary as cultivated by Sephardic Jews and Judeoconversos, build national communities to combat racial imaginaries, for Arendt the aristocratic mythos of Franco-Germanism, and within Spain, such exclusionary mechanisms as the statues of blood purity (whose racial component we will deal with later). As Arendt makes clear, the strategy is not to mythologize a competing racial identity, but rather to construct the nation as an alternative to race-thinking itself, and in both historical instances, Rome provides the raw materials for such anti-racial national imaginaries. As a fundamentally civic-minded intellectual, Arendt emphasizes how her idea of national citizenry requires participation within the spheres of politics and culture (about the latter, more will be said). Following Arendt’s proposition that the “nation of citizens” is intrinsically inimical to the “race of aristocrats” precisely because it emerges as a competing and hostile alternative, so too do I propose that the Hispano-Roman national imaginary emerged to combat the mechanisms of persecution and exclusion aimed at Sephardic Jews and Judeoconversos from a Castilian aristocracy which defined itself as “Old Christian.”

Arendt’s class-based analysis of a “Germanic nobility” against a “celtic bourgeoisie” drawn to Roman Latinism and Republicanism went on to be appropriated (though never credited) by Michel Foucault in his series of lectures at the Collège de France between 1975 and 1976 titled *“Society Must be Defended.”* At the midway point in these eleven lectures (the sixth lecture of February 11, 1976), Foucault excavates an archive of French historiographies nearly identical to Arendt’s. Beyond reaching a different set of conclusions,[9] Foucault expands on

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[9] Though their conclusions are less immediately relevant to my discussion, Arendt sees Germanic race-thinking as something of a precursor (though by no means equivalent to) Nazism, not only because it emphasizes race but because this racial element is hostile to the nation-state (what Arendt calls Pan-Germanism). Foucault proposes something of an inverse. Having emerged victorious after the French Revolution, Foucault’s bourgeoisie transfer their suspicions from the ‘foreign’ aristocracy onto all elements seen as a threat to the nation, thus creating a biopolitical regime of national hygiene, that as Foucault argues here, eventually culminates in

Arendt's brief (little more than five-page) discussion by crafting an elaborate system of historical analogies and genealogies. For Foucault, the 'celtic bourgeoisie' identify with Rome not through the abstract category of civic republicanism but because they inherit a historical alliance forged between the Roman colonizers and the indigenous Gauls, an alliance eventually disrupted by the arrival of the Frank.

Foucault thus plunges deeper into the historiographic narratives themselves and uncovers a past of layered conquests, first Roman and then Frankish. Depending on the political sympathies of the historiographer, these Germanic Franks have either legitimately earned their political rule by freeing the Gauls from Roman occupation (thus legitimizing aristocratic rule for centuries), or they are themselves a foreign invader who has colonized a harmonious Gallo-Roman society. Thus like Arendt, Foucault reads in the pages of these historiographies a genealogy of race, class and nation that breaks down according to an aristocracy of Germanic Franks and a bourgeois citizenry of Gallo-Romans. But unlike the Arendtian national image of shared civic and cultural participation, Foucault proposes an inherent "national dualism" that emerges from this history of conquest, in the power relation between conqueror and colonized as two distinct peoples, or races, within one nation.

These French historiographies upon which Arendt and Foucault build their theories of race and nation are echoed, and indeed anticipated, by the chronicle tradition of medieval León and Castile. [10] Just as the Germanic Franks of Late Antiquity are at once a coded ideological analogue as well as the supposed ethno-racial ancestors of the French aristocracy, so too did Leonese and Castilian noblemen believe themselves to be the descendants of another Germanic tribe, the Visigoths who fled to the mountains of Asturias after the Moorish invasion, yet who also centuries earlier, and at around the same time that the Franks entered Gaul, entered Iberia as Roman rule was crumbling. This narrative came to be known as the Visigothic Myth or Neo-Gothic thesis.

The Visigothic sense of a superiority, at once ethno-racial and class-based, is still with us today, in the term "blue-blooded" that came into English from the Spanish "sangre azul," which

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Nazism. But Foucault modifies this narrative in the *History of Sexuality* by arguing that Nazism combined pre-modern "symbolics of blood" or "fantasies of blood" with a modern "politics of sex" and that while the latter "remained an insignificant practice … the blood myth was transformed into the greatest blood bath in recent memory" (150-51). Thus eventually, Foucault arrives closer to Arendt's original framework in which Nazism is distanced from the bourgeois nation. We return in our third chapter to Foucault's discussion of blood as central to pre-modern society.

[10] Within Foucault's narrative, it is likewise important that his idea of the nation emerges in the century that encompasses the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the politics of the Revolution, rendering it a modern phenomenon distinct from earlier medieval and Renaissance historical imaginaries that saw all peoples as part of single family tree that branched off from Troy and its refugees: Aeneas to Italy, Brutus to Britain, and Francus to France. There was however no Trojan equivalent for Spain, and the closest would be the invention of Spanus, Hercules' nephew, who was said to have accompanied the Greek hero on his westward journeys but remained in Iberia, becoming its first ruler. But Spanus played only a cursory role in the ideology that buttressed the monarchical and aristocratic power of medieval Castile and Renaissance Spain.

denoted how the paler skin of the Germanic Visigoths made their veins more visible compared to the rest of the Mediterranean population.[11] Such sentiments were ventriloquized by the Romantic poet Lord Byron in the character of Don Juan who describes his father as a man "free from every stain / Of Moor or Hebrew blood, he traced his source / Through the most Gothic gentlemen of Spain" (*Don Juan* I.v.9). Historian of medieval Iberia and Judaism David Nirenberg quotes Byron's lines as a lighthearted reflection of the broader Spanish obsession with "*hidalguía*, Gothic descent, and purity of blood" (143), and in an accompanying essay whose title asks the provocative question "Was There Race Before Modernity?" Nirenberg begins by pointing out that Foucault's genealogy of race in *"Society Must be Defended"* says nothing about the statutes of blood purity that arose in mid-fifteenth century Castile.

Like Foucault and Arendt, Nirenberg is interested in what connections might or might not exist between Nazism and earlier forms of racism (in this essay and elsewhere), but instead of examining the historiographic construction of national pasts, Nirenberg analyzes a fifteenth century Spanish lexicon of such terms as "raza", "linaje", and "sangre." Through an analysis of these terms, at once discursive and historicizing, Nirenberg demonstrates that fifteenth-century Iberian not only had a biological outlook on race, but that the guiding racial anxiety of this time and place was that biological and cultural reproduction were intertwined, that just as the race of Jews increased through procreation, so too could racial Jewishness spread through poetry and philosophizing, even mere language and writing.[12]

Nirenberg is by no means the only scholar to apply such categories to the situation of medieval Iberia. Focusing several centuries earlier on the very transition from Roman to Visigothic rule in Iberia, Jamie Wood examines how this transition of power and rule led to a drastic reconceptualization of communal and political identity. Such ideology was most thoroughly codified by Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636) whose historiographic writings and ecclesiastical decrees "sought to institute the dominant power of an ethnically distinct group - the Visigoths - over a geographical unit - Spain" (6). Thus where Nirenberg's analysis demonstrates how Foucault's supposedly 'modern' theories of biological races were already prevalent in late medieval fifteenth-century Castile, Wood pushes the boundary marker back further yet and demonstrates that such "race-thinking" was not so much the product of later historiographers who looked back to the Visigoths, but that such ethno-racial attitudes were in fact encoded into Visigothic rule from its very inception.

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[11] The Oxford English Dictionary cites an early use of the English 'blue-blood' that recognizes its connection to the Visigoths in James Laurie's 1842 *System of universal geography*, where Laurie writes that "The Spanish community is divided into two great castes, those of pure Gothic or blue blood, and those of mixed Gothic and Moorish descent, or black blood." The distinction between a Gothic descended aristocracy and those whose blood was 'tainted' by intermixture with Moors or Sephardic Jews will be a central topic of my second chapter, but we might also imagine that differences in complexion were already apparent between the Goths and the Hispano-Roman population, and that such difference further tied the Sephardic Jews to the Hispano-Romans as similarly different from the ruling Goths.

[12] Nirenberg also explores the overlap of biological and cultural reproduction in his chapter "Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh" of the same volume. For a broader treatment of reactions to modes of racial exclusion in medieval and early modern Iberia, see Kamen's chapter "Race Purity and its Critics" in his *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision* (2014).

Wood's thesis is further supported by Patrick Geary, whose *Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (2003) examines the broader establishment of European kingdoms after the fall of Rome, including both the Visigothic and the Frankish, and proposes that a fundamental ideological divide existed between "two sorts of "peoples":

> The one was *constitutional*, based on law, allegiance, and created by a historical process. The other, standing largely outside the process of historical change was *biological*, based on descent, custom, and geography. (42)

Though we see something of a disagreement between Geary and Wood as to whether geographic identification is of a piece with or different from ethnic identification, the breakdown remains much the same with one mode of peoplehood, the constitutional *populus* (as Geary later dubs it) relying on looser associations, while another mode, the biological *gens* relied on ties of descent and kinship.

To be sure, Geary does not argue that such categories were immutable, and points to various strategies of incorporation that unified the two *gentes* of the Visigoths and Hispano-Romans into one *populus* of 'Hispani.' And yet, even within this new *populus* strategies of distinction allowed the sense of Gothic superiority to persist, if not in practice than at least in discourse, such as an edict which maintained that monarchs had to be "of the Gothic *gens*" (quoted in Geary, 33).[13]

There was likewise, moreover, one fairly substantial portion of the Iberian population that would not be included within this broader *populus* of Hispani, the Sephardic Jews. Under Visigothic laws, Iberia's Jews were at various points subject to forced conversion, restricted from traveling, punished both corporeally and financially for carrying out their religious practices such as Kosher dietary laws and circumcision, and even ultimately enslaved. Often such persecution did not distinguish between practicing Jews and those who had converted (Geary 135). Such Visigothic persecution stands in stark contrast to the relative tolerance that Jews experienced under Roman rule. Indeed for Geary, the Visigothic marginalization and persecution of Jews is intimately connected to the winnowing of Hispano-Roman identity and how a once "major part of the Roman population of Spain … Jews progressively lost their Roman identity, as orthodox Christianity and *Romanitas* became ever more closely linked" (134). And yet, I would also propose that as Iberian Catholicism came to be more closely aligned with Gothicism – namely again through the writings of Isidore of Seville – such Catholic-Visigothic alliance reopened the possibility for Iberia's Sephardic Jews to look back on Roman, including, Hispano-Roman history as veritable golden age of tolerance and pluralism, one that offered an alternative communal vision to that of Visigothic ethnocentrism.

The possibility of Sephardic Jews looking back fondly to Rome and Hispania requires a perception of empire that emphasizes not the violence of imperial conquest but rather the political and cultural mechanisms through which empires "self-consciously [maintain] the diversity of people they conquered and incorporated" (2), to draw on Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper's recent revaluation of imperial politics in *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (2010). Indeed for Burbank and Cooper, the political structure of empire is precisely worth reevaluating because it offers a possibility of pluralism and diversity

[13] See also Pohl and Reimitz's collection of essays *Strategies of Distinction* (1998).

that the nation-state restricts. Though never naïve about the violent and coercive practices that underlie imperial domination, Burbank and Cooper emphasize how empires enabled and "created contexts in which people formed connections—as ethnic or religious communities" across a diverse landscape (ibid).

But while Burbank and Cooper see empire and nation as political structures mutually at odds, nearly a century before their reevaluation, the Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset proposed that a nation-state could also look to imperial, and specifically Roman, practices when dealing with diversity. Citing the nineteenth-century German Classicist and historian Theodor Mommsen, who was especially interested in the history of Roman provinces, Ortega y Gasset writes that "La historia de toda nación, y sobre todo de la nación latina, es un vasto sistema de incorporación" (28) (the history of every nation, and above all the Latin nation, is a vast system of incorporation).[14] Ortega y Gasset, moreover, echoes the language of kinship (if not also ethno-racial unity) that we saw among the Visigoths, when he maintains that a nation that sees itself as "una familia que ha engordado" (an enlarged family) is doomed to fail.

Published in 1921, Ortega y Gasset's *España invertebrada* was written in the wake of Spain's very transition from empire to nation with the 1898 loss of Cuba and the Philippines during the Spanish-American War, and the subsequent challenges of regional separatism that arose within Catalunya and the Basque Country. But as we already see in Ortega y Gasset's use of Roman history, *España invertebrada* addresses such timely circumstances with a broad historical scope; he criticizes the model of political leadership brought to Spain by the Visigoths, whom he calls "un pueblo decadente" (97), and in a footnote glosses Mommsen's original term of "synoikismo" – which the Spanish edition of Mommsen had translated as "incorporación" – to more literally mean "convivencia" (28 n.1). Only a few decades later the hispanist Américo Castro would use this very term of "convivencia" to describe the medieval coexistence of Christians, Moors and Jews in Iberia, thus allowing us to draw a further possible connection between the pluralism of ancient Rome and that of medieval Iberia.

But at this point let's take a step back and consider how such possibilities of pluralistic incorporation and convivencia can be created not only through theoretical political structures, such as Arendt's republicanism or Geary's constitutional populus, but also through cultural forces such as art and literature. Despite foregrounding the republicanism of her "nation of citizens," later in *Origins* and elsewhere, Arendt argues that political communities require a cultural foundation since politics alone cannot create a sense of belonging. By contrast, the sharing of culture allows people to "feel that they belong to each other, when they discover kinship in questions of what pleases and displeases" ("The Crisis in Culture" 220). Unlike actual familial blood-kinship (to return to the metaphor Ortega y Gasset rejects), culture thus provides the foundation for community as a veritable mode of kinship that is capable of pluralistic incorporation.

Arendt's communal vision involves, moreover, not only the incorporation of peoples living together in a shared present, but also across historicy. The nation, according to Arendt, also requires its citizens to possess "a consciousness of themselves as cultural and historical entities, and of their territory as a permanent home, where history had left its visible traces, whose cultivation was the product of the common labor of their ancestors" (299). Participation

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[14] Mommsen followed up his three-volume magnum opus *History of Rome* (1854-56) with his *Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian* (1885).

in this Arendtian nation is not thus a legal category but something closer to what we might call 'cultural citizenship.' Later, Arendt calls the fundamental and indivisible member of this cultural community the *homo faber,* who through art and craftsmanship bears a "capacity to add something of one's own to the common world" (624).

Within this common world, or "world as a human artifice," the community of a nation is thus a particular arrangement in which the "common labor" of its production takes place between generations and across historical time. Within this Arendtian nation, the *homo faber* does not create a new community but rather adds to one already in existence. This dissertation will provided various examples that will enable us to better understand the nation in these cultural and historical terms, but I'll offer one here that nicely and succinctly captures Arendt's vision. Arendt's combined emphasis on building/fabrication across historical time, and of the nation as a territorial home "where history had left its visible traces," carries a certain archeological connotation, and indeed Spain's first Renaissance archeologist, the Catalan Lluís Pons d'Icart (c. 1520-1578) would describe his hometown of Tarragona as an "obra de los Scipiones" (a work of the Scipios), that is, as a work, or even artifice, of the Roman Scipios who had founded the town during the Iberian campaigns of the Second Punic War. And like other Spanish humanists we will consider, Pons d'Icart no doubt saw his own intellectual endeavors adding to this communal 'obra.'

Arendt's nation of "common labor" constructed by the *homo faber* citizen presents us with a diametrically opposed model of community to the biological construction of race that Nirenberg uncovers within pre-modern Spanish society and Geary's biological gens. Such opposing pillars indeed reflect a binary that Edward Said articulated as filiation vs. affilation, where, like Geary's biological gens, the "filiative scheme belongs to the realms of nature and of 'life,'" while the affiliative passes "from nature to culture" (20), and thus enables communal connections based on "nonbiological social and cultural forms" (23) such as shared literary traditions and educational institutions. Thus, like Arendt's vision, Said's affiliation will allow us to see how cultural forms such as literature, art and education provide an alternative model of communal organization that stands in contrast to the filiative categories of blood-kinship, race and biology. And as we have already begun to see, while the ideology of Gothicism dictates filiative categories such as blood-purity, the Hispano-Roman imaginary will enable affiliative cultural bonds.

Said's notion of affiliation as a form of community building and cultural citizenship is perhaps nowhere better exemplified than in Benedict Anderson's idea of an imagined national community where the nation "is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Beyond exemplifying the looser bonds of Said's affiliation, Anderson's imagined national community is itself built on cultural forms. Anderson specifically emphasizes the role of the nineteenth-century cultural technologies of the "the novel and the newspaper" (25), but he also looks further back to the early modern development of the printing press and rise of "administrative vernaculars" (41). Indeed, the figure who will guide our discussion of the post-1492 Spanish national imaginary was involved in both fronts: Antonio de Nebrija wrote the first Spanish grammar and was a pioneer of the Spanish print industry from his press in Salamanca.

Beyond offering an example of an affiliative cultural citizenry with his imagined community, Anderson's theory of nationhood also speaks to the colonial dimension of Roman

Hispania. When examining Asia, Africa and Latin America, Anderson proposes that their national forms are less modular importations from Europe, but rather possess an "immediate genealogy [that] should be traced to the imaginings of the colonial state" (163), or as he says elsewhere, that imperial "administrative units could, over time, come to be conceived as fatherlands" (53). Though here Anderson is focusing on non-European nations, at a fundamental level I am proposing that we can explore through the reimagining of Spain as Hispania how certain older European nations could themselves grew out of and atop preexisting colonial contours and configurations.

Of course, unlike Anderson's postcolonial nations, Spain did not arise immediately from the colony of Hispania but instead was revived after a gap that spanned over a millennium. I have already proposed that the particular confluence of humanist classicism and the social pressures felt by Judeoconverso intellectuals after 1391 were the two main catalysts for Hispania's revival. However, before we arrive at 1391, it is necessary to explore both how Hispania was understood and imagined in antiquity, as well as what happened to it in the intervening millennium plus. My first chapter **"The Unfolding of Hispania"** sets the terms of our discussion by following Anderson's proposition that the colony provides the imaginings of the nation. We thus begin by investigating what exactly Hispania meant for Romans with an eye toward how such raw ingredients of culture went into the eventual construction of the imagined Spanish national community. Likewise reflecting Anderson's notion that "over time" the colonial unit could become the nation, this chapter then investigates what happened to Hispania after the collapse of the Roman empire, and how these intervening centuries both preserved and suppressed the Hispano-Roman imaginary, and made the eventual revival of Hispania at once more difficult while also more necessary.

After considering attitudes surrounding Hispania, both negative and positive, and within the spheres of politics, rhetoric and poetry, my discussion specifically focuses on the rhetorical topos of the Laus Hispaniae that praises Iberia's natural fertility and abundant wealth. Though crafted via Rome's colonizing gaze toward the Iberian Peninsula, the Laus Hispaniae persisted amid historical upheaval. But while it never fully faded, the Laus Hispaniae as vehicle for the broader Hispano-Roman imagery did have to eovle, first absorbing the spiritual rhetoric and priorities of Christianity, and then finding itself subservient to the new ideology of Gothicism, which went on to inform Reconquista ideology. But for Hispania to overcome the subordinate status it held in the writings of Isidore of Seville and the historiographies of the Kingdoms of Asturias, Leon and Castile, it would need to be called upon by a different set of socio-political circumstances and new cultural forces. The chapters that follow tell this story; they are an account of the cultural revival of Hispania and the forces that brought it about.

Where Gothicism was nourished over the Iberian Middle Ages by a Reconquista ideology that required, and thus sustained, ideals of Christian militarism, the cultural project of Roman Hispania was revived from within the other branch of multiconfessional medieval Iberia, its Sephardic Jews and later Judeoconversos. The second chapter **"Classicism and Convivencia"** shows through both Hebrew and Castilian texts how interest in Iberia's classical-colonial past under Rome begins to reemerge as far back as the twelfth century with Sephardic authors such as Abraham ibn Daud, who wrote his *Chronicle of the Kings of Rome* (*Zichron Divrei Romi*) at a time when Christian historiographers looked no further back than the Visigoths. While such origins for this Hispano-Roman cultural imaginary might seem surprising, this chapter likewise illustrates how Jewish texts going back to the biblical (though apocryphal) First Book of

Maccabees present not only positive images of Judean-Roman association, but moreover do so with references to the Iberian Peninsula as the colony of Hispania. Such notions of a mutually beneficial Roman-Judean alliance are sustained and retold by a work contemporaneous to the writings of ibn Daud, the anonymous, thought potentially Sephardic, *Sefer Zichronot* (*Book of Memory*). Hebrew texts of the Sephardic Middle Ages thus manifest a form of cultural memory that looks back to Roman Hispania as an era of Jewish security and flourishing, particularly relative to the persecution later experienced under the Visigoths.

But if Roman Hispania was tied to a Sephardic communal imaginary, what then happened to it after scores of Iberian Jews converted, frequently by the force of violence, beginning with pogroms of 1391? To address this question, the chapter moves from Hebrew texts to Castilian writings, still of a largely historiographic nature, written both by Castilian noblemen who claimed status as "cristianos viejos" as well as by Judeoconverso intellectuals or "letrados." Along with their new Christian faith, the accompanying mythos of Gothicism was certainly adopted by members of this new generation of Judeoconverso letrados, such as the former Rabbi Solomon ha-Levi turned Bishop Pablo de Santa María (aka Pablo de Burgos). And yet important divergences do arise; while the nobleman Pero López de Ayala ties Gothicism to the origins of chivalry and "pura e linpia sangre" (i.e. Christian blood not mixed with Jewish or Moorish lineage), Pablo de Santa María uses historical events to illustrate the need for balance, of a militaristic violence of Gothicism that is tempered by the letrado arts of culture that served as the guarantors of human civilization. Judeoconversos like Pablo de Santa María thus appropriated Castilian Gothicism while also reworking its discursive elements.

Though Gothicism was by no means an ideological or rhetorical constant before 1391, from that point onward Iberia's changing ethno-religious landscape forced it into two competing directions. Gothicism was simultaneously brought closer to Old Christian ideologies of blood purity, while also reworked into the socio-political imaginaries of Judeoconversos. The irreconcilable nature of these two versions of the Gothic, as well as their relationship to the image of Roman Hispania, is the subject matter for the final section of this chapter and of the next. Like the Judeoconversos who accepted Christianity (willingly or by coercion, motivated by faith or by self-interest), their Sephardic kin who remained Jewish after not only the 1391 massacres but even when the 1492 Decreto de la Alhambra gave them the choice between conversion and expulsion, also turned to the writing of history to portray Spain's Visigothic forebearers as a violent people who threatened civilization, and whose violence was a precursor to Jewish persecution and expulsion. Just as this first chapter opened with a discussion of medieval Hebrew writings on ancient Rome and Hispania, it concludes by returning to the many Jewish historiographies written after 1492 (primarily though not exclusively in Hebrew), to show how these works at once inherited the earlier Sephardic tradition of looking back to Rome and Hispania, while simultaneously responding to the historical narratives and socio-political vision of Judeoconversos, who sought to accommodate themselves toward not only the religious, but also to the Visigothic imaginary of late medieval Castile.

In considering these post-expulsion historiographies, the second chapter jumped from texts of the early 1400s to works written after 1492, and at times well into the sixteenth century, that reflected diasporic attitudes. The third chapter, "**Conversos and Caballeros**," refocuses our attention back to the earlier decades of fifteenth century, beginning with a succession from one generation to the next, from Pablo de Santa María to his son Alonso (de Santa María or Cartagena). More than simply continuing his father's intellectual project of re-writing Gothicism

from a Judeoconverso perspective, and infused with letrado priorities, Alonso de Cartegana further reveals the inherent tensions of this task. Though Alonso writes a lengthy Visigothic historiography in the Isidorian model and elevates the purported Gothic genealogy of Castilian monarchs in his addresses to the Papal Court, he also gravitates to the alternative image of Roman Hispania of his Sephardic forebearers. Cartagena's translations of the Cordovan-born Seneca are not only the first in any vernacular, but also become an discursive opportunity for him to present, in paratextual prefaces and glosses, letrado intellectual endeavors as building on the cultural legacy of Hispano-Roman author, primarily Seneca, casting both as patriotic contributions to the Spanish nation.

Cartagena's work as a translator and commentator of the Classics signaled the rise of Renaissance humanism within the peninsula. Cartagena's humanism, moreover, took on a decidedly Spanish intonation through its emphasis on Hispano-Roman antiquity and by engaging with the unique ethno-religious composition and socio-political circumstances of Iberia, as we see in Cartagena's treatise in defense of Judeoconversos, a text published the same year as the first Estatuto de Limpieza de Sangre (1449). The spread of Renaissance classicism in Iberia thus coincided with Castilian society's growing obsession over blood purity, and this confluence resulted in a discursive sorting among the authors of the generation that followed Cartagena.

While the yoking of the Gothic to the Hispano-Roman remained a guiding ethos, a divide nonetheless emerged within this syncretism between, on the one hand, Judeoconversos (Juan de Mena, Diego de Burgos) who celebrated the cultural legacy of Roman Hispania as a precursor to letrado intellectual production, and, on the other hand, the caballero noblemen (Marqués de Santillana, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán) who lauded Old Christian blood purity and the idea of a feudal aristocracy descended from Visigoths, even while demonstrating interest in the Classicism of the emerging Renaissance. Thus, even while the image of Roman Hispania was proving attractive to the caballero poets of the late Middle Ages, so too is the social obsession with blood communicated through their poetry and writing. Unlike before, this syncretism of the Gothic and Hispano-Roman led not to ideological confusion and discursive murkiness, but rather to a felt-need on the part of authors to declare their commitments to a society either founded on the filiative principles of blood and lineage, or to one guided by the affiliative bonds of shared culture and learning and inspired by the legacy of Roman Hispania.

This third chapter thus demonstrates how the poetry of mid-fifteenth-century Castile reflects the attitudes surrounding blood purity, both those in support and in reaction to such exclusionary mechanisms. From 1449 onward, such laws continued to be promulgated by localities and institutions. And yet the caballeros nonetheless saw themselves as the losers in this veritable cultural war. Thus, by the time we reach the medieval poetic masterpiece of Jorge Manrique, his *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* written sometime shortly after 1476, the ideological sorting of the mid-century comes to manifest itself as loss. As its title suggests, Manrique's poem is an elegiac lament on his father's death, but the poem deals with losses broader yet: the passing of a medieval chivalric ethos, including the valorization of gothic blood. As a consolation, Manrique engages with classical exemplars from the world of Renaissance humanism, many from Iberian antiquity. But ultimately we see an attempt (successful or not) on Manrique's part to poetically circumscribe Renaissance exemplarity within the poem's principle priority, the filiative relationship between father and son, including the generational and biological bequest of traits and virtues.

Juxtaposing Manrique's nostalgic lament for a waning Middle Ages that celebrated Gothic blood and lineage is the humanism of Antonio de Nebrija, the figure of our fourth chapter **"Nebrija and Nuetra España."** Though he takes us back to the world of the letrados, Nebrija is unlike those of previous chapters. While not himself born a Jew, Nebrija was almost certainly of Judeoconverso descent on one, if not both, sides of his family. But unlike the wealthy ha-Levi / Santa María family, who rather seamlessly transitioned from Rabbinical Jewish leadership to serving as prelates in the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, Nebrija was of humble origins, his letrado education only made possible through Church scholarships. And yet, Nebrija's career was not grounded in the world of the Church, nor that of princely courts. Instead Nebrija's ascent can be attributed to new, more secular spaces themselves on the rise in this changing society: the growing administrative needs of an expanding and centralizing national government, and the expansion of Spanish universities that increasingly looked to, and modelled their educational missions on, the new principles of humanism.

Nebrija's marked uniqueness is reflected in his writing. Where Manrique and the caballero poets before him celebrated the filiative ties of blood lineage, Nebrija connects himself to the antiquity of Hispania by explicitly evoking the affiliative bonds of Roman practices of adoption or simply the homology of shared values. And unlike the Judeoconversos who came before him, Nebrija has little patience for attempts at synthesizing Hispano-Roman and Visigothic imaginaries, and is instead perfectly comfortable casting the Visigothic as a corrupting and barbaric influence on Spanish culture and politics. Nebrija's is thus the expression of a new letrado self whose novelty is marked by the full embrace of Hispano-Roman antiquity.

Hispania indeed permeates Nebrija's writings, from his endeavors as a philologist and grammarian to his accounts of Roman antiquities in Iberia and study of Iberia's Latin place-names. Hispania is reborn through Nebrija's poetic verse and in prose both Castilian and Neo-Latin; it manifests itself in his study of the material ruins and inscriptions that dot the Spanish countryside, in the host of Iberian-born Latin authors whom he hails as a veritable canon of Hispano-Roman letters, and in the geographic contours of the onetime colony that in Nebrija's time came to align with the Spanish nation after Castilian-Aragonese union and the conquest of Granada. Nebrija's project is thus not only for his own self-fashioning but also for the nation; it is Spain as Hispania.

Hispania's ability to inform identities both individual and collection, of both the humble-born yet educated letrado as well as the centralized and bounded nation, anticipates categories of the modern bourgeois nation as outlined by nineteenth-century proponents such as J.G. Fichte in Germany and Matthew Arnold in England, and as we saw in later theorists such as Hannah Arendt, Michel Foucault and Benedict Anderson (whom we will return to once more in our discussion of Nebrija). But while this narrative of modern nationhood might appear to suggest an inevitability to Nebrija's project at the broader collective level, such was hardly the case. Even during his own lifetime, Nebrija felt disillusion and pessimism in the face of revanchist forces that were taking control over that letrado stronghold that was the university through the censorship of humanist philological methodologies when applied to religious scripture, and likewise through that familiar mechanism of Judeoconverso exclusion. And yet, this chapter proposes the possibility of a legacy for Nebrija outside of Spain, one that brings us to where we left off at the end of our first chapter. Accompanying the Jewish historiographies of the post-1492 diaspora that concluded our first chapter's discussion, were philological projects in both

Hebrew and Ladino, whose scholarly self-presentation echoes Nebrija's vision of a community that grounds itself in the study of language and the recovery of antiquity. Indeed taking us full circle, these diasporic works bridge the rhetoric of humanist philology that we see from Nebrija with a historical image that has lingered across our three chapters, yet which till this point had lost the explicit expression it held during the Sephardic Middle Ages – the image of a supposed friendship which once existed between the Jews of antiquity and the Romans of Hispania.

My fourth chapter thus ends where our first began, with the imagined ideal of an ancient Sephardic-Roman alliance whose history overlaps with that of Hispania. In this way the dissertation's first three chapters speak to one another, even acting as a self-contained narrative. But the history of Hispania's revival does not end there, and to have a sense of the further path this legacy takes, our fifth chapter examines Miguel de Cervantes' early play (ca. 1582) *La Numancia* which dramatizes the 133 BCE Roman siege of the eponymous Celtiberian town. As a work of drama written by the most canonical literary figure to emerge from early modern Spain, Cervantes' *Numancia* speaks to the journey of the Hispano-Roman imaginary from serving to mediate socio-political and ethno-religious circumstances to providing a reservoir of literary material for later authors to mine. And yet, what this fifth and final chapter "**From Triumph to Tragedy: Cervantes' *Numancia* and the Conquest of Images**," also shows is that the very questions surrounding communalism that motivated the revival of Hispania went on to inform its literary legacy, and even proved relevant as Spain was faced with new socio-political concerns.

Surely influenced by textual accounts of Spanish conquest in the New World, the *Numancia* is in many regards the first work to fully appreciate how the cultural flourishing so celebrated by earlier humanists was necessarily preceded by the violence of imperialism. The narrative of the Roman siege thus becomes for Cervantes a meditation on what it means to write within a legacy of colonization and to stand atop a culture produced from conquest. Cervantes indeed goes beyond merely celebrating the canon of Hispano-Roman authors by incorporating their poetic imagery into his own work, from the epics of Lucan and Silius Italicus and tragedies of Seneca, to examples of emptive rhetoric in Quintilian and even tropes from the Christian authors of late antiquity Prudentius and Orosius. At the same time, Cervantes' *Numancia* shares an impulse toward ethnographic description (even anthropological curiosity) seen in contemporaneous works of Spanish literature, such as the *Araucana* of Alonso de Ercilla and, even more relevant to this discussion, the *Saguntina* of Lorenzo de Zamora, about the Carthaginian Hannibal's attack on Saguntum that inaugurated the Second Punic War.

Cervantes' *Numancia* and Zamora's *Saguntina*, written within years of one another, function as almost mirror reflections, each narrating an episode of imperial aggression by Iberia's two ancient colonizers: Carthage and Rome. Yet within each work, and especially Cervantes' drama, we see that the strength of these ancient societies rests not so much on their military might as on the rituals that hold together their communities. Here the bifurcated perspective of Cervantes' drama becomes especially manifest as the rituals of both the Roman and Numantine societies reflect their weaknesses; just as the Numantines misread the augural rites of their priests, and thus cannot prevent the impending Roman destruction, so too is the Roman general Scipio Aemilianus overly obsessed with a military triumph that slips away from him as the Numantines opt for collective suicide over surrender. Yet such failure of ritual is precisely the point, for ultimately when Scipio looks upon the self-immolation of Numantia, his quest for triumph gives way to an affective experience that resembles what occurs for the

spectator of tragedy, ultimately forcing him to empathize with the Numantinos. Paralleling the emergence a new Hispano-Roman society out of the ashes of Celtiberian Numancia, is the ritual failure of the Roman triumph that gives rise to a drama capable of building community.

CHAPTER ONE

THE UNFOLDING OF HISPANIA
*The Rise and Fall of a Classical-Colonial Imaginary*
*from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*

**What Was Hispania?: Ancient Iberia between Insult and Praise**

When the question of what Hispania meant to the Romans was asked during the Renaissance, the answer given by some authors might surprise us. Toward the end of his compendious commentary on the poetry of Garcilaso de la Vega, the sixteenth-century scholar Fernando de Herrera indulges in one of his many digressions, this one having to do with what he calls the "antigua quexa" (ancient complaint/grudge). As he sees it, Hispania was long a victim of the dismissal and even mistreatment of Classical authors:

> I assí, bolveré de principio a l' antigua quexa que tiene España, no común a la quexa de otras provincias sugetas al imperio de Roma, porque nignuna fue más tratada i conocida, ninguna más ocupada en la milicia romana, ninguna más provechosa o en riquezas o en ombres belicosos i exercitados en la guerra, i ninguna (si conviene dezirse assí) más inorada de los istoriadores romanos, que pasan sus hechos en tanto silencio que parece nunca tuvieron noticia d' ella o que nunca crió ánimos valerosos i merecedores de gloria … Quédanos sólo un rastro del resplandor despedido de su lumbre con indinación de la invidia, que no puede sufrir que salgan del sepulcro del olvido las pocas cosas que la fuerça de la verdad compelió, (Pepe and Reyes edition 2001: 900-1)

> And as such I shall return to the ancient complaint Spain holds, one unlike the complain of other provinces subject to Rome's empire, because none was similarly treated and well known, none as engaged in the Roman military, none as profitable in its riches or in men drawn to and experienced in warfare, and none (if it is acceptable to say it thus) more ignored by Roman historians, who pass over her deeds in such silence that it is as if they had no knowledge of her or that she never bred souls so valiant and deserving of glory … We are left with only a trace of the splendor her brightness emitted, as the indignation of envy could not endure those few things that escaped the sepulcher of what's forgotten, but which the force of truth compelled. (translation my own)

Herrera's claim is at best half true, and indeed becomes downright laughable when we consider how classical authors heaped praise on Iberia. In our introduction we saw how the naturalist José de Acosta turned to the Roman encyclopedist and procurator of Hispania Tarraconensis for accounts of mining in Iberia. Pliny's *Natural History* indeed ends with the author deciding which land is most deserving of "Nature's trophy" (principatum naturae). Unsurprisingly, Italy comes in first place, but Pliny cannot help but award a runner-up prize to Hispania. His reasoning – no doubt informed by his first-hand experiences there – begins at the most basic level of material commodities: "all its productive regions are rich in crops, oil, wine, horses and

every kind of ore" (ex parte, verum, ubi gignit, feracem frugum, olei, vini, equorum metallorumque omnium generum; 37.203, p. 330-31). Such fertility is even found where least expected: "But it is Hispania's deserts that give her the advantage; for here we find esparto grass, selenite and even luxury—in the form of pigments" (verum desertis suis sparto vincit Hispania et lapide speculari, pigmentorum etiam deliciis; ibid). Thus even Hispania's most barren parts give rise to not only agricultural fertility but also the luxuries and arts of civilizations.

Pliny's praise does not end with natural resources; in an image that runs counter to Classical conceptions of pastoral idleness, the gifts of Iberia's nature have produced an especially hardy race of people: "here is a place where there is an incentive to toil, where slaves can be schooled, where men's bodies are hard and their hearts passionately eager" (laborum excitatione, servorum exercitio, corporum humanorum duritia, vehementia cordis; ibid). Pliny's description of Iberia's people illustrates a certain dispositional broadening in its praise. At first there is an emphasis on toil and the schooling of slaves; the population is little more than another natural resource ripe for Roman exploitation. But from there Pliny moves to the hardness of bodies, a more general virtue but one that certainly still holds connotations of physical labor. Finally he praises "hearts passionately eager" and it becomes unclear as to whether he is still talking about especially valuable slaves or virtues more broadly shared by the population. Pliny lived and wrote during the decades when the Latin authors of Roman Hispania flourished at Rome. Undoubtedly Pliny had read these authors, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that some might have even been his personal acquaintances; we know that his nephew the Younger Pliny was a friend and patron of the epigrammist Martial.

But there was perhaps also some truth behind Herrera's "antigua quexa" since – despite such praise by geographers – Hispania's first foray into literature was via an insult. In a pair of poems (37 & 39), Catullus describes a certain Egnatius: "first among all the long haired, a son of rabbit-filled Celtiberia … trying to make good with a swarthy beard and teeth that shine with Iberian urine" (tu praeter omnes une de capillatis, / cuniculosae Celtiberiae fili, / Egnati, opaca quem bonum facit barba / et dens Hibera defricatus urina, 37.17-20). [1] Only two poems later, Catullus is even more preoccupied with Egnatius' ethnic status, which he underscores by starting where 37 left off, with his smile. Egnatius' supposed propensity to always smile is described as lacking in *urbanum*, a word whose roots in urbs/city can connote not only a generally urbanity but also a more particular connection to the city of Rome. Indeed, Catullus says it would be bad enough if Egnatius were Roman, Sabine, Turburtine, Umbrian, Etruscan, Lanuvian, Transpadane – a sequential list of localities that provides a map of the empire from Rome outward – but to make matters all the worse, Egnatius is of a very different people; he is a Celtiberian, and "in Celtiberian lands, what one pisses is used the next morning for polishing one's teeth and red gums, so the more shinny your teeth, the more urine it means you have drunk" (Celtiberia in terra, / quod quisque minxit, hoc sibi solet mane / dentem atque russam defricare gingivam, / ut quo iste vester expolitior dens est, / dhoc te amplius bibisse praedicet loti, 39.17-21).

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[1] The insults levelled against Egnatius conform to what David Wray has identified in Catullus as a "Mediterranean poetics of aggression." See *Catullus and the Poetics of Manhood* (2001: 117-60). Interestingly enough Wray's analysis draws on anthropological work done in rural Andalusia to think about the broader cultural structures that underlie such societies of aggression (see the section "Veronese Catullus as an Andalusian Dog": 120 ff.).

Lest we think Catullus' deprecating account of Celtiberian hygiene is the product of mere poetic fancy, the practice he describes is indeed supported by ethnographic sources. The first land described by Strabo, the Greek geographer writing under imperial Rome, is indeed Iberia, which he famously likens to "an oxhide stretched in length from west to east" (III.1.3, p. 153). But within this unified geographic image, Strabo uncovers a land of many peoples, languages and customs. To explain the diversity one finds in Iberia, Strabo turns to both climate and culture, rendering his work geography and ethnography at once. Thus to account for the relative scarcity of crops in the interior and north of the peninsula in comparison to its Mediterranean coasts, Strabo blames "the negligence of the people and the inadequacy of their lifestyle," and goes on to provide us with the image made familiar to us by Catullus:

> They are devoted to their own needs and their animalistic impulses, and are people living in a base way, unless one believes that they have an adequate life bathing in urine that has been aged in cisterns, and washing their teeth in it – themselves and their women. (III.4.16, p. 175)[2]

And yet, in Strabo's *Geography* there are other Iberians. The Tourdetani to the southwest, Strabo writes, "are reputed to be the wisest of the Iberians, and make use of writing, having written works that are 6,000 years [old] (as it is said) that record their antiquity, poetry and metrical laws" (III.1.3, p. 153).[3] The descendants of these Tourdetani primarily inhabit the shores of the Betis, and they for Strabo are the most "civilized and cultured" (ὁ ἥμερον καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν; III.2.15, p. 163), meaning (unsurprisingly) the most Romanized, as Strabo makes clear when he relates how they have "completely changed to the Roman manner, and no longer remember their own language. Most of them have become Latins, and have taken Romans as settlers, so they are not far from being completely Roman."[4] These Iberians have now come to resemble Romans to such extent that it is almost impossible to tell them apart.

That Strabo describes a spectrum of cultural development within Iberia which spans the familiar extremes of 'barbarism and civilization' is not itself all that noteworthy, for such was rather commonplace within classical geographies and ethnographies. What matters instead is how Strabo's ethnographic mapping of Iberia foregrounds how the Classical imaginary envisioned two Iberias that co-existed alongside one another. Within his single account we find both the barbaric piss-drinking Iberians of Catallus as well as the praiseworthy Iberia witnessed and described by Pliny, though here fertile not only in agricultural goods but also in culture

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[2] ἐλαίας δὲ πέρι καὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ συκῆς καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων φυτῶν ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς Ἰβηρικὴ παραλία πάντων εὐπορεῖ, συχνὴ δὲ καὶ ... τῶν ἐκτὸς ἡ μὲν παρωκεανῖτις ἡ πρόσβορρος ἀμοιρεῖ διὰ τὰ ψύχη, ἡ δ᾽ ἄλλη τὸ πλέον διὰ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς διαγωγὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀνάγκην καὶ ὁρμὴν θηριώδη μετὰ ἔθους φαύλου ζῆν: εἰ μή τις οἴεται πρὸς διαγωγὴν ζῆν τοὺς οὔρῳ λουομένους ἐν δεξαμεναῖς παλαιουμένῳ, καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σμηχομένους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν

[3] σοφώτατοι δ᾽ ἐξετάζονται τῶν Ἰβήρων οὗτοι καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἑξακισχιλίων ἐπῶν, ὥς φασι

[4] τελέως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι. Λατῖνοί τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐποίκους εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ὥστε μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι (ibid)

itself: in laws, poetry and language. Indeed such elevation of Iberia's resources and achievements would become so common in Classical writing that it earned its own label, the 'Laus Hispaniae' or Praise of Hispania.[5] Classical authors both Greek and Roman oscillated between praising and disparaging Hispania to the point where the terms for doing so become muddled. While Strabo's geographic focus allowed him to sort out neatly the cultured south from the barbaric interior and north, these categories become more fluid in other realms and discourses. The imperial gaze might look down on the barbaric, but in doing so such provincial disparagement also enforced its desired distance – both geographic and cultural – between civilized metropolis and barbarian periphery. To become closer to Roman culture and intermingle with Romans, as we see with Strabo's Baeticans, might earn imperial praise, but such cultural equivalency also poses a threat to the notion that Romanitas is a virtue unique to Romans. Here another humanist of early modern Spain put it well when he wrote of ancient times: "muchos de España se fueron a Roma y muchos de Roma se quedaron en España" (many from Spain went to Rome, and many from Rome lived in Spain; Guevera: 86), portraying colony and metropolis as virtual mirrors of one another.

The negotiation of Hispano-Roman identity as either genial reflection of Rome or threat too proximate plays out in the spheres that are arguably at the core of Roman culture and society: rhetoric and politics. Reflecting the malleability of Roman oratory is Cicero himself, who will laud or castigate Hispania depending on the situation and his client's needs. When arguing for the citizen rights of the Greek-born poet Archias, Cicero finds it expedient to draw a contrast between his client and those "Cordoban born poets whose style is rather course and foreign" (Cordubae natis poetis pingue quiddam sonantibus atque peregrinum; *Pro Archia* x.26, p. 34-5). The acknowledgement of poetic production in Iberia here serves precisely the contrary purpose it did for Strabo; with its purported coarse and foreign sounds, the poetry of Cicero's Cordovans is evidence of their distance from Rome, that they should not be considered Romans either legally or culturally.

And yet when it came time to argue on behalf of the Gaditanean (i.e. Cadiz-born) Lucius Cornelius Balbus, Cicero paints quite the opposite picture. In this speech, Cicero emphasizes the bonds that have long existed between the two peoples, the Romans and the Gaditani, and goes so far as to describe the people of Gades as "wise men learned in the laws relating to affairs of state" (sapientes homines et publici iuris periti; *Pro Balbo* xv.34, p. 670-1).[6] Indeed in its entirety the Pro Balbo is a meditation on the commitments a polity owes to citizens who enter its ranks through adoption - a notion we shall return to in our discussion of Spanish humanism - and how such commitments reflect the broader bonds of empire. To return to the categories we gleaned from Edward Said in our introductory discussion, affiliation within the sphere of the personal (the adoption of heirs as practiced by Roman emperors) is but a microcosm for political affiliation (here the pluralism of empire).

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[5] One example of the Laus Hispaniae whose descriptive content we are not covering comes from a nonetheless noteworthy source, the Iberian-born geographer Pomponius Mela who at one moment during his account of Hispania points out his own place of birth in southeastern Tingintera (close to present-day Algeciras near Cadiz).

[6] Cicero frames this praise with a discussion of how crucial the alliance was Iberian tribes was for Rome's success in the Second Punic War, and thus also its ability to continue as a Mediterranean power.

Of course, the fusion of the personal with the political could be wielded as a weapon by both sides, as we see when this very same Lucius Cornelius Balbus of Gades becomes Consul of the Senate and yet is still othered by the historian Velleius Paterculus who labels him "not a citizen born in Hispania, but Hispanic" (non in Hispania ex cive, sed Hispanus; II.li.3, p. 162-5) – meaning not a Roman colonist but an ethnic, native Celtiberian. It should perhaps not come as such as shock to us that the threat level associated with Iberian identity was frequently directly proportional to how high a provincial had risen in Roman society.

The risk of being seen as an upstart provincial likely accounts for why so many of the Iberian-born authors who achieved renown were silent about their provincial origins. Arguably the best-known author to hail from Hispania was Seneca, moral philosopher, tragedian and tutor to Nero. Despite the decidedly personal tone with which Seneca imbues his collection of moral letters and other ethical writings, the Cordovan-born philosopher was absolutely silent about his birth and upbringing in Iberia. And perhaps it was sensitivity to foreign birth that led Seneca to (rather hypocritically) insult the emperor Claudius as "born at Lugdunum [i.e. Lyons] … at the sixteenth milestone from Vienna, thus a Germanic-Gaul. And as a Gaul is sure to do, he captured Rome (Luguduni natus est … ad sextum decimum lapidem natus est a Vienna, Gallus germanus. Itaque quod Gallum facere oportebat, Romam cepit, *Apocolocyntosis* 6, p. 450-1)." Though the satirical nature of this work should surely be taken into account, one would hardly guess from reading Seneca's profuse othering of Claudius as a "Germanic-Gaul" that the emperor was born on foreign soil only because his mother had followed her husband on military campaign while pregnant.

That this disparagement of Claudius is a projection of Seneca's own provincial insecurities is supported by the most elaborate account we have of the philosopher's life, one provided by Tacitus in the books of his *Annales* dedicated to the reign of Nero. For much of these books, Tacitus presents Seneca as a self-serving opportunist within Nero's court. But seeing how bad his pupil has become, the tutor-come-advisor pleads that the emperor allow him to retire. Seneca's request is one of the most sympathetic portrayals in Tacitus' account, in part because the plea includes a litany of insecurities, chief among them Seneca's unease at having risen so high in the capital despite being born elsewhere: "The following churns within me: How is it that I, born to the place of an equestrian and provincial, am counted among the city's leaders? How among the nobles who flaunt a long pedigree, can my newness gleam?" (p. 299)[7] Tacitus' Seneca thus offers not only a plea for retirement but the anxious confession of a self-conscious provincial who has internalized the very sorts of insults hurled by Catullus, Cicero and no doubt others.

Beyond the historical grounding that Tacitus might have had for depicting his Seneca as an insecure provincial, the philosopher-counselor's speech before his emperor plays into broader concerns on Tacitus' part as to how the collapse between the Roman and the non-Roman contributed to the decline of the polity. Tacitus' *Histories* begins with the civil strife of 69 CE, the so-called Year of the Four Emperors, the first of whom was Servius Sulpicius Galba who was elected while serving as governor of Hispania. To be sure, prior Roman statesmen had earned renown in Iberia; for example, the two antagonists of the Roman Civil War: Pompey Magnus was governor of Hispania Ulterior, and Julius Caesar was a propaetor of the same region. And

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[7] intra me ipse volvam: egone equestri et provinciali loco ortus proceribus civitatis adnumeror? inter nobilis et longa decora praeferentis novitas mea enituit? (14.53.5)

yet, for Tacitus, Galba's advancement was a leap too far which proved for the first time that "an emperor could be made elsewhere than Rome" (posse prinicipem alibi quam Romae fieri; *Histories* I.4.2). Tacitus' fellow historian of the Caesars, Suetonius, puts it even more pithily when he calls Galba an "emperor made in Spain" (imperatorem in Hispania factum; *Life of Galba* 16), and in so doing shifts his emphasis to the very colony that so audaciously thinks itself worthy of producing Rome's emperors.

Of course, eventually there would be Roman Caesars of foreign birth, and not simply in the manner of Claudius. The first of these also came from Iberia: Trajan and Hadrian born in Italica near present-day Seville. Though hailed among the Five Good Emperors – a term coined by the eighteenth-century historian Edward Gibbon though inspired by characterizations from Machiavelli – Trajan and Hadrian lacked the (relatively) contemporaneous historiographic treatment that Tacitus and Suetonius provided the emperors who preceded them. Yet a later, if not dubious, source recounts an incident in which Hadrian finds himself the butt of jokes, having, while still a quaestor, provoked laughter among the Senate due to his "quite rural" (agrestius; *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* III.1, p. 8-9 ) accent.[8] The episode, however, ends with Hadrian gaining the upper-hand and turning his embarrassment into a lesson of self-improvement; he devotes himself to a more thorough study of Latin that results in his attaining "the highest level of learning and facility" (ad summam peritiam et facundiam Latinis operam dedit; III.2). In the end, the joke is on the nativist Senators whose categories of distinction Hadrian proves are not inborn but can rather be acquired through study.

As a story of an oratorical delivery in which the speaker is mocked for the manner of his delivery and thus prompted toward further study of language, the episode of Hadrian takes us back into the realm of rhetoric. But unlike before, when we saw how Cicero and others would conversely denigrate or elevate Hispania through rhetorical conventions, we now approach rhetoric with the understanding that it too is a tool that could erase the line between Roman and Iberian-born. Tacitus' statement went perhaps not far enough, for by virtue of study, even a Roman could be made outside of Rome. And just as Suetonius was right that Iberia could make a Roman emperor, so too could Iberians make themselves Roman.

Indeed, next to Cicero, the name most associated with Roman rhetoric is that of the Hispano-Roman Quintilian, born in northern Calagurris (today Calahorra in La Rioja). Quintilian's expansive *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Education of the Orator*) served as a handbook for rhetoricians in Classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, providing all sorts lessons and strategies on how to use language and style to their greatest effect. Like Seneca, Quintilian is one of those Hispano-Romans who never self-identifies as such. And indeed, if style is about cultivating and performing an identity for others, Quintilian's text reads like a handbook for erasing signs of one's provincial origins – perhaps it is even the very text Hadrian studied so thoroughly. Quintilian advises his speaker to include "as few foreign and exotic words as possible" (quam minime peregrina et externa) and to cultivate an accent "free from any

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[8] The *Historia Augusta* is met with skepticism as a historical document, and as such the veracity of the episode should be taken with a grain of salt. However, even if the episode did not occur, the work's desire to imagine such no doubt reflects a certain expectation that such elitist nativism would have been predictable among the still largely Roman-born patrician senators who were adjusting to their first foreign-born emperor in Trajan and unknowingly on their way to welcome a second in the very questor they were mocking.

sound of rusticity or foreignness" (nulla neque rusticitas neque peregrinitas resonet; VIII.I.2, p. 324-5 & XI.3.30, p. 98-9). Thus, in both content (words) and delivery (accent) foreignness is to be expunged from speech.

And yet, in matters of foreignness Quintilian truly reveals his attunement to subtlety since he also points out that speaking a language too properly signals one out as a foreigner whose knowledge of a language comes through books and not experience. Quintilian instructs that "as much as possible, then, let all our words and our pronunciation have a whiff of city upbringing, so that our speech seems to be completely Roman, not naturalized citizenship" (et verba omnia et vox huius alumnum urbis oleant, ut oratio Romana plane videatur, non civitate donata, VIII.1.3, p. 324). The foreigner now faces challenges on both extremes, to deficiently speak as a rustic or to speak the over-correct language of "naturalized citizenship."

Through his treatment of rhetoric, Quintilian now throws us back again into the world of legal terminology and citizen status. By analogizing speech to the legal terminology of "naturalized/enfranchised citizenship" (civitate donata), Quintilian exposes the limitations of Latinity that Hadrian so ardently cultivated. To what extent Quintilian's advice reflects his own personal experience as a foreign-born living and working in Rome is something we can only conjecture. We are left only with Quintilian's writing, and yet as the words of a text, Quintilian's instructions on how to navigate *not* sounding foreign present their own discursive instability. On the one hand, Quintilian is telling his potential foreign reader not to sound like someone who learned Latin from grammar books, to strive for a language that literally smells (oleant) of the city of Rome. And yet, these words are of course written in a book of rhetoric, illustrating how the work seeks to transcend the textual knowledge of the works that preceded it. Quintilian's *Institutio* thus becomes the ultimate instruction manual for the foreigner who wants to assimilate and appear authentically Roman – and who better to write such a text.

From an insecure Seneca to a ridiculed Hadrian and now to Quintilian's advice on not speaking the language of "naturalized citizenship", the story of Hispano-Romans in Rome has been one of provincial self-erasure, of trying to blend in and become as Roman as possible. Such an image is no doubt in keeping with Strabo's geographic account of those communities of coastal Hispania that had so embraced Latinity that they were "not far from being completely Roman." Strabo's other Iberia, the rustic and uncultivated Iberia, was what needed to be suppressed. And yet, by turning back to the Seneca's father, the Elder Seneca, we also see that Hispano-Roman self-fashioning could take other, even opposite forms.

Though less read today than the other authors we have treated, the Elder Seneca's *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae* provide us with our best examples of the Roman rhetorical practice known as declamation in which the speaker would take on an imaginary legal case or even debate a well-known decision from history. Such approach to rhetoric as role-play is complemented by the Elder Seneca's prefatory descriptions of successful orators who serve as models of practices and patterns for the reader to imitate. Naturally, the first preface of the *Controversiae* begins with Cicero, but the description is a brief one because as the Elder Seneca admits, he was never actually able to see Cicero declaim in person since "the furor of civil war … kept [him] shut up within his colony" (bellorum civilium furor … intra coloniam meam me continuity; I.pref.11, p. 10-11), by which he of course means the Hispano-Roman city of Corduba/Cordoba. Thus, already we see the Elder Seneca disclose provincial origins in a way his son never would.

Unable to describe Cicero in full, the Elder Seneca moves on to Portrius Latro, and it is through describing this "dearest friend of his" (carissimi mihi sodalist; I.pref.13, p. 12-13) that the Elder Seneca reveals an attitude toward provincial identity truly different from what we have yet encountered. The Elder Seneca embraces his friend's provincial disposition, because as he recounts, Latro himself embraced it: "he could not unlearn that bold and rural ethos of Hispanic character, so his motto was to live according to such conditions" (illum fortem et agrestem et Hispanae consuetudinis morem non poterat dediscere: utcumque res tulerat ita vivere; I.pref.16, 16-17). Here we see the very terms which earlier had been used to denigrate; the same characterization of being rural/agrestem for which Hadrian was mocked, is here a complement to Latro's bold/fortem mores. A sketch of Latro's daily habits provides us with a more complete sense of how such rural ways interact with the study of rhetoric:

> No one was more in control of his genius, yet no one more indulged it … When he had roused himself to write, day and night merged – he over-pressed himself ceaselessly, and stopped only when he was exhausted. But when he relaxed, he let himself go on all kinds of amusement and frivolity; yet when he had yielded himself up to the woods and the mountains, he rivalled for endurance of hardship and skill in the hunt the country folk who had been born in those woods and mountains, and used to be so entranced with a desire to live like that[9]

In Latro's life the two Iberias come together. He embraces both a world of writing and rhetoric as well as the woods and mountains of the countryside. His habits are not only rural but even idyllically pastoral. On the one hand, there is a sense that this pastoral existence holds a seductive sway over the rhetorician, calling him back every time he sets foot. And yet the Elder Seneca also seems to suggest that Latro's two worlds are in service to one another, that the pastoral woods as much as the rhetorician's desk strengthen one's genius. We might even say that by being "not a citizen born in Hispania, but Hispanic" Latro is able to excel in that cultural arena at the very foundation of Roman society.

## A Poetic History of Iberia through the Laus Hispaniae

### Provincial Poetry, Classical to Christian: Martial and Prudentius

In the previous section we mapped the various overlapping and conflicting attitudes that Romans held toward Hispania, and that Hispano-Romans held about themselves. There is, however, no figure for whom Hispano-Roman identity was as central to his authorial self-fashioning as the epigrammist Martial from northern Bilbilis (near present-day Calatayud in Aragon). Indeed Martial builds on much of the discourse we have examined, absorbing and incorporating it into his poetic project.

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[9] nemo plus ingenio suo imperavit, nemo plus indulsit … Cum se ad scribendum concitaverat, iungebantur noctibus dies et sine intervallo gravius sibi instabat nec desinebat nisi defecerat; rursus cum se remiserat, in omnes lusus, in omnes iocos se resolvebat; cum vero se silvis montibusque tradiderat, in silvis ac montibus natos homines illos agrestis laboris patientia et venandi sollertia provocabat et in tantam perveniebat sic vivendi cupiditatem (I.pref.13-14, p. 14-15)

Chief among the topoi surrounding Iberia that Martial appropriates and reworks is the Laus Hispaniae, and indeed in the very first of his twelve books of epigrams, Martial employs the very term. But where earlier we saw the term function as a trope of geographic rhetoric within passages from Pliny or Strabo that enumerated the wealth of Iberia, Martial instead applies it to his friend and fellow poet, a certain Licinianus whom he praises as "a man for whom the people of Celtiberia should not be silent, and a glory of our Hispania" (Vir Celtiberis non tacende gentibus / nostraeque laus Hispaniae; I.49.1-2, p. 74-5).[10] Though Martial goes on to more recognizably praise the land by stating how their hometown of Bilbilis is "renowned for horses and arms" (equis et armis nobilem; I.49.4), his signaling of Licinianus as a poetic embodiment of the glory of Hispania makes explicit that the Laus Hispaniae can include not only agricultural fertility but also the cultural production of authors like Licinianus, Martial and the Hispano-Romans who came before them. Indeed only twelve poems latter, Martial returns to the elision between agricultural/cultural fertility by praising "fertile Cordoba" for her "two Senecas and one Lucan," and from there his list of praise goes on: "merry Gades rejoices in its Canius, Emerita in my Decinaus: and you, Licinianus, shall be the glory of our Bilbilis, nor will she be silent about me."[11] Martial himself thus becomes a product of the Iberian soil.

We also see that in Martial's list he does not confine himself to the accepted genres of classical literature when enumerating Hispano-Roman authors. What matters is Hispania and the cultural output of this land. Rhetoric (Seneca the Elder), epic (Lucan), philosophy (Seneca the Younger) and his own satirical epigrams are all lumped together because all are born in the same place –not simply one's place of birth (as was the case with Licinianus) but the entire province, framing the entirety of Hispania as not only a geographic but also a cultural unit.

Such sentiments of cultural patriotism emerge again in Martial's fourth book, in an epigram once again addressed to Licinianus (though now referred to as Lucius). Here Martial presents something of an origin-story for poetry by first addressing Greeks: "let he who is born among Argive cities sing the songs of Thebes, or Mycenae, or shining Rhodes" [12] – a list of localities that evokes the poetic origins and/or settings of Greek tragedy and epic. Yet this setup soon reveals becomes an occasion for Martial to declare an alternative poetic project for Hispania: "let us, born of Celts and Iberians, be not ashamed to recount the harsher names of our land with grateful verse: Bilbilis, with her savage metals, best of all."[13] Martial thus presents his poetic task as one of convincing his fellow Hispano-Romans that the harshness (duriora*)* of Iberian place-names is commensurate with poetic verse. We are once more reminded of the anecdote about Hadrian's rurul/agrestius accent, though here such roughness is not a source of mockery bur rather for poetic creativity.

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[10] My translation is based on that by Shackelton Bailey but with some modifications.

[11] duosque Senecas unicumque Lucanum / facunda loquitur Cordoba, / guadent iocosae Canio suo Gades, / Emerita Decanio meo: / te, Liciniane, gloriabitur nostra / nec me tacebit Bilbilis. (I.61.7-12, p. 84-5). Martial returns to Lucan in several other poems (VII.21-3 and X.6) with XII.22 tying Lucan to the Iberian landscape through the Betis river. It is likely that some of these poems were commissioned by Lucan's widow Polla.

[12] Argivas generates inter urbes / Thebas carmine cantet aut Mycenas, / aut claram Rhodon (IV.55.4-6, p. 300-1).

[13] nos Celtis genitos et ex Hiberis / nostrae nomina duriora terrae / grato non pudeat referre versu: / saevo Bilbilin optimam metallo, (IV.55.8-11, p. 300-4).

And words are not the only rough substance that come out of Hispania; there is also Martial himself. Turning to book ten, Martial underscores his Hispanic identity via physical traits by comparing himself to a Greek named Charmenion who stereotypically embodies Hellenistic cosmopolitanism: "I am born of Celts and fierce Iberians, a countryman of the Tagus … You go about with oiled-up locks, while I have stiff and Spanish hair. You are soft from your daily depilation; I am shaggy, shins to cheeks."[14] Martial turns himself into something of an embodiment of the coarse Iberian sounds he earlier championed for poetic inspiration, thus triangulating between poetry, self, and natural resources. And though no longer marked by the characteristic of roughness, some thirteen poems later Martial once again elides poetry and the products of the land by declaring that his instrument of poetic composition is a "reed of the fish-filled Tagus" (piscosi calamo Tagi notata; 10.78, p. 386-9), now incorporating Iberian pisciculture into his poetic Laus Hispaniae via the very instrument with which he writes.

Martial's ability to rework the geographic topos of the Laus Hispaniae into his poetry is, moreover, matched by his attunement to the various dynamics of identity we also saw play out. Between the urban cosmopolitanism of Quintilian and the Elder Seneca's unapologetic embrace of the rural life, Martial declares that he will have both. Throughout Book Ten, he repeatedly announces his desire and eventual plans to return to Hispania for his retirement; or as he puts it, that having regularly spoken "of very far-off people, that I thirst for gold-bearing Tagus and my native Salo, and I am going back to rough fields of a well-stocked cottage."[15] And yet, once back in Hispania he cannot but miss the life of Rome. In a poem addressed to fellow satirist Juvenal, Martial confesses that his "Bilbilis, proud of her gold and iron … has made me a rustic" and that he spends his days in idleness and enjoying an "enormous, indecent amount of sleep."[16] Just as Martial drew connections between his poetry and Iberian ethnic identity, so now does he come to see that his creativity perhaps actually needed the city of Rome more than he realized. In the "laziness" (desidae) of his "provincial solitude" (provinciali solitudine), Martial has come to realize that what the city had to offer – its libraries, theaters, and gatherings – were inspirations for his creativity which he too quickly abandoned and that have now abandoned him.[17] As a final recourses, he pleads with his Roman readership and – and takes us back to a familiar construction – urging them not to think he would ever be so careless as to send them a book "not only from Hispania, but Hispanic."[18]

Martial's poetic reworking of Hispano-Roman identity is a culmination in multiple senses of the term. His is at once the most thorough and complex engagement with what it means to be Iberian-born in the Roman world, and he was also the last author to engage with the question, at least in terms of classical-pagan antiquity. Certainly the discourse leading up to Martial was not a static one (as our earlier discussion itself revealed), but in showing how far such tropes could

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[14] ex Hiberis / et Celtis genitus Tagique civis? / … / tu flexa nitidus coma vagaris, / Hispanis ego contumax capillis; / levis dropace tu cotidiano, / hirsutis ego cruribus genisque; (X.65.3-9, p.374-7)

[15] Saepe loquar nimium gentes … remotas … / auriferumque Tagum sitiam patriumque Salonem / repetem saturate sordida rura casae (X.96.1-4, p. 402-3)

[16] "rusticumque fecit / auro Bilbilis et superba ferro … ingenti fruro improboque somno" (XII.8-9 & 13, p. 104-5)

[17] Book XII preface (p. 88-9)

[18] non Hispaniensem librum mittamus, sed Hispanum (p. 90-1)

be taken, Martial also demonstrated that Hispania could have a lasting place in the literary discourse. What follows is an overview of the legacy Hispania held after Classical Antiquity. In particular we will trace the development of the Laus Hispaniae and how its continued manipulation reflects the changing landscape that Iberia faced amid various fundamental historical shifts from the introduction of Christianity and collapse of the Roman Empire to the complex makeup of medieval Iberia. Though such treatment will require us to take an aerial view of these many centuries, this wide-sweeping perspective will allow us to see in the evolution of the Laus Hispaniae certain continuities amid great ruptures.

Indeed, though our next author is a Christian born nearly two centuries after Martial, the echoes between the two reveal a certain perseverance of poetic discourse. The *Crown of Martyrdom* of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348 – c. 410) is a work both thoroughly Christian and patriotic. In the work's fourteen poetic hymns, Prudentius details the lives and sufferings of various Christian martyrs. Of these fourteen hymns, six are devoted to martyrs from Iberia, with four of these frontloaded to the beginning of the work. Certainly the subject matter of martyrdom does not lend itself to the satirical wit that characterized Martial's epigrams, but there is nonetheless an unmistakable ring when Prudentius writes of himself as a "rustic poet" (poetam rusticam; II.575, p. 142-3) who lives and writes among a people far away from Rome's metropolitan center: "Us the Vascon Ebro divides. We are made remote by two mountain ranges, beyond the peaks of Cottian Alps, and beyond the snowy Pyrenes" (nos Vasco Hiberus dividit / binis romotas Alpibus, / trans Cottionorum iuga, / trans et Pyrenas ninguidos, II.537-540, p. 140-1).

Yet as we saw in not only Martial but also the Elder Seneca's biographical sketch of Portius Latro, Iberian rusticity need not necessarily be at odds with art and culture. Prudentius offers his own artistic vision in an elaborate description of the tomb of St. Eulalia of Augusta Emerita (Mérida):

> Now her tomb stands in Emerita, that famous town in Vettonia by which the notable river Ana passes, washing the handsome walls as it sweeps along with its green waters. Here, where the lustre of shining marble, foreign and native, lights up motherly church. The worshipful earth keeps her remains, her holy ashes, in its bosom. Overhead the gleaming roof flashes light from its gilded panels and shaped stones diversify the floor so that it seems like a rose-covered meadow blushing with varied blooms. Pluck ye purple violets, pick blood-red crocuses. Our genial winter has no lack of them; the cold is tempered and loosens its grip on the land to load our baskets and flowers.[19]

[19] nunc locus Emertia est tumulo. / clara colonia Vettoniae, quam memorabilis amnis Ana / praeterit et viridante rapax / gurgite moenia pulchra lavit. // hic, ubi marmore perspicuo / atria luminat alma nitor / et peregrineus et indigena, relliquias cineresque sacros / servat humus venderanda sinu. // tecta corusca super rutliant / de laquearibus aureolis / saxaque caesa solum variant, / floribus ut rosulenta putes / prata rubescere multimodis. // carpite purpureas violas / sanguineosque crocos metite. / non caret his genialis hiems, / laxat et arva tepens glacies, floribus ut cumulet calathos. (III.186-205; p. 154-5)

Prudentius sets the scene by describing a picturesque town whose walls are surrounded by pleasant waters and the verdant pastures whose natural fertility such waters ensure.[20] Such a locus amoenus evokes the natural fertility of the Laus Hispaniae, but harmonizes such natural abundance with the spiritual offerings of the tomb and church. Prudentius thus naturalizes Christianity into the Iberian earth. And yet in this passage nature manifest itself through art, as the floor's floral mosaic becomes a virtual mirror of Iberia's fertility, its flower-covered meadows that bloom even in winter, filling baskets year-round. Within Prudentius' poetry, the tomb and church thus form their own Laus Hispaniae, embodying in miniature the fertility of the entire province. But if the mosaic's floral pattern aligns Iberia's natural fertility with its artistic craftsmanship, the specific evocation of "blood-red crocuses" (sanguineosque crocos) evokes yet another image persistent in Prudentius' poetry, that of a Hispania whose soil is watered, and stained, with the blood of martyrs. The fertility of Prudentius' Iberian Christianity thus exists in an ecological cycle where the blood of martyrs nourishes the religious art embodied in this tomb and temple. Indeed, Prudentius begins this very work by characterizing this staining of the soil with the sacrifice of martyrs as an inscription on the land of Spain "written with characters of blood" (sanguinis notis. … scripta; I.3; 98-9).

**Giving Way to the Gothic**

Though the image of Hispania as it emerged in Classical Antiquity proved commensurate with the Iberian Christianity of Late Antiquity, its fate was less certain amid the next significant shift. The once (over)simplified narrative of Rome falling to the barbarian horde of Germanic tribes has been reconsidered, and rightly so. Yet even if the historical record proves more complicated, the narratives of the time exploited tropes of civilizational destruction and chaos. Two Hispano-Roman clergymen in particular write of the havoc wrought by the Visigoths. First, there is Paulus Orosius, the clergyman from Bracara Augusta (present-day Braga in Portugal) and disciple of St. Augustine, who writes of having to flee Iberia because of the violence and disorder. This episode from his life is narrated within a prefatory aside in his *Seven Books Against the Pagans*, the first work to unite Biblical narrative with Classical historiography and that went on to serve a as a model for the many "universal histories" that followed.[21]

But despite the lasting influence of Orosius' work on the development of historiography, it was his less-known contemporary and fellow countryman Hydatius (c.400-c.469), bishop of Aquae Flaviae (today Chaves, Portugal), who left the most stirring accounts of the Gothic Wars. Hydatius describes a veritable apocalypse of barbarians entering Hispania and bringing "the four plagues of sword, famine, pestilence and wild beasts raging everywhere," a literal fulfillment of the prophecies of Revelations.[22] Anticipating (or influencing) language we will encounter in

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[20] Along with descriptions from Martial, the passage echoes Lucan's panorama of the Hispano-Roman town Ilerda and its surroundings, which we will glimpse in the final chapter on Cervantes' *Numancia*.

[21] At the beginning of the fifth book of his history, Orosius narrates his personal experience of fleeing Hispania amid the entry of the Germanic tribes and the ensuing wars. Ultimately, however, he presents himself less as an Iberian native who has lost his homeland than as Christian in the vein of his mentor Augustine who seeks no earthly patria but only a city of God.

[22] plagis ferri famis pestilentie bestiarum ubique (83).

later descriptions of Gothic violence, as well as in Cervantes' *Numancia*, Hydatius writes of a famine "so dire that driven by hunger human beings devoured human flesh; mothers too feasted upon the bodies of their own children whom they had killed and cooked with their own hands."[23] Hydatius' apocalyptic vision is thus something of an inverted Laus Hisapaniae; fertility gives way to famine, the fruits of the earth to a cannibalism so unnatural that it occurs between mothers and children. But even this apocalypse must come to an end as Hydatius describes a divine intervention through which "the Barbarians are turned to the establishment of peace by the compassion of the Lord."[24] This peace is, moreover, the beginning of a new society, a new Iberia divided, as Hydatius outlines, between the various Germanic tribes, not only the Visigoths but at this point also the Vandals, Alans and Suevs. Yet perhaps even more consequential than this divvying up of the peninsula is the status of the surviving Hispano-Romans, or "Spani" as Hydatius calls them, who after seeking refuge "in the cities and forts … surrendered themselves to servitude under the barbarians."[25] Hydatius' peace is thus also a new social order where Hispano-Romans now find themselves below the Germanic invaders of their onetime homeland. And within this new social order, we find Foucault's national dualism where an ethnically distinct conqueror becomes overlord to inhabitants now their servants.

Nearly a century after Hydatius' account, another Hispano-Roman clergyman, Bishop Leander of Seville, born in Cartago Nova (Cartagena, c. 534-601), paints a strikingly similar depiction of events. Indeed, Leader builds even more directly on the Laus Hispaniae, in a letter to his sister Florentina, herself an abbess and later saint, he writes: "the soil itself is no longer fruitful with its usual fertility, and not without God's judgment. For the land where citizens have been expelled and is given up to a stranger, as soon as it lost its dignity, lacked its fertility also."[26] Like Hydatius, Leander credits divine intervention for the state of Iberia. But where Hydatius' God brought peace through compassion, Leander's God sits in judgement, a judgement He carries out on the land, on its soil and the soil's fertility. Once more, the violence of the Visigothic invasion is told through inverting the Laus Hispaniae, by narrating the undoing of agriculture abundance.

Amid the various mentions of Iberia's now-absent fertility, we also see that Leander, like Hydatius before him, describes something of a populational shift; citizens are expelled, and a "stranger" takes over – with this "stranger" likely referring to the Visigothic King Leovigild (c.519-c.586) who was an Aryan Christian, which surely contributed to the severity of the Catholic bishop's attack. Yet it is no doubt meaningful that here Leander emphasizes not religious otherness (he does not call him a 'heretic') but rather his territorial outsiderness. Leovigild is a stranger, a foreigner; he is not of the land whose very fertility his foreignness has destroyed.

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[23] ames dira crassatur adeo ut humanae carnes ab humano genere ui famis fuerint deuoratae; matres quoque necatis uel coctis per se natorum suorum sint paste corporibu (ibid).
[24] barbari ad pacem ineundam domino miserante conuersi (ibid).
[25] Spani per ciuitates et castella residui a plagis barbarorum per prouincias dominantium se subiciunt seruituti (ibid)
[26] nec terra ipsa solita sit ubertate fecunda, et non sine Dei iudicio. Terra enim cui cives erepti sunt, et concessi extraneo, mox ut dignitatem perdidit, caruit et fecunditate. (Chapter XXI.6; p. 126).

The full story behind Leander's disdain for Leovigild is rather more complex. Despite emphasizing this particular Visigoth's foreignness, Leander played an instrumental role in converting to Catholicism his son Hermenegild, who at that time of this conversion was staging a rebellion against his father (so was perhaps at least in part motived to convert by the possibility of factional support). Hermenegild eventually lost his rebellion and was sent into exile along with Leander. But after Leovigild's death his second son Reccared ascended to the throne and was also soon convinced by Leander, now able to return from his exile, to convert to Catholicism, thus becoming Iberia's first Catholic King.

Beyond laying the political foundation for Iberian Catholicism, Reccared's conversion cemented the influence of not only Leander but also his younger (and today far better known) brother Isidore of Seville. In our introduction, we examined how Isidore codified an ideology of Gothicism that corresponded to Jamie Wood's idea of a biological gens (and also Said's notion of filiation). We will now turn to the specifics of Isidore's writings to examine how his codification of Visigothic ideology nonetheless built on the preexisting discourse of Hispania. Indeed, as if responding to his brother's earlier juxtaposition of Visigothic destruction and territorial fertility, Isidore begins his historiographic chronicle of the Visigoths with an extended Laus Hispaniae that is stocked with all the familiar tropes we have seen from Pliny and Strabo onward:

> Of all the lands the west to the Indies, you, Spain, O sacred and always fortunate mother of princes and peoples, are the most beautiful. Rightly are you now the queen of all provinces from which not only the west but also the east borrows its shining lights. You are the pride and ornament of the world, the more illustrious part of the earth, in which the Getic people are gloriously prolific, rejoicing much and flourishing greatly.
>
> Indulgent nature has deservedly enriched you with an abundance of everything fruitful. You are rich with olives, overflowing with grapes, fertile with harvests. You are dressed in corn, shaded with olive trees, covered with the vine. Your fields are full of flowers, your mountains full of trees, and your shores full of fish. (81)[27]

Yet in addition to all we have seen – the bounty of corn, vines, fish – Isidore adds a new element. Isidore has feminized Hispania not only as a mother-land and symbol of mother-earth's bounty but as womanly wife. Hispania is queen of provinces, her crops a garment draped over her. And accompanying this queen are a 'Getic' people, by whom Isidore means the Goths

[27] Omnium terrarum, quaeque sunt ab occiduo usque ad Indos, pulcherrima es, o sacra, semperque felix principum, gentiumque mater Hispania. Jure tu nunc omnium regina provinciarum, a qua non Occasus tantum, sed etiam Oriens lumina mutuat. Tu decus, atque ornamentum orbis, illustrior portio terrae: in qua gaudet multum ac largiter floret Geticae gentis gloriosa fecunditas.

Merito te omnium ubertate gignentium indulgentior natura ditavit. Tu baccis opima, vis proflua, messibus laeta, segete vestiris, oleis inumbraris, vite praetexeris. Tu florulenta campis, montibus frondua, piscosa littoribus.

themselves (having believed they descended from the Getae of Thrace).[28] Leander's foreigner strangers who brought infertility, are now a glorious people whose prolific flourishing (floret… fecunditas) has become a very mirror of the land itself.

At the end of this preface, Isidore returns to such rhetoric as a way to further define the relationship between Hispania and the Visigothic people:

> Yet you are as rich in purple clad rulers as you are in native gems, and, rich in imperial gifts, you are as wealthy in adorning your princes as you are blessed in producing them. Rightly did golden Rome, the head of the nations desire you long ago. And although this same Romulean power, initially victorious, betrothed you to itself, now it is the most flourishing people of the Goths, who in their turn after many victories all over the world, have seized you and loved you.[29]

With the preface's conclusion we see how Isidore's feminized Hispania goes hand-in-hand with his embrace of the Gothic people. By making Hispania a woman, Isidore endows her with an identity separate from that of Rome; she is a young maiden who after Rome's passing can remarry and become the bride to the new flourishing Visigothic people. Within Isidore's historiographic prose, the Laus Hispaniae thus becomes an allegory of womanhood and marriage in which Hispania gives her feminine fertility to the victorious masculine warrior of the Visigoth.[30]

**The Legacies of Isidore's Visigoths and the Laus Hispaniae in the Reconquista**

In the ensuing centuries of Visigothic rule – which came to an end with the Moorish invasion of 711 – and through much of the Reconquista Middle Ages that followed, most (if not all) historical chronicles followed and/or presented themselves as veritable extensions of Isidore. Many sought to establish a dynastic continuity of genealogical blood-lineage between the Visigothic kings and noblemen and the monarchs of Asturias, Leon, and Castile. Indeed the historiographers of these centuries so favored Isidore's Gothicism that even the subordinate Hispania faded away.

But the historiographic landscape became more complicated in the thirteenth century. On the one hand, the Isidorian model was further codified by the Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, who inserted into his *De Rebus Hispaniae* (circa 1243) a few early chapters on the legendary westward travels of Hercules, but then jumps to the origins of the Goths, entirely omitting and passing over Iberia's time under Rome as Hispania. Yet in these same decades, the

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[28] The notion of the Goths as Getic begins with the historian Jordanes.

[29] Alumnis igitur, et gemmis dives et purpuris, rectoribus pariter et dotibus imperiorum fertilis, sic opulenta es principibus ornandis, ut beata pariendis. Jure itaque te jam pridem aurea Roma caput gentium concupivit, et licet te sibimet eadem Romulea virtus primum victrix spoponderit, denuo tamen Gothorum florentissima gens post multiplices in orbe victorias certatim rapuit et amavit,

[30] Isidore's image of a marital union between presents a cultural, textual parallel to the evolving Visigothic legal codes that at first prohibited but then allowed intermarriage between ethnic Goths and Hispano-Romans.

Leonese Bishop Lucas de Tuy (died ca. 1249) looked more to Orosius' model of universal history for his aptly titled *Chronicon mundi* (translated only a few decades later into Spanish). Lucas included a Laus Hispaniae into his *Chronicon*, where he follows Isidore in praising this "tierra de los españoles, abudnante de propios bienes … abondada de salud, de ayre y fartura de la tierra e de animalias y de deleyte de rios y de fuentes y pescados, y de plazenterias" (3) (a land of Spaniards, abundant with its own goods … abounding in health, in fruits of the earth and animals and the delights of rivers and fonts and fish and other pleasant things; translation my own). But in his Laus Hispaniae, Lucas also looked further back to Prudentius by elevating the martyred Saints Laurence and Vincent, whom he characterizes as the products of the selfsame earth when writing that "España que engendró aquellos dos" (Spain birthed these two), and then follows this with the rhetorical question: "¿Qué tierra … traxo tal caso?" (4) (What sort of earth could bring such thing forth?). After such Prudentian celebration of Iberia's Christian martyrs, Lucas delves further yet into the peninsula's literary history, and channels Martial by praising "el muy razonado Seneca y Luchano, en hestoria e poeta muy claro" (7) (that reasonable Seneca and Lucan, in history and poetry so bright) as well as the Hispano-Roman emperors whom he says "España los dio a Roma" or that "España le engendró" (Spain gave them to Rome … Spain birthed him; 6-7).

Beyond demonstrating such interest in Iberia's pre-Visigothic classical past, Lucas' text would serve as its own model for later historians. Only a few decades later, the Franciscan Juan Gil de Zamora (ca. 1240-1318) wrote a historiography framed in its entirety as a praise of Spain, his *De preconiis Hispaniae* (*On Proclaiming Spain/Hispania*) where he not only rewrites nearly word-for-word the above Laus and its praise of Hispano-Roman emperors and poets, but even goes one step further, quoting, also essentially verbatim, Martial's praise of the father and son Seneca as well as Lucan (118).[31]

Beyond his historiographic writing, Juan Gil de Zamora served as tutor to the young prince who would become Alfonso X el Sabio, and continued to serve him as a royal counselor. To the discourse and ideology of the Reconquista that Alfonso inherited as ruler of both Castile and Leon (kingdoms first united by Alfonso's father Fernando III), the 'wise' monarch added his own ambitions of becoming Holy Roman Emperor (a title made possible to him through his mother Beatrice of Swabia). The writing of history certainly factored into Alfonso's political ambitions in both Iberia and the broader European landscape. Alfonso authorized both a universal history with the *General Estoria* as well as a national history in the *Estoria de Espanna* that looked somewhat more to Isidore as a model. Indeed, Alfonso's *Estoria* lists its influences and includes not only the more recent historiographic sources of Jiménez de Rada and Lucas de Tuy, but also Orosius, Isidore and Hydatius, and even Lucan, who was often classified as a

[31] Zamora also discussed the Lusitanian rebel Viriatus (67) and important cities of Roman Hispania such as Mérida and Sagunto (138-47). He also wrote a separate work on his hometown and namesake Zamora which he believed to be the Celtiberian City of Numancia that suffered a Roman attack, as famously depicted in Cervantes' early modern tragedy, which I shall discussin in my fifth chapter. But it must also be noted that on the whole, Lucas and Zamora's works still focus primarily on the Visigothic whose kings and rulers occupy far more space within the *Chronicon* and *De preconiis Hispaniae* than the Roman emperors, Iberian-born or otherwise, and who, in keeping with standard Gothic ideology, are presented as the dynastic ancestors of the Christian monarchs of the kingdoms of Asturias, Leon and Castile.

historian due to the historical subject matter of his *Pharsalia*.[32] In presenting such a catalogue of influences and sources, Alfonso's history casts itself as history of Spain constructed through the works of Iberian authors that span ancient Hispania to medieval Castile. The *General Estoria* even includes a complete translation of Lucan's *Pharsalia* into Castilian prose, and makes sure to dub the author a "sabio de España que fue natural de la Cibdad de Córdova" (3) (wise-man of Spain who was a native of the city of Cordoba). During the Roman chapters of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Trajan is likewise identified, albeit with erroneous details, as "espannol … natural duna uilla de Estremadura" (142) (Spaniard … a native of a village in Extremadura).

Unlike Lucas de Tuy, the Alfonsine histories are bereft of the autochthonous language that elides cultural and agricultural, the produce and the poets of the Laus Hispaniae. But the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna* does indeed contain a Laus Hispaniae, one that describes Iberia as a "parayso de Dios" with "bondad mas que otra tierra ninguna" (a paradise of God with bounty more than any other land), and goes on to enumerate its "fructas … pescados … metales … oro … piedras preciosas" (311) (fuits … fish … metals … gold … precious metals).

However, more telling than the specific rhetoric of Alfonso's Laus Hisapniae is its placement within the work. Where Isidore and later historians placed their Laudes Hisapniae in introductory prefaces, foregrounding the land whose history the works would then go on to recount, the Alfonsine *Estoria*'s Laus occurs within the historical narrative itself, indeed right when the Moors invade Iberia in 711 and defeat the Visigothic kingdom. This Laus Hispaniae does not frame historiographic discourse but is instead interwoven into history. This "parayso de Dios" is a paradise lost to non-Christian invaders, and the Laus that was once a topos of classical geography is now implicated within Reconquista ideology. And yet at the same time, the Gothic connection is not lost. As we'll return to in greater depth when we take up Antonio de Nebrija's geographic delineation of Spain and Hispania (or Spain as Hispania), the Alfonsine territory encompasses not only the Iberian Peninsula but also the portions of "Gallia Gothica" north of the Pyrenees that includes cities such as as Rodès and Narbona/Narbonne (which served as Visigothic capital before Toledo). The Alfonsine Laus is thus not per se a Laus Hispaniae according to the territorial definition and delineation of Hispania as coterminous with Iberia Peninsula whose border land-border is the Pyrenees. Instead the passage celebrates a different territory, one that it readily identifies as the "sennorio de los godos" (dominion of the Goths).

The vision of Iberia, and more than Iberia, as the territorial patrimony of the Visigoths also bears implications for the placement of this passage at the moment of Visigothic defeat at the hands of Moorish invaders. At something of a programmatic mid-point in the chronicle, this reworked Gothicized Laus is likewise complemented by articulations of Gothic ideology at the work's beginning and its end. Having eschewed the standard prefatory Laus Hispaniae, the *Alfonsine Estoria* begins with a declaration of its historiographic aims, that being to contrast the massacres (mortandades) committed by Romans against Spaniards, and instead:

> mostrar la nobleza de los godos et como fueron viniendo de tierra en tierra venciendo muchas batallas et conquireiendo muchas tierras, fasta que llegaron a

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[32] tomamos de la cronica dell Arçobispo don Rodrigo que fizo por mandado del rey don Fernando nuestro padre, et de la de Maestre Luchas, Obispo de Tuy, et de Paulo Orosio, et del Lucano, et de sant Esidro el primero, et de sant Alffonsso, et de sant Esidro el mancebo, et de Idacio Obispo de Gallizia (49).

> Espanna, et echaron ende a todas las otras yentes, et fueron ellos sennores della. (4)
>
> To show the nobility of the Goths and how they went land by land, winning many battles and conquering many lands, until they arrived to Spain, and threw out all the other people, and made themselves lords over her.

According to its own self-presentation, the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna* is a Gothic history, indeed a celebration of Gothic nobility that chronicles how these (unapologetically) foreign people came to Iberia in a path of conquest to eventually establish themselves as lords of the land territory and get rid of everyone else (echaron ende a todas las otras yentes). The juxtaposition further implies that while Rome brought only violent destruction and massacres, the Goths introduced to Iberia both their nobility and the political structure of feudal lordship.

This broader civilizational image of Gothic valor and political hierarchy is brought down to the level of personal experience in a scene toward the end of the chronicle, one that indeed also recalls the Laus's image of Iberia (and even more than Iberia) as territorial patrimony of the Gothic people. The dramatic scene takes place at the deathbed of Castilian King Fernando III who, surrounded by his noblemen and family, declares that his son Alfonso (the very one soon to become Alfonso X) will soon inherit his kingdom, and that by right of inheritance, he is also the legitimate heir to all of the territory that Rodrigo the last king of the Visigoths lost to the Moors. In this culminating moment, the political and military mission of this new king (who is of course also the stated author of the text), to reconquer the territory lost to the Moors, thus converges with the work's historiographic aim of celebrating the nobility of the Gothic people. The entirety of the work's 'national' imagery, including its investigation of a pre-Gothic past, must be read within the framework of this totalizing Gothicism. Indeed, even while Isidore used the Laus Hispaniae to frame Hispania as an entity subordinate but still separate from Visigothic political rule, the Alfonsine *Estoria* has gone so far as to incorporate even this territorial image into its Gothic ideology, turning the land into nothing more than a vast estate (sennorio) of a royal family of Visigothic discent.

# CHAPTER TWO

## CLASSICISM AND CONVIVENCIA:
## *The Fall of Rome and Jerusalem, the Rise of Sepharad and Hispania in the Historiographies of Sephardic Jews and Judeoconversos*

In the previous chapter we saw how Hispania's legacy never truly faded even as it was subsumed into the cultural mythology of Gothicism, first fashioned by Isidore of Seville during the era of Visigothic rule and then revived with the Reconquista imaginary of Asturian and Leonese authors and up through the cultural endeavors of Alfonso X el Sabio of Castile. Indeed by presenting the image of a fertile Hispania as secondary and subservient, Gothicism preserved, if not in full that at least in recognizable traces, the Hispano-Roman cultural image first crafted by Greek and Roman geographers and shortly after reworked by authors themselves of Iberian birth, as we saw from the witty verse of Martial to the devotional Christian poetics of Prudentius. But Gothicism would come to find itself in a rather muted state after the reign of Alfonso X, finding little mention within the more canonical texts of Castile's later Middle Ages, such the political and literary writings of Don Juan Manuel or the cultivated poetry of the Mester de Clerecía (with the notable exception of the early *Poema de Fernán Gonález* that contains a Laus Hispaniae and praise of the Goths a la Isidore and the Alfonsine *Estoria*). And yet at the dawn of the fifteenth century and in the wake of mass persecution, pogroms and forced conversions of Jews in 1391, Gothicism would once again rear its head.

In our discussion of the historical context we likewise discussed how Visigothic Iberia was, to say the least, not a good time and place for Iberia's Jews, the Sephardim,[33] who had once flourished in the Hispania of the Roman Empire.[34] The ideology of Gothicism was interconnected to this program of anti-Semitic persecution. When Gothicism reemerged at the beginning of the fifteenth century, it too became implicated in this centuries mechanism of persecutions, in particular the language of blood purity used to exclude the Judeoconversos. In this chapter we will investigate how historiographies of these decades revived Gothicism in ways that both intersected with, and even anticipated, the legal category of 'sangre limpia' and yet that

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[33] I will be using terms like 'Sephardim' and 'Sephardic Jews' to refer to both Jewish communities and inhabitants of medieval Iberia as well as to their diasporic descendants who were expelled and left Spain in 1492. For discussions on the construction and imagined quality of Sephardic identity see Jonathan Ray's "Images of the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia" (2009) and Benjamin Gampel's "The 'Identity' of Sephardim in Medieval Iberia" (2002). For post-1492 diasporic identity, also see Ray's *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Identity* (2013) as well as David Wacks' *Double Diaspora in Sephardic Literature* (2015).

[34] Norman Roth discusses Visigothic persecution in his *Jews, Visigoths and Muslims in Medieval Spain: Cooperation and Conflict* (1994), and goes on to present such persecution as a model for the later laws of exclusion and expulsion we will be discussing in this chapter and the next; see his *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of Jews from Spain* (2002: 271). Likewise does Teofilo Ruiz (2007) more specifically point out how "the anti-Jewish measures found in the ordinances of the Castilian Cortes after 1250 also replicated ancient Visigothic edicts" (140).

could also and more complexly present an alternative to Gothicism's privileging of blood purity and race.[35]

When the ideology of Gothicism reemerges at the dawn of the fifteenth century in 1401, it does so in a historiographic text but one of a rather surprising nature. Though the Visigoths had risen to power in Late Antiquity, when the Castilian caballero aristocrat Pero López de Ayala praises the Visigoths he offers such praise within a work of classical historiography, in the preface to his translation of perhaps the most famous history of Rome, that by Titus Livy. The first articulation of fifteenth century Gothicism, or the Neo-Gothic Thesis, thus took as its vehicle a work that likewise stands out as one of the first texts of Castilian humanism. The story we shall encounter in this chapter and those following thus examines how divides we already began to see in Classical Antiquity and Middle Ages take on new modes of articulation within the discourses of humanism at the end of the medieval and the beginning of the early modern eras. The anti-Semitism of Visigothic rule in Late Antiquity re-emerges within the discursive vocabulary of the fifteenth century. Not limited to the religious persecution of practicing Jews, fifteenth-century Gothicism ties itself to a mythos of blood that interweaves religion, race and aristocratic privilege.[36] As religion comes to be understood through race, conversion falls away

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[35] Beginning at least with Américo Castro there has been a ongoing debate as to whether persecution of Jews and Judeoconversos was motivated by religion or by race, and if the latter where such racial and even racist motivations originated from. I will engage with this debate over the course of not only this chapter but also the two following. That said, the full scope of the debate is well beyond the parameters of this dissertation. Thus while I will emphasize how racial attitudes arose from and intersected with the ideology of Gothicism, I in no way discount the possibility that other modes of persecution were more religiously motiaved. I discuss restrictions of blood purity passed by both governments and institutions as well as the expulsion of 1492, but at no point do I take on the legal procedures of the Inquisition, which as Henry Kamen points out never excluded conversos from their body (2014: 308).

[36] The ways in which Gothicism interweaves attitudes of racial exclusion with aristocratic class-dominance is an issue we already encountered in our introduction and which I will further explore in the course of my discussion. B. Netanyahu indeed credits nineteenth century German historian Leopold Ranke, oft dubbed the founder of modern archive-based history, for being the first to identify the "racial factor" of medieval Iberia's persecution of Jews and Judeoconversos (1995: 975). Netanyahu believes that Ranke was influenced by the antisemitism that he witnessed in early nineteenth-century Germany, prompting him to attribute such medieval persecution to Germanic [i.e. Visigothic] features "still evident in the Spanish population of the 15th century" (ibid). However, Netanyahu ultimately rejects this interpretation, yet does so based on argument having to do with social class. Though Netanyahu is correct to point out that Iberia's Germanic/Visigothic element survived more "in the nobility than among the plebeians" (ibid), he does so as a way disavow this motivating factor, instead attributing antisemitic persecution to popular factions and forces.

Like the divide over medieval Spanish anti-Semitism as racial or religious, the question over its popular vs. elite origins is debated among scholars. But in her *Genealogical Fictions* (2008), María Elena Martínez argues that one need not choose, that two threads of limpieza de sangre obsession coexisted alongside one another: the "antiaristocratic thread" based on "pure Christian ancestry" (78-79) which often accused the nobility of intermarriage with Jews in works such as

as an escape from persecution. This new Gothicism affected not only Jews but even their brethren and descendants who had decided to convert, the Judeoconversos of Spain. The earlier divide of Goths battling with and ruling over Hispano-Romans is thus stamped onto a new divide of 'old Christian' aristocractic caballeros excluding Judeoconversos.

Iberia's history of persecuting its Sephardic Jews and socially marginalizing its Judeoconversos will reveal itself to likewise be a story about the rise of humanism in late medieval Castile. We will see how the humanist-inspired study of the Classics prompted judeo-converso intellectuals to look to their own nation's past under the Roman Empire and to find in this history a classical past that they could claim as their own.[37] The birth of Iberian humanism will thus be understood as something other than the outgrowth of a European-wide spread of an intellectual tradition that emerged in Italy in the preceding fourteenth century. While the contributions of Renaissance Humanism have their place in this narrative, the unique ethno-cultural and religious makeup of Iberia was an essential component to the deployment and development of Hispania as a cultural and national image in the late medieval and early period.

In this first stage, our story will be told through texts that, like Ayala's Livy, all share a historiographic impulse but which also tend to differ in both content and form: some are in prose, others in verse; one authored by a caballero aristocratic in Pero López de Ayala, but by Sephardic Jews or Judeoconversos; several written in Castilian but even more composed in Hebrew, and even some in Greek or Portuguese. Across these historiographies we will see episodes that recount the fall of great cities such as Rome and Jerusalem. Of course, the fall of a great city is the sort of grand even common within historiographies, ancient to medieval to modern, but what the Castilian and Hebrew historiographies we shall examine in this chapter share is narrative desire to present these civilizational downfalls as backstories for new beginnings in the Iberian Peninsula, to connect the fall of Rome to the rise of Visigothic rule, and the fall of Jerusalem to the rise of Iberian Sepharad. Indeed, within the pages of these historiogrpahies Rome and Jerusalem seem to be cursed and fated to fall not once but many times over. But with each successive telling, the great cities never quite fall in exactly the same way, with each variation of downfall likewise imagining a different beginning for the peoples and communities of medieval Iberia.

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the *Libro Verde de Aragón* (1507) and *Tizón de la Nobleza de España* (1560), as well as the " 'feudal' notion of pure aristocratic linage (nobleza de sangre)" that privileged Gothic ancestry (79-80). We will also consider the critiques of the Castro Thesis offered by John Beverley and Paul Julian Smith which likewise emphasize the intersection of race and class in blood purity laws.

[37] As we will see, this Hispano-Roman Castilian humanism does not fully take shape until the mid-fifteenth century, which some could read as further proof of a belated Spanish Renaissance, albeit one that still begins a century earlier than the vernacular poetic petrarchisim of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, the focus of Ignacio Navarrete's narrative for Renaissance belatedness in Spain as argued in his *Orphans of Petrarch* (1994). But as I shall also soon discuss, I believe this timetable of Spanish humanism is as much, if not more, a product of the particular historical, social and political circumstances faced by multi-confessional and plurally ethno-racial Iberia, that it was a prolonged or delayed importation of Italian cultural forms.

**Roman Friends, the Fall(s) of Judea and the Journey to Sepharad**

Iberia's Jews called their homeland 'Sepharad,' and the story behind this name uncovers not only Jewish mentalities of belonging, community and place, but also how such mentalities were both historically and culturally tied to that other image and name for this land, the 'Hispania' of the Romans. Just as there is a philological and cultural history that connects 'Hispania' to 'España,' so too is there one that connects Hispania to Sepharad. Our triangulation of these three place-names Hispania-España-Sepharad likewise presents us with a toponymic framework for answering the question "Is Spain's Hebrew Literature 'Spanish'?" posed by Hispanist and Hebraist David Wacks (2008). Though largely a discussion of literary reception and the presence or absence of Hebrew authors within constructions of a Spanish literary canon, Wacks does note that the twelfth-century Sephardic poet Judah Ha-Levi, whom we shall also discuss, often went by the territorial gentilic "ha-Qastalli" i.e. "the Castilian" (320). Yet missing from this narrative is the recognition that Hebrew writings of Sepharadic authors, from poetry like that of Ha-Levi's to rabbinic historiographies, were also frequently invested in an exploration of the Iberian Peninsula and its past, including its non-Jewish elements. Though the communal origins and development of Sepharad as the Ibero-Jewish homeland was a common line of inquiry within such writings, Hebrew authors by no means limited their investigations to Iberia's Jewish history. With such a broader historiographic scope, Hebrew authors thus displayed at once a broader territorial interest in Iberia yet also an understanding that their own communal identity as the Jews of Sepharad could not be separated from Iberia's history both beyond and before them.

The question of when Jews arrived to the Iberian Peninsula has been considered both historically, by means the archeological record, as well as historiographically, via the accounts that Sephardic Jews told themselves, with an early possibility well predating a classical past and involving the quasi-mythical city of Tartessos as well as the supposed Jewish naval fleet of sixth-century BCE Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II.[38] Yet the related question with which we shall begin asks when Jews began using the name "Sepharad" to designate the geographic space of Iberia. As Michael Brenner reminds us, the Jewish geographic imagination was guided, like so many other facets of ancient Jewish life, by the Hebrew Bible:

> In Jewish consciousness, the map of Europe is also a Biblical map [...] when Jewish settlement extended as far as Europe, the actual geography of the Jewish people may have changed, but in their collective imagination they remained rooted in the Biblical world. Thus Zarephath became France, and Sepharad the Iberian peninsula. To this day, in Modern Hebrew, these Biblical terms denote the two European states of France and Spain. (84)

Brennner's image of a Biblical map projected onto new geographic, as well as socio-political experience, provides a useful framework, yet by no means tells the entire story. The very term 'Sepharad/ספרד' is shrouded in mystery. First appearing in the book of the Prophet Obadiah,

[38] See Haim Beinart's *¿Cuándo llegaron los judíos a España?* (1962) and Beaver (2016). For a more material-archeological focus see Javier Castaño's edited volume *¿Una Sefarad inventada?* (2014).

Sepharad specifies a place of prophesized exile (verse 20). There seemed, however, to be little consensus as to where this Sepharad actually was. The Hellenized Rabbis who translated the Greek Septuagint replaced 'Sepharad' with 'Ephratha/Εφραθα' which elsewhere in the Bible is associated with Bethlehem (Genesis 35:16), clearly a far more proximate locality to Jerusalem than is the Iberian Peninsula. To confuse matters even more, the Latin Vulgate takes us to the other side of the Mediterranean by translating Sepharad as "in Bosforo," ostensibly, though by no means definitively, in reference to the Bosphorus of Asia Minor. Ephratha, Bosphorus and eventually España – these disparate attempts in antiquity to locate, and in attempting to locate also translate the name, 'Sepharad' were echoed centuries later when the Hebrew Bible was translated into Spanish.

Despite the known presence of Hebrew translators among the Escuela de traductores of Toledo,[39] the translation of the Bible that appears in Alfonso X's *Estoria general* clearly follows the Latin Vulgate and translates Obadiah 20 as "'en Bósforo" (318). Yet over a century after that, in 1422, the Rabbi Moisés de Arragel of Guadalajara translates the Old Testament for Castilian nobleman Luis González de Guzmán. No doubt informed by his heritage as a Sephardic Jew, Moisés returns to the Hebrew and transliterates the Hebrew place-name into Spanish with "en Sapharat." In yet another biblical translation that we shall return to in greater depth in our fourth chapter, the post-1492 Sephardic exiles Abraham Usque and Yom-Tob Athias go furthest yet in their 1553 "Ferrara Bible" by rendering the location "en España" (885).

So how did 'Sepharad' become 'España'? The provenance is in fact just as ancient as the other possibilities for locating and translating 'Sepharad.' Likely dating back to the first or second century CE, an Aramaic translation and commentary to the Hebrew Torah known as the Targum Jonathan recasts the 'Sepharad/ספרד' of Obadiah 20 as "in *Spamya* [דבסמיא]" (434).[40] Though some scholars have proposed that this Spamya refers to Sardis, the capital of Lydia in Asia Minor,[41] its clear resonances with the Latin 'Hispania' created a lasting legacy. In the verses of the great Hebrew poets of medieval Al-Andalus and its so-called 'convivencia,'[42] the place-names arise interchangeable. Clearly echoing the geographic vocabulary of the Targum, none other than the veritable father of medieval Hebrew poetry, Samuel HaNagid (993), writes of delightful red wine "mixed in *Ispamya* and that lingers to India [וּמָזוּג בְּאִסְפַּמְיָא וְזִכְרוֹ אֱלֵי הֹדּוּ]" (Carmi edition: 297). About a century later, no less renowned a poet Judah HaLevi described his longing for Jerusalem as something of exile "at the edge of the west [בְּסוֹף מַעֲרָב]" (Carmi edition: 347). HaLevi's poem goes on to conclude that he would gladly trade the collapsed and dust-covered Temple of Jerusalem for "all the charms of Sepharad [כָּל טוּב סְפָרַד]" (ibid).

The interchangeability between the Targum's Spamya [סמיא], HaNagid's Ispamya [אִסְפַּמְיָא] and the more common 'Sepharad' of Obadiah onward, is a reminder that while the Jewish consciousness may have well undertaken a Biblical mapping of Europe (a la Brenner), this map was and remained a palimpsest. The place-names given by other peoples and cultures in their languages never fully disappeared and often times shown through. Morever, this biblical

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[39] See José S. Gil's *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores judios* (1985)
[40] See Beaver (28) as well as David Neiman's "Sefarad: The Name of Spain" (1963).
[41] *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (1987), p. 102 n. 49.
[42] For a discussion of the relationship between 'convivencia' and Jewish historiographies see David Nirenberg's "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities" in his *Neighboring Faiths* (2016).

mapping was less a geographic activity of delineating territory and naming such spaces, than it was an act of translation that sought to render territories into a familiar biblical language. To say that the name 'Sepharad' is the Hebrew place-name for the geographic area of the Iberian Peninsula is thus historically incomplete; 'Sepharad' is the word that translates how this territory was known during the second century CE, if not also earlier, when the Targum Jonathan first coined the terminology. Because the Iberian Peninsula was best known as a colony with the Roman Empire at this time, Jews were thus found a Biblical counterpart to a Latin place-name for a Roman administrative territory. Sepharad is a Hebrew translation for Hispania.

Of course, poetic descriptions such as that of HaNagid's wine-filled Ispamya and HaLevi's charming Sepharad do far more than impart lessons with respect to the historical origins and usage of territorial place-names. These poems and their poets are also windows into how Jews thought and felt about Sepharad/Ispamya/Hispania, not as a territory but as a land, and not just any land but as their homeland. In these poems we see that Sepharad/Ispamya was for Jews much what it had been for the Greeks and Romans of previous centuries, a land of wealth and bounty. Indeed, like the place-names of Sepharad and Ispamya, the Jewish conception of Sepharad/Ispamya as a place of immense resources has its own Biblical backstory, one that also, and perhaps even more explicitly, takes us to the Hispania of the Romans.

Though not part of canonical Hebrew scripture, The First Book of Maccabees (or I Maccabees) with its story of Judah Maccabee's uprising against the Hellenistic King Antiochus IV Epiphanes held a strong place within the Hebrew imagination. And while its apocryphal status led to the eventual loss of the Hebrew original, the rabbinic translators of the Septuagint included the book in their Greek text. Hebrew renderings and retellings, one of which we shall consider, would emerge during the Middle Ages, in Iberian Sepharad and elsewhere, with some scholars proposing that I Maccabees' story of militia uprising and guerilla warfare served as something of a Jewish epic to complement the growing vernacular interest in Arthurian romance and the matters of Troy.[43] But beyond its epic qualities, the conflict of I Maccabees also resonates with our own concerns about how Iberian Jews, and their judeoconverso descendants, navigated questions of communal identity as well as cultural assimilation and affiliation.

When the land of Iberia appears in I Maccabees it does so within a chapter that scholars have described as rather extraneous to the narrative as a whole, even capable of being excised without harming the reader's understanding. Judah Maccabee (aka Judas Maccabeus) and his fellow Judeans find an ally in the Romans to help them combat the Greek invaders and captors of Judea. The episode, recounted in chapter eight, is thus a diplomatic venture that involves the Jewish envoys undertaking a "extremely long journey" (ὁδὸς πολλὴ σφόδρα) to Rome, where they address the Roman Senate and request an alliance. But before this diplomatic meeting takes place, indeed at the very beginning of this eighth chapter about Rome, a report is provided:

> Judas had heard about the Romans; that they were a great power who welcomed all who wished to join them and established ties of friendship with all who approached them. As for their being a great power, Judas' informants told him of the Romans' valor in war: they had fought and conquered the Gauls and imposed tribute upon them. They had fought in the land of the Spanias, conquering the silver and gold mines there. They had conquered the whole region through their

[43] See Moshe Lazar's introduction to his edition of the Ladino *Yosipon* (2000; p. vii-ix).

> sagacity and perseverance, though it was a large area, far removed from Rome, and thus they had also overcome the kings who had come against them from remote quarters of the earth, defeating them heavily so that the survivors were still paying annual tribute. (8.1-5, p. 344; Goldstein translation)[44]

One imagines that if we still had with us the Hebrew original of the above passage, that we might be able to solve our previous inquiry as to when and how Sepharad came to serve as the Hebrew place-name for the Iberian Peninsula. Sadly, the Greek of the Septuagint that remains is of little assistance in this endeavor, though perhaps it should not be wholly discounted that the name utilized here for "land of the Spanias" (χώρᾳ Σπανίας) is clearly a rendering of the Latin 'Hispania' into Greek characters, certainly not wholly unique to this text but also not as common as the Ἰβηρία/Iberia of the Greek geographers such as Strabo.

Yet by whatever name this land was known to them, the authors of I Maccabees understood what was likewise known by Greek geographers and Roman historiographers: that Rome's rise as the political and military power of the Mediterranean was crucially interconnected to its conquest and colonization of Iberia, rendering Hispania something of a territorial testament to Roman power. For both the readers of I Maccabees as well as for the text's internal audience in Judah Maccabee as recipient of this report from his envoys, "Epanias"/Iberia is the theater where the Romans have proven their military effectiveness, and thus their usefulness as allies to the Judeans.

As we were already beginning to see in the medieval Hebrew poetry, this land is likewise one of bountiful riches and wealth, of "silver and gold mines" (τῶν μετάλλων τοῦ ἀργυρίου). With this brief reference to Iberia's mineral wealth, I Maccabees momentarily yet unquestionably evokes the very tradition of the Laus Hispaniae that spanned from Pliny and Strabo to the historiographers of medieval Castile, an association further underscored by the fact that this laudatory description of Iberia takes place within an episode about Roman alliance with the Hebrews. And as the first true geographic description of Iberia within the Hebrew tradition, the account of I Maccabees 8 allows us to situate later idyllic depictions of Sepharad, such as those of HaNagid and HaLevi, as not only Hebrew parallels to a Roman cultural phenomenon but as participating in and possibly even influenced by the rhetorical tradition of the Laus Hispaniae.

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[44] καὶ ἤκουσεν Ιουδας τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅτι εἰσὶν δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδοκοῦσιν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς προστιθεμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσοι ἂν προσέλθωσιν αὐτοῖς ἱστῶσιν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ ἰσχύι. καὶ διηγήσαντο αὐτῷ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας ἃς ποιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς Γαλάταις καὶ ὅτι κατεκράτησαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ φόρον. καὶ ὅσα ἐποίησαν ἐν χώρᾳ Σπανίας τοῦ κατακρατῆσαι τῶν μετάλλων τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου τοῦ ἐκεῖ. καὶ κατεκράτησαν τοῦ τόπου παντὸς τῇ βουλῇ αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ ὁ τόπος ἦν ἀπέχων μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐπελθόντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἄκρου τῆς γῆς ἕως συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπάταξαν ἐν αὐτοῖς πληγὴν μεγάλην καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι διδόασιν αὐτοῖς φόρον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τὸν Περσέα Κιτιέων βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ἐπηρμένους ἐπ' αὐτοὺς συνέτριψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ κατεκράτησαν αὐτῶν. (Rahlfs ed. 1952: 1066-7)

Somewhat analogous to how many Laudes Hispaniae elide agricultural and cultural flourishing, I Maccabees pairs Iberia's natural wealth with a praise of Roman politics.[45] Here a broader context of the book is needed. In addition to the military skirmishes that bestow the flavor of epic upon I Maccabees, the work likewise serves as a meditation on the struggles of forced cultural assimilation and resistance. Such imposition of unity happens as part of the military conquest, bringing us to our first fallen city with Jerusalem. After laying siege and successfully capturing Jerusalem, Antiochus and his Hellenic colonizers work for "all to become one people and for each to abandon his own customs" (1.41-42, p. 206) (εἶναι πάντας εἰς λαὸν ἕνα καὶ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ; p. 1042). What had not already been destroyed in the siege is dismantled, taken for plunder and booty, but also so that Antiochus can rebuild the "city of David" (πόλιν Δαυιδ) in the image of a Hellenistic urban center. Tearing down houses and walls, the Greeks construct a new "high strong wall and strong towers so as to have a citadel, the Akra" (I.33, p. 205) (τείχει μεγάλῳ καὶ ὀχυρῷ πύργοις ὀχυροῖς καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς ἄκραν; p. 1041) – with the very name 'Akra' deriving from the Greek 'acropolis.'

Yet at other times, assimilation is not imposed from the outside by Greek foreigners, but arises from within the Israelite community and amid those factions who themselves wish to Hellenize. In their own desire to become with the Greeks "one people" (λαὸν ἕνα), these Hellenized Israelites build their own Akra-like constructions, though this time within the sphere not of war but of leisure: "they built a gymnasium in Jerusalem according to the customs of the gentiles" (I:14, p. 199) (καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν γυμνάσιον ἐν Ιεροσολύμοις κατὰ τὰ νόμιμα τῶν ἐθνῶν). And like the city itself, the bodies of the Hebrews must, in order to assimilation fully, undergo their own process of undoing and reconstruction. Building a Greek-styled gymnasium would be incomplete without participating in athletic games as the Greeks do, but such athletics require that the Israelites submit themselves to painful surgical "operations to disguise their circumcision, rebelling against the sacred covenant" (1.15, p. 199) (καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας; p. 1040). In commentary throughout and with a verse poem that concludes this process of assimilation, I Maccabees takes a tone not so unlike the Roman historiographer Tacitus when he described the Britons under the governorship of Agricola. Just as Tacitus' Britons saw their once "wildly dispersed and primitive" (dispersi ac rudes) towns now filled with bathhouses, temples and colonnades and saw themselves donning togas and speaking eloquent Latin, and "called this 'civilization', though it was a feature of their slavery" (humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset; *Agricola* 21, translation my own), so too does I Maccabees describe these self-Hellenizing Hebrews as "willing slaves" (1.15, p. 199) (ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρόν; p. ibid) and Jerusalem itself as a city that has become "a colony of foreigners … foreign to her own offspring" (1.38) (κατοικία ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἐγένετο ἀλλοτρία τοῖς γενήμασιν αὐτῆς; p. 206).

In contrast to the cultural imperialism of the Greeks is the politics of the Romans. The Romans of I Maccabees 8 could well rival any Renaissance humanist speech about the 'good government' of the Romans. As was already implied by the journey of the Hebrew envoys, I Maccabees recognizes the Senate as the heart and center of Roman politics. It is before the Senate that the Hebrews will make their pleas for alliance and friendship. Yet I Maccabees also

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[45] As we will see in our discussion of Cervantes' *Numancia*, Lucan's description of Ilerda (today Lleida in Catalunya) in book four of the *Pharsalia* likewise emphasizes interconnections between Iberia's fertile landscape with the republican politics of Rome.

reveals a rather thorough understanding of how Rome's republican politics is organized and administered, and clearly sides with this political model over Hellenistic monarchy. I Maccabees in fact begins in the last days of Alexander the Great, when his Hellenistic empire is divided among lieutenants who "assumed royal diadems … and their descendants [including Antiochus] continued to succeed them for many years and brought much evil upon the world" (1.9; p. 189) (καὶ ἐπέθεντο πάντες διαδήματα … καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἔτη πολλὰ καὶ ἐπλήθυναν κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ; p. ibid ). By contrast, Roman politics is described as the very renunciation of monarchy with its frivolous trappings of such "diadems":

> Thus the Romans had risen to great heights of power. Nevertheless, not one of them had sought self-glorification by putting on a diadem or wearing purple. They had instituted a senate for themselves, which every day three hundred twenty sat to deliberate continually over how to maintain the people's good order. They entrusted their government and ruling of all their territory to one man each year, everyone obeying him, without any envy or jealousy among themselves. (8.13-16, p. 345)[46]

Where Hellenistic kings bring "evil upon the world" (κακὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ), the three hundred twenty representatives and rotating consuls of the Roman Senate share power, which they use to "deliberate continually over how to maintain the people's good order… without envy or jealously" (βουλευόμενοι διὰ παντὸς περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ εὐκοσμεῖν αὐτούς … οὐκ ἔστιν φθόνος οὐδὲ ζῆλος ἐν αὐτοῖς). Beyond this inclusion of specifics regarding the institutional workings of the Roman Republic, such praise of Roman rule as both anti-monarchical and grounded in the popular good, suggests that the author or authors of I Maccabees not only had historical knowledge of, even contact with, Rome and its political institutions, but that these authors were also perhaps even exposed to the very Latin rhetoric with which Romans praised their own political and social order. Anticipating the early Renaissance of the Florentine Republic by more than a millennium, I Maccabees could well be considered the first instance of civic humanism outside of the Greco-Roman tradition.

Even more pertinent for Judah's Israelites – as well as to our own overall discussion – is the Roman model of foreign relations with its allies. Unlike the Hellenistic imperative of creating "one people" through cultural assimilation, the relationship between the Romans and Judah's Israelites is cast as "ties of alliance and peace [between] allies and friends" (8.20; p. 345) (συμμαχίαν καὶ εἰρήνην… συμμάχους καὶ φίλους; p. 1068). Indeed, a vocabulary of alliance, peace and friendship runs throughout I Maccabees' and its characterization of Roman diplomacy. In the earlier report that precedes the description of Iberia, the Romans are praised for "welcoming all who wished to join [in] established ties of friendship with all who approached them" (8.1; p. 344) (εὐδοκοῦσιν ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς προστιθεμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅσοι ἂν προσέλθωσιν αὐτοῖς ἱστῶσιν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν; p. 1066). By the end of I Maccabees 8, the agreed upon treatise is

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[46] καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις οὐκ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς διάδημα οὐδὲ περιεβάλοντο πορφύραν ὥστε ἁδρυνθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ βουλευτήριον ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐβουλεύοντο τριακόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι βουλευόμενοι διὰ παντὸς περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ εὐκοσμεῖν αὐτούς. καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἑνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἄρχειν αὐτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ κυριεύειν πάσης τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν καὶ πάντες ἀκούουσιν τοῦ ἑνός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν φθόνος οὐδὲ ζῆλος ἐν αὐτοῖς. (p. 1067)

quoted in full, and is reported to have been "engraved on bronze tablets and sent to Jerusalem … as a record of ties of peace and alliance" (ἀντέγραψαν ἐπὶ δέλτοις χαλκαῖς καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ … μνημόσυνον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας; 8.22; p. 345). The treatise itself articulates the wish that, "Forever may there be peace between the Romans and the nation of the Jews on sea and land!" (8.23; p. 345) (καλῶς γένοιτο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῷ ἔθνει Ιουδαίων ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς; p.1068)

I Maccabees thus envisions a Roman model of political friendship that allows for diversity and cultural difference as part of its imperial political structure. Though such characterization may seem to run counter to the image of Rome as ever-conquering empire, notions of pluralism and tolerance toward Jews are in keeping with the historical record. The alliance between Julius Caesar and Antipater the Iudumaean, founder of the Herodian dynasty, led to Caesar's granting Judaism the status of an official religion within the empire (a religione licita).[47] As we already saw, theorists of empire Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper propose in their recent work *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (2011) that the very sort of imperial pluralism described by I Maccabees is rather characteristic of how empires were frequently able to accommodate cultural difference in ways superior to the nation-sate. Though Burbank and Cooper concede that empires "hardly represented a spontaneous embrace of diversity" (2) their defense is summed up in the following passages:

> Empires ... maintain distinction and hierarchy as they incorporate new people. The nation-state, in contrast, is based on the idea of a single people in a single territory … the nation-state tends to homogenize those inside its borders and exclude those who do not belong, while the empire reaches outward and draws, usually coercively, peoples whose difference is made explicit under its rule. The concept of empire presumes that different peoples within the polity will be governed differently. (8)

To a certain extent, the Sephardic Jews of medieval Iberian participate in this belief that the Roman Empire enabled a pluralism and acceptance of difference that extended toward Jews. Indeed, given the persecutory nature of various Visigothic legal statutes against Jews and the practice of Judaism, it is not hard to imagine that in their cultural memory, Iberia's Sephardic Jews nostalgically looked back to Roman Hispania as an era of better times.[48]

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[47] Though the term of 'religione licita' comes to us only through the post-Classical Christian Tertullian, scholars have nonetheless read it as a reflection of Roman practices of religious toleration (see Smallwood's *Jews Under Roman Rule*; 1976: 135 & 539).

[48] Somewhat reflecting Foucault's narrative of a Gallo-Roman alliance concentrated in urban townships, Joseph Peréz points traces of Jewish urbanism in Iberia through the etymological origins of the Castilian 'calle' and Catalan 'call' in the Hebrew 'kahal', which itself was derived from the Latin 'callis' for stone path (2009: 23). And it is indeed likely that the ancient Synagogue held a prominent location with the layout of Hispano-Roman Barcino (today Barcelona) across from the civic forum.

I Maccabees' laudatory vision of Rome rippled into the medieval writings of Iberia's Sephardic Jews. Written around the twelfth century,[49] the *Sepher Ha-Zichronot* (*Book of Memory* or *Book of Chronicles*) tells a history of the Jewish people in the style of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* and the anonymous medieval *Josippon*, but the work also displays a detailed understanding and relish for the history of the Iberian Peninsula beyond its Sephardic past, including its Roman past as Hispania. Moreover, the *Zichronot* presents a vision of Roman history that is intimately interwoven with, and at times even mirrors, the history of the Jews. Within the *Zichronot* the beginning of Rome's monarchy coincides with that of the Jews, the reign of David with that of Romulus. Indeed, the greatness of Rome and the construction of its high walls – also a recurrent topos in Latin historiographers such as Livy – is attributed to the intimidating force of David:

> Romulus was greatly afraid of David. He therefore built a wall higher than any other wall hitherto erected by any king that preceded him, and he surrounded all the mountains and hills around with walls … and he called the name of the city Roma after the name Romulus. (100; Gaster translation)[50]

Eventually however Romulus makes a "covenant with David" (ibid) establishing a groundwork of peace and alliance that will reemerge later.[51]

When the *Zichronot* returns to Rome, the framework is not altogether positive, and is instead framed by the prophetic vision of apocalypse in the Book of Daniel, where the Roman Empire is the fourth apocalyptic beast that "devoured, crushed and trampled on everything, so did this nation of Romans devour and crush all the other nation" (280) (אכלה ומדקה רשארה ברגלה רפסה(דניאל ז, ז) כן הגוי הזה רומנים אצלו והדיקו כל מלכויות ; 300). And yet from here the *Zichronot* goes on to resemble more closely I Maccabees and narrates Roman military victories in a rather celebratory fashion. Though still within the framework of Daniel's imperial beasts devouring one another, the *Zichronot* presents the Roman dominance over the Greeks as taking place during the reign of Antiochus, the very villain of I Maccabees, who is eventually defeated by the Romans. From there, the theater of Rome's military campaigns turns to Iberia, beginning with the Second Punic War.

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[49] While the *Zichronot's* authorship remains unknown, the case has been made for Sephardic provenance and cultural connections to the author Abraham ibn Daud who we shall soon discuss (see preface to the English edition of Moses Gaster under the title *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*; 1899: xlvi-xlviii).

[50] ויירא רומלוס יראה מפני דוד ויבן חומה על כל בנייני החומה של מלכים היו לפנים רישמ כל ההרים והגבעות אשר סביב בתוך החומה … ויקרא שם העיר רומה של שם רומלוס, (152).

[51] This image of Romulus fearing David both echoes and inverts Livy's account of Romulus and the nearby Sabine tribe, whose daughters Romulus' Romans famously abduct. Whereas in the *Zichronot*, the Romans build their walls because they are intimidated by David, in Livy the growth of the Roman population as manifested through their architectural expansion is what intimidates the Sabines. The *Zichronot* thus reverses who is intimidating, casting the Romans in the position of Livy's Sabines, while also leaving the Romans recognizably Roman through the trope of building.

The stage is set with Hannibal and the Carthaginian invasion of Iberia, which is curiously characterized as a war not against Celtiberians but Goths, perhaps reflecting a familiarity with Gothic ideology that would claim Spain as its own: "[Hannibal] crossed the narrow sea between Africa and Sepharad, and humbled the pride of the nation of the Goths" (ibid) ( ויעבור את ה'ים הקצירה אשר בין אפריקי ובין ספר ויצנע את באון גוי גותום; ibid). Hannibal's own pride is however humbled by the arrival of "a young man, whose name was Scipios" (281) ( ויקם ועד מתוך הטי ושמו שיפיאוס; 301). Almost like a young David against the Philistine giant Goliath, this young Scipio is written to have not only won many battles but to have "cut off the head [of Adsrubal, Hannibal's brother] and brought it to Rome, mounting it on a wall" (ibid) ( אחיו והתיז את ראשו ויביאהו אל רומא ויטל אל החימה; ibid).[52]

The *Zichronot* concludes Scipios' military victories with an account of the territory and political power it gave Rome: "Scipio then captured the whole of the land of Africa, and the place that abounds in gold and silver. Thus Rome was exalted above all other nations" (282).[53] Though this land "abounding in gold and silver" is not directly specified as Sepharad, the similarities to I Maccabees 8 as well as the narrative context of the Second Punic War render it essentially indispetuable that the *Zichronot* is describing Roman Hispania. Like so many Greek and Roman accounts of the Second Punic War, the *Zichronot* thus understands that Rome's rise as the dominant political power of the Mediterranean resulted from its imperial acquisition of the Iberian Peninsula at the conclusion of the Second Punic War.

Immediately following this declaration of Rome's newly acquired supremacy, the *Zichronot* displays further indebtedness to I Maccabees 8, this time employing greater creative license. With its newfound power in the Mediterranean, Scipio and his fellow Romans decide that, like Romulus before them, they should make an alliance with the Jews. What follows are the supposed transcription of two diplomatic documents between the Jews and the Romans, the first a letter and the second the treaty itself. Between the two documents, the reader finds a faithful rendering of the treatise engraved in bronze from I Maccabees, including the emphasized terminology of friendship; Scipio and two lieutenants Qnuinsius Minius and Menelaus, "write to the Jews to ask whether the will become their associates and friends" (282) ( כתבו אל היהודים ואנחנו כן נכתו בארצינו; 302).

Moreover, that Judah Maccabee is the addressee of this letter more greatly ties it to the treaty and alliance between Rome and the Israelites from I Maccabees. Though not too chronologically egregious – with the Second Punic War spanning 218-201 BCE and the Maccabean revolt lasting between 167 and 160 BCE – the *Zichronot* has re-ordered chronology to make concurrent Rome's political rise and the Jewish military uprising against Greece. The equally inventive alliance between David and Romulus from the earlier chapter of the *Zichronot* thus repeats itself in this alliance between Judah Maccabee and Scipio Africanus, fresh from his military victories in Iberia. And indeed, by narrating this alliance against the historical backdrop of the Second Punic War and the incorporation of Iberia into the Roman Empire, the *Zichronot* elevates I Maccabees' geographic treatment of the Iberian Peninsula as more definitively central to Roman-Jewish friendship and interconnectedness. Whether it's called Sepharad or Hispania,

[52] Hasdrubal's beheading is also attested to in Livy but attributed to Claudius Nero (*History of Rome*: 27.51).

[53] וילצד שיפיאו את כל ארץ אפריקי וצל מקום אשר שם מקור הכסף והזהב, ויגדל֘ גוי רומים על כל גויי הארץ (301).

this land has become the space that makes possible the diplomatic alliance and political friendship between the Roman and Jewish peoples.

Of course, Rome's encounter with Judea eventually turned hostile, and ran counter to the image of harmonious alliance from I Maccabees and the *Zichronot*. And yet even in such moments, the Sephardim of the Iberian Middle Ages displayed a desire to imagine the Jewish relationship to Roman Hispania in other, more positive terms. Though little is known about the author of the *Zichronot*, the rabbi Abraham ibn Daud (c. 1110-1180) is among the most important figures of Iberian Jewish thought, at times placed second only to Maimonides. Indeed, Daud has been credited with introducing Aristotelianism to Jewish philosophy, thus paving the way for Maimonides. Daud, moreover, was close to members of the Escuela de Traductores de Toledo, in particular the archdeacon Dominicus Gundissalinus (who himself may have converted from Judaism), with whom he translated into Latin the *Meqor Hahayim* (or *Fons Vitae*) of the Jewish Neo-Platonist Solomon ibn Gabirol. But where Maimonides defends and buttresses Judaism by turning almost exclusively to Greek philosophy mediated by Arabic thinkers, Daud also saw the study of history as integral to the study of Jewish thought and communal identity.[54]

The *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah* (*Book of Tradition*) of Abraham ibn Daud is above all a defense the scholarly tradition of Talmudic study, which he believed had by his time come to flourish first and foremost in Sepharad. Daud's *Qabbalah* thus presents a something of an interwoven and duel history of Rabbinic scholarship and of Iberia's Sephardic Jewish community which embraced and fostered this westward journey of Hebrew learning. Indeed, not so unlike the Classical and humanist notion of translatio studii, Daud's story is something of a translatio studii of Jewish culture and learning that made its way across the Mediterranean from Judea to Sepahrad and that encompassed not only Rabbinic scholarship but also Hebrew poetry. Indeed alongside rabbinical scholarship, Daud's *Qabbalah* provides biographies for several important Hebrew poets of medieval Sepharad. And like his classical counterparts, Daud presents a Hebrew translatio with its own ties to empire.

Daud was by no means the first to seek in the histories of ancient empires an explanation for how Iberia's Sephardic community came to be where it was. Previous accounts, however, had gone all the way back to (or invented) legends about the Babylonian potentate Nebuchadnezzar stationing Jewish legions in the far west of the Mediterranean. Other accounts merged the ancient and mythical Iberian city-state of Tartessos, described by Herodotus and Strabo, with the outpost of Tarshish mentioned in I Kings 10:22 from which Solomon imported his gold – perhaps not the most illogical association given what we have seen about ancient Hebrew's sharing with Greeks and Romans the image of an Iberia laden with mineral wealth.[55] By contrast, Daud's Sephardic history was far more proximate and looked to historical events that took place during Roman rule.

In the *Qabbalah's* fourth chapter – where Daud makes his declaration that "The mastery of the Talmud now rested [exclusively] in Sepharad" (78; Cohen translation) (וחזר כח התלמוד בארץ ספרד; 58) – he traces the lineage of the five rabbis to whom he most credits this elevation of Hebrew scholarship in Sepharad. Two of these five rabbis, Daud writes, are Sephardim/ספרדים, by which he means native-born to Iberia/Sepharad, and of these two, one descends from the

[54] For Daud's use of history in relation to Jewish philosophy and religious polemic, see Cohen's introduction (xxxi-xxxii & l-lvi)

[55] Here too see Beaver (2016).

Jewish community of Mérida, a city that we remember was established as 'Emerita Augusta' for the veteran/emeritus soldiers who fought in Augustus' Cantabrian Wars. About Mérida Daud gives the following story:

> When Titus overpowered Jerusalem, his lieutenant in charge of Sepharad requested of him to send him some of the nobles of Jerusalem. Among the few whom he dispatched there was a maker of curtains [for synagogue-arks] by the name of Baruk, who was also skilled in silk-work. These people remained in Merida where they raised families, the [Jews of] Merida eventually increased into a sizeable community. (ibid)[56]

The historical background for Daud's explanation of how Jews got to Mérida / Augusta Emerita brings us to our second sacking, though of the same city; Jerusalem falls again, this time to the Romans. Undertaken by the future emperor Titus during the reign of his father Vespasian, the Siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE is a moment in Judeo-Roman relations that could not be further from the alliances and treaties of friendship which we saw in I Maccabees and the *Zichronot*. Indeed, Titus' sacking is one of the more bitter moments in the history of the Jewish people as it involved the destruction of the Second Temple and commenced a new diaspora for the Jews,.[57]

But as we saw when the poet Judah HaLevi, in fact a contemporary of Daud, described the charms of Sepharad while simultaneously mourning his distance from Jerusalem (in spite of its dilapidated and dust-covered Temple). But while such bitterness was felt over the Jews' original homeland in Judea, such was not the case for the new Jewish homeland of Iberia's Sephardim. Daud's account of Mérida is indeed the history of a community that, if it did not wholly originate, then at least substantially grew in population as a result of Jerusalem's fall and the ensuing diaspora. From the eyewitness testimony of Josephus onward, lamentations over Titus' sacking of Jerusalem were a commonplace in Hebrew literature and historiography, Daud, however, refrains from this typical and expected mourning. Though the request of the "lieutenant in charge of Sepharad"to send Judean noblemen to Hispano-Roman Mérida is undoubtedly an example of an imperial power's forceful population-engineering, this transfer of peoples nonetheless allows Daud to articulate a direct bond between Sephardic Mérida and the Holy City. The Sephardic population of this Hispano-Roman town is connected, moreover, not only to Jerusalem but to its nobles, giving an elite pedigree to the Ibero-Jewish community. Going a step further, Daud includes the detail about a certain maker of temple curtains named Baruk [ברוך] (meaning 'holy'), thus providing his readers with an origin story for a craft industry that would come to serve as a major source of wealth for the Sephardic communities of Mérida and other cities of medieval Iberia. Like something of a Jewish Troy with its own Rome, the fall

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[56] וכשגבר טיטוס על ירושלם פייס ממנו שלישו שהיה לו אל ספרד שישלח לו משועי אל ירושלם. ושלח לו מקצתם והיה בהם עושה פרכות ויודע מלאכת משי ושמו ברוך. ועמדו במראדא והולידו שם. וקהל גדול היו במראדא (ibid).

[57] For a hispanists take on the literary representations of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Second Temple, including with in the writings of Spanish authors, see María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's *Jerusalén: El tema literario de su cerco y destrucción por los romanos* (1973)

of Jerusalem becomes the rise of Sephardic Mérida with its holiness, its many families of elite pedigree, its craft and industry, and its flourishing population.[58]

These glimpses of Roman-Sephardic are far from the primary content of Daud's *Qabbalah*, but he would also author a work exclusively devoted to telling a history of Roman affairs, the *Zikhron Divrei Romi* (*The Chronicle of Rome*).[59] Though Daud's *Chronicle of Rome* might well share a twelfth-century Sephardic provenance with the anonymously authored *Zichronot*, the two works are rather different in both historiographic priorities and method. Not so surprisingly, Daud also begins his history with Romulus and Remulus (Remus), but he does not take the inventive step of tying Romulus reign to that of King David's. And the reader looking for a history of the Second Punic War, much less one interwoven with the story of the Maccabees, will also be sorely disappointed since Daud skips over the entirety of the Roman Republic, jumping from the early kings to Julius Caesar. But Daud is greatly interested in Roman affairs as they affect the transformation of political power within the Iberian Peninsula:

> In [Honorius'] days, the Uzides, who are the Goths, entered Sepharad in three groups: the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi. After the Vandals, Sepharad was called Andalusia, and they conquered all of Sepharad from a people called Espan. After them, the land is called Espania and [its inhabitants] are descendants of Tubal the Japhethite. The Uzides attacked and killed them, and they settled there in their stead. (125 & 127; Vehlow translation)[60]

Unlike *Qabbalah's* contextual details of a Roman lieutenant in Iberia/Sepharad, here Daud does not narrate Rome's colonization of the Peninsula. Indeed, with its mention of "a people called Espan" (גוי הנקרא אשפאן), Daud's historiographic vision more closely resembles the legendary accounts of primitive Iberia that Spanish readers would later come to find in the chronicles of Jiménez de Rada and Alfonso X El Sabio with their tellings of Hercules' nephew Espan as the first king of Spain.[61] Though Daud does not fully articulate the connection, by associating the

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[58] In our discussion of Nebrija we will encounter a similar story that connects the sack of Jerusalem to the emigration of Jews and the translation of Jewish learning to Hispania/Sepharad.
[59] The full title is "The Chronicle of the Deeds of Rome From the Day of its Founding to the Rise of the Kingdom of Ishmael" thus tying the fall of Rome to the rise of the Islamic empire of the Moors.
[60] בימיו נכנסו בני עוץ והם אלקוט לספרד. שלש כתות היו בנדלש ואלאכש ואלשאוש. ועל בנדלש קראו לספרד אנדלוס והם לקחו כל ארץ ספרד מיד גוי הנקרא אשפאן ואל סמא נקרא לארץ אשפאניה. ומבני תובל בן יפת חין ויכום בני עוץ וימיתום וישבו תחתם. (124 & 126)
[61] Cohen writes argues that for "Jewish circles, Ibn Daud's history achieved much the same kind of influence that the works of Orosius and Isidore had in medieval Christian historiography" (xiii). And Vehlow goes even further to state a relationship of influence: "Daud is one oof the first medieval Jewish writers to reflect deep familiarity with classical Chritian historical texts that were de rigueur in twelfth-century Europe … Ibn Daud probably encountered Orosius in one of several Arabic versions circulating in Andalusia, but, judging from the geographic terms, he might also have found version in a Romance vernacular. Ibn Daud was also indebted to the ideas of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), who concludes the survey of Roman history in Zikhron Divrey

inhabitants of this “land called Espania” (נקרא לארץ אשפאניה) with Noah’s grandson Tubal, his genealogy for this Iberia is equally legendary, albeit located in the Hebrew rather than Greco-Roman tradition.

Daud’s dual use of place-names in both “Sepharad” and the “land called Espania” reminds us of the Targum’s ‘Spamya’ as well as the poetry of HaNagid and HaLevi that shifted between the names of ‘Ispamia’ and ‘Sepharad.’ Although here Daud’s discussion participates in popular medieval legends about Hercules’ nephew Espan, the passage’s broader context within a history of Rome (not to mention the *Qabbalah’s* Roman origin story for Sephardic Mérida) points us again to a Sephardic slippage between Sepharad and Hispania. Of course, unlike during the second century CE when the Targum Jonathan first translated Sepharad as Spamya, during Daud’s time the Latin place-name of Hispania would have existed more as an imagined idea than experienced as a social or political reality.[62] Yet such imagined quality is also precisely the point, if not something of a paradox. Even after the unified colonial territory of Roman Hispania had come to an end, and indeed even after a post-711 Iberian Peninsula was divided between Christians and Moors, Jews continued to see Sepharad in pan-Iberian terms. Throughout these various shifts in territorial control – Roman to Visigothic, Visigothic to Moorish, and on to the fragmented Christian kingdoms and Moorish taifas – Jews, of course, never had their own political kingdom, and were continually traversing political boundaries, or had such boundaries traverse them. Sepharad was never its own politically defined territorial unit. But when Iberia’s Sephardim settled among Christian and Moorish populations, they always saw themselves as inhabitants of Sepharad. Sepharad’s pan-Iberian transcendence of Christian/Moorish political divisions is thus in some ways a Jewish cultural counterpart to the Peninsula’s unity under Roman rule as the province of Hispania. By connecting Sepharad to a Roman past, medieval Hebrew historiographers thus suggest to their readers that the image of unity offered by Roman Hispania bears a cultural legacy within the image of Jewish Sepharad.

At the same time, Daud does acknowledge that for a time the Goths also ruled over a unified Iberian Peninsula, but he presents this as a rather violent struggle over global political power. Both conforming to and deviating from the paradigm of successive empires in the Book of Daniel, Daud reveals a historiographic concern for narrating the moment when one world-power falls and another rises in its place. When the Goths “conquered all of Sepharad” (לקחו כל ארץ ספרד) it is indeed part of a broader conflict wherein “the Uzidic king had the upper hand [over Emperor Theodosius II] and seized all the land of Rome from the Romans” (129) ( מלך עוץ ויקח עת צל ארץ רומי מיד רומיים; 128). Daud’s deviation from the Book of Daniel, as well as the *Zichronot’s* own re-working of Daniel, comes in the form of this Uzidic Empire, a power that does not conform to anyone of the standard ways of identifying any of the four prophesied empires or the associated allegorical beasts. As Daud himself makes clear when chronicling the Uzid conquest of Sepharad, this Uzid Empire is none other than that of the Visigoths; the

Romi” (31). For discussion of the broader medieval Jewish interest in the Roman empire, such as in the *Josippon*, see Cohen (xxxii-xiv).

[62] For a seminal discussion about a medieval concept of España that predates its political formation as an early modern nation-state see José Antonio Maravall’s *Concepto de España en la Edad Media* (1954), a work that contributed to Hispanidad debates over Spanish identity.

unnamed Uzidic king who defeats the Roman Emperor Theodosius III is Ataulf.[63] Within Daud's historical narrative, the Uzidic/Gothic invasion and conquest of Sepharad is thus central to their displacing Rome as a political power and becoming the next world empire.

But if Daud's Daniel-inspired narrative of Goth's usurping of Roman rule is a history of shifting world powers, it is also one of genealogies. While Daud's Gothic empire might not conform to standard interpretations of the Book of Daniel, Daud's insistence in equating the Goths with the Uzides points to another projected paradigm of the biblical imaginary. Readers of the Bible might best recognize Uz as Job's place of residence, and the Book of Lamentations aligns Uz with the land and people of Edom, which are the kingdom and decedents of Esau, the brother whom Jacob mischievously dispossessed of his birthright.[64] Because Jacob would go on to change his name to 'Israel' and father twelve sons who were the seeds of Israel's Twelve Tribes, the sibling rivalry between Jacob and Esau served as both parallel and genealogy for the fiercest conflicts between the Jews and their enemies.

Becoming something of a shifting signifier for Israel's perpetual rival, Edom was a stand-in for those peoples most inimical to Israel and the Jews, at times identified with Rome, at other times with Christianity. But Daud's Uz, and by extension Edom, is neither Roman nor Christian; it is Visigothic. Daud was not necessarily the only Hebrew author to associate Edom with the Visigoths, but it was an ethnographic phenomenon restricted to Iberia's Sephardic Jews, one that no doubt reflected the particular and heightened sense of persecution that the Sephardim felt at various moments under Visigothic rule.[65] But Daud's ethnographic linking of Edomite with Goth goes beyond registering a complaint against a politically powerful persecutor. By using his ethnographic history of Sepharad to frame the political rise of the Uzides/Visigoths/Edomites, Daud turns the Iberian Peninsula into the theater where world power is determined.

And yet by also casting the Visigoths in the role of the perpetual rival to the Jewish people, Daud suggests that Visigothic rule in Iberia will not go unchallenged. While the Visigoths might have "attacked and killed" the Japhethite inhabitants of Espania and "settled there in their stead," the Jews still reside in this land. Though Daud does not go so far as to present the Jews as the avengers of Rome who can claim the mantle of their struggle against a shared Visigothic/Edomite enemy, such struggle is exactly what comes to play out centuries later when Gothicism is commandeered to ostracize socially and politically not only Iberia's Sephardic Jews but their Judeoconverso descendants. To counter the exclusionary ideology of Gothicism, these Jews and Judeoconversos raise their own symbolic arms by turning once again to the memory of Roman Hispania, and in doing so they replay not only Daud's Iberian rivalry

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[63] Ataulf married Gallia Placidia, the sister of Theodosius II, a marital alliance also recounted by Daud and emphasized in later historiographies.

[64] Edom also means red, and the color red is frequently associated with Esau, the eldest son of Isaac. For discussion about the reading and reception of the biblical episode of Jacob and Esau as one of national origin stories see Israel Jacob Yuval's *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (2006).

[65] The Hebrew poet Judah HaLevi also associated Edom with the Christian kings of Castile, though as we have seen, these monarchs crafted their own genealogical mythos of Visigothic descent; for discussion of Edom as Iberian Christianity see Cohen's introduction to Daud's *ha-Qabbalah* (xx). Beyond the Sephardim, it was however more common to identify Edom with Rome (Yuval: 3-20).

between Goth and Jew but also the Judeo-Roman alliances found in I Maccabees and in the imagined treatises between Romulus and King David, between Scipio Africanus and Judah Maccabee.

**The Fall of Rome and the Re-Birth of Gothicism in Fifteenth-Century Castile**

As we now turn from the Sephardic interweaving of Roman and Jewish history to the Gothicism of fifteenth-century Castile, we arrive at the author I introduced earlier. Pero López de Ayala stood at the head of one of Castile's most powerful families and likewise served as chanciller mayor to Enrique III of Castile. Though Ayala translated Livy into Spanish not from the original Latin but rather a French intermediary, his translation nonetheless represents a significant step within the early stages of Castilian classical humanism. But in pages where one would expect to find the sort of praise for Rome and Roman politic, that we encountered in I Maccabees and which were becoming fashionable in Florence and other Italian city-states, Ayala frames instead his text and translation in rather contrary terms. The history of the Romans and their greatest achievements, so Ayala writes in his dedicatory address to Enrique III, are important to read about because such greatness renders even more impressive the enemies and eventual destroyers of Rome, the Visigoths, including and especially Enrique's ancestor Alaric who famously sacked Rome in 410 CE:

> E porque la vuestra pura e linpia sangre real –la qual trae comienço de aquella excelente e famosa conpaña de los godos, los príncipes de los quales en la anciana cibdat de Roma, princesa e conquistadora de la redondeza del mundo, pusieron su mano poderosa con saña; e ja que los orgullosos gaulos nin el famoso e poderoso rey Pirrus nin el porfioso e cauteloso enemigo Hanibal africano non la conquistaron, un príncipe llamado Alariquo, predecessor del vuestro linaje, encendió las llamas en ella, e guardados los consagrados tenplos, todas las otras cosas de Roma tornó en polvo e ceniza. E esta obra tan grande e tan notable fecha por aquel príncipe excelente Alariquo <se ovo a fazer por armas e>, otras muchas conquistas e batallas se fizieron por los otros reyes godos que después d'él vinieron, a muy grant avantaja de la su onrra, por tener en las guerras e battalas ordenança e guardando la disciplina de la cavallería. (*Las decádas*: 215)

> And because your pure and clean royal blood –which carries its beginnings from that excellent and famous tribe of the Goths, whose princes set with rage their powerful fist against the ancient city of Rome, herself ruler and conqueror of the world round. And though neither the proud Gauls, nor the famous and powerful king Pyrrhus, nor the deceitful and cunning enemy Hannibal of Africa could conquer her, a prince named Alaric, predecessor of your line, set flames to her and – guarding the holy temples – turned all else in Rome to dust and ash. In addition to this great work and so noble a deed that this excellent prince Alaric accomplished through his arms, many other conquests and battles were carried out by other Gothic kings who came after him. As a great advantage to their honor, in their wars and battles they maintained order and preserved the discipline of chivalry. (translation my own)

Livy's history about the rise of Rome finds itself not only linguistically translated into Castilian but culturally transmogrified into a celebration of Rome's very destruction. Where Livy celebrated Rome as a people who advanced from humble hilltop huts during the time of their first king Romulus into a pan-Mediterranean empire and civilization, Ayala celebrates the final demise of Rome into "dust and ash" (polvo e ceniza), smoldering remains which serve as a reminder of the "obra tan grande e tan notable" of Visigothic military achievement, as well as proof that the fist of the Visigoths (mano poderosa con saña) proved not only more powerful than the Romans but also by extension all other enemies of Rome: the Gauls, the Greeks under king Pyrrhus, and the Carthaginian empire of Hannibal.

The ideological distance that separates the classicizing ideals of civic humanism from Ayala's presented aims are further underscored when he draws a direct connection between the Visigoth's enmity toward Rome and the later ethos of Castilian chivalry. Alaric's sack of Rome is but the beginning of many "otras muchas conquistas e batallas se fizieron por los otros reyes godos" – phrasing that evokes the prologue to the Alfonsine *Estoria* – that constitute a legacy of Visigothic militarism. Yet beyond sheer number, what is perhaps most important to this Visigothic military legacy is the model it sets for the "onrra … ordenança [y] disciplina de cavallería" (honor … order … discipline of chivalry). Thus where Visigothic violence was the end of Roman civilization, it conversely inaugurates the order, discipline and honorable ideals of another culture. Amid the smoldering ashes and rubble of Rome, one finds the origins of Castilian chivalry and knighthood.

Chivalry's military violence is, however, only one of two pillars essential to Ayala's construction of the Visigiothic. Returning to the passage's beginning, we in fact see that Ayala announces the very motivation for king Enrique III to read his Livy: the Castilian king's lineage and Gothic blood: "E porque la vuestra pura e linpia sangre real –la qual trae comienço de aquella excelente e famosa conpaña de los godos." The concept of royal Visigothic lineage – repeated later with the descriptor of Alaric as "predecessor del vuestro linaje" – is a concept that, aligned with Visigothic warrior prowess, echoes the earlier histories of Isidore and Rada where the Gothic people had been conceived of as a 'gens' linked by genealogical descent. But Ayala also introduces to this genealogical vocabulary a new terminology of blood/sangre. The historical prestige of having as one's ancestor Alaric and other Gothic kings now carries a benefit more biological and material: the possession of blood not only royal but clean and pure ("pura e linpia sangre").

It would be roughly fifty years from the Ayala's translation of Livy to the legal and juridical codification of sangre limpia through the *Estatutos de limpieza de sangre* of Toledo 1449. Yet the unmistakable resonances in terminology suggest that before 'sangre limpia' became of juridical category within Spanish society, it circulated within the rhetoric of historiography. And while there seems to be no other places where the vocabularies so clearly echoed, Ayala's historiography was not alone in espousing a rhetoric that anticipated the legal definition. As David Nirenberg has shown in his reading of the *Cancionero de Baena*, which like Ayala's Livy also dates to the early decades of the fifteenth century, this verse poetics of cleanliness and Christian vs. Jewish blood also pre-dated the legalistic codification.[66] Within the poetic verses of the *Baena*, Nirenberg finds a collapse of the poetic with the ethno-religious that

[66] See essay "Figures of Thought and Figures of Flesh" revised and edited for *Neighboring Faiths* (2014: 117-141).

speaks to a broader belief system that aligns the cultural reproduction of art and literature with the biological reproduction of offspring.

Conversations surrounding *limplieza de sangre* naturally lead to topics that lie at the intersection of religion and what Américo Castro, in attempting to supply an alternative terminology to race, termed "caste/casta."[67] However, by examining *limpieza de sangre* alongside Neo-Gothic discourse, we also open ourselves up to seeing how the concept of *sangre limpia* was also deeply embedded in perceptions of class. In Marc Bloch's seminal work *Feudal Society* (1939, English edition 1961), he argues that notions of kinship were central to the self-consciousness and self-definition of feudal aristocracy in the Middle Ages, and (further reminding us of Ayala's chivalric Visigoths) that kinship was very much tied to the aristocracy's self-valorization as a warrior class:

> The best-served hero was he whose warriors were all joined to him either by the new, feudal relationship of vassalage, or by the ancient tie of kinship—two equally binding ties which were ordinarily put on the same plane because they seemed to take precedence of all others. […] Devotion reached its highest fervour when the two solidarities were mingled, as happened, according to the *geste*, to the Duke Bègue whose thousand vassals were *trestous d'une parenté*—'everyone of the same kin'. (124)

Though Bloch's focus is primarily on medieval France, it is not difficult to see how his argument applies to Castilian Gothicism. For the politics of feudalism to map onto the familial bonds between kin, the very idea of kinship would have to be expanded into something broader, such as could be accomplished by going further back in history so as to imagine kinship as an ancient tie of genealogical descent begining with an ancestral people.

As something of a theoretical counterpart to Bloch's historical analysis, Michel Foucault emphasized that more than kinship, blood itself was a signifier both material and conceptual that stood at the core of not only the feudal world of the Middle Ages but all pre-modern society:

> The blood relation long remained an important element in the mechanisms of power, its manifestations, its rituals. For a society in which the systems of alliance, the political form of the sovereign, the differentiation of the orders and castes, and the value of descent lines were predominant; […] It owed its high value at the same time to its instrumental role (the ability to shed blood), to the way it functioned in the order of signs (to have a certain blood, to be of the same blood, to be prepared to risk one's blood), and also its precariousness (easily spilled, subject to drying up, too readily mixable, capable of being quickly corrupted). A society of blood—I was tempted to say, of "sanguinity"—where power spoke *through* blood: the honor of war, the fear of famine, the triumph of death, the sovereign with his sword, executioners, and torturers; blood was a

[67] Castro's analysis of "casta" at the intersection of religious and ethno-racial identity spans most of his career, in particular his *España en su historia* (1948), edited and expanded as *La realidad histórica de España* (1954), and *De la edad conflictive* (1961).

reality with a symbolic function. (*The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*:147)

By emphasizing the conceptual and discursive slippage between the shared blood of kin and the spilt blood of fellow warriors, both Bloch and Foucault emphasize a coherent pre-modern feudal ideology, a "a society of blood," that is of a piece with the dual pillars of Ayala's fifteenth-century Gothicism: the Goths' violent warfare and a lineage of blood purity. Within the history of medieval European antisemitism, the symbolics of blood likewise emerged in repeated accusations of blood libel that charged Jews with the murder of Christian children in order to drink their blood. Indeed in his poem *Rimado de palacio* (dated between 1378 and 1403), Ayala himself indulges in this myth of blood libel with an image of threatening Jews: "Allí vienen judíos, que están aparejados / para beber la sangre de los pobres cuitados; / presentan sus escriptos, que tienen concertados" (verse 977-79) (Here come the Jews, prepared to drink the blood of those we care for; they present their writings, which they have all arranged; translation my own).[68] Speaking to Nirenberg's idea of a collapse of the biological and cultural, Ayala's verses juxtapose the threat of Jews drinking Christian blood with the threat of their writings, presented and arranged (sus escriptos, que tienen concertados).

In the same year that Foucault published the first volume of his *History of Sexuality* and put forward this argument about the pre-modern regime of blood, he was presenting the series of lectures at the Collège de France *"Society Must Be Defended"* which we began to look at in the introduction but that are worth returning to again here. At the very core of this series and in the middle four of his eleven lectures, Foucault turns to a set of historiographies written from the reign of Louis XIV to the decades surrounding the Revolution, and reads such historical writings as "a discourse about races, about the confrontation between races, about the race struggle that goes on within nations and within laws" (69).[69] What form and subject matter did such histories, these narratives about confrontation of races and the struggle of races within nations and laws, take? Indeed, like the very histories we are examining, Foucault's histories deal with the struggles between Romans and non-Roman peoples; as he writes:

> New characters appear: the Franks, the Gauls, and the Celts … rulers and subordinates, the victors and the vanquished begin to appear … Europe becomes populated by memories of ancestors whose genealogy it had never before written. A very different historical consciousness emerges and is formulated through this discourse on the race struggle and the call for its revival. (75-76)

There are of course crucial differences between our texts and those of Foucault's analysis. One already rather apparent difference is that the histories of our own study do not appear at this cusp of the modern era but have a long and continuous backstory in Late and Classical Antiquity. Though, as I have emphasized, these histories take on new vocabularies and ideological purposes

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[68] For a discussion of Antisemitism in Ayala's *Rimado de palacio* and its connection to the massacres and forced conversions of 1391 see Gregory Kaplan's *Evolution of Converso Literature: The Writings of the Converted Jews of Medieval Spain* (2002: 16).

[69] For an analysis that connects Foucault's *"Society Must be Defended"* lectures to his *History of Sexuality* see Ann Laura Stoler's *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995).

while also building on earlier textual models and rhetorical topoi such as the Laus Hispaniae or the chronicles of Visigothic kings.

But where Foucault's reading of Franco-Gallic historiography provides a useful parallel is in his proposition that these peoples of antiquity offered later authors a historiographic vocabulary that was simultaneously an ethnographic genealogy as well as a socio-political analogy, thus fusing the categories of race with the socio-political class. As Foucault's Germanic Franks are to the later feudalistic French aristocracy, the Visigoths we encounter are presented as the genealogical ancestors of Castile's ruling elite whose earlier military victories in Iberia legitimize their political rule. Yet the "Visigothic" is also a historically transmutable category capable of incorporating new social significance. And in 1400, when the massacres and forced conversions of less than a decade earlier had introduced into Spanish society a population of Judeoconversos in numbers never before been seen, the idea of the Visigothic presented the perfect vehicle for articulating notions of pure and clean blood. Through such definitions of blood, this new population of Judeoconversos, despite their quite often excellent training and education, could be excluded from the top positions of Church and politics.

Our examination will now shift to the work of one such post-1391 converso, and in making this turn we should keep in mind our earlier Sephardic Hebrew historiographies and place these historiographies in conversation with Foucault's analysis of historiographic racial conflict. This discussion requires more than one chapter to be fully realized, but what will extend into several chapters, has its foundation in the writings of both Sephardic Jews and Castilian Judeoconversos. The revival of Roman Hispania in late medieval and early modern Spain most differs from Foucault's reading of Roman-Frankish-Gallic conflict within French historiographies because our histories will take us to radically different conclusions, specifically with regard to what possible visions of community such histories can ultimate enable. Looking back to Judas Maccabees' treaty with the Romans in I Maccabees, the medieval writers of Sepharad saw in Roman imperialism not the domination of one race over another but instead an alternative to such modes of racial domination; in Rome and in Roman Hispania there was a pluralistic disposition to culture and religion.

**Rome Sacked a Second Time: A Judeoconverso Letrado Re-Writes Spain's Visigothic Past**

When writing another text, his *Crónica* about the kings of Castile from Pedro el Cruel to his own times, López de Ayala received assistance from Pablo de Santa María, who as Bishop of and thus also went by Pablo of Burgos, but who had been born Solomon Ha-Levi. As the change in name suggests, Pablo was born a Jew but converted around 1391, and it is unclear whether his conversion occurred before or after the massacres and forced conversions of that year, and thus whether it was compelled by force or a product of his own choosing. Indeed, before Pablo was the Bishop of Burgos, he had as Solomon Ha-Levi been the city's head rabbi and one of the wealthiest merchants of the Jewish community. Thus his conversion and the motivations behind it were of significance to both Christian and Jew alike, one Jew going so far as to say that it shifted the order of creation.[70] But regardless of such mystery and speculation, the head Rabbi of

[70] See Benjamin Gampel's essay "A Letter to a Wayward Teacher: The Transformations of Sephardic Culture in Christian Iberia" in *The Culture of the Jews, Volume 2: Diversities of Diaspora* (2006: 87-145).

Burgos' Jewish community would become the most influential and famous Judeoconveso in all of Spain and would father an even more influential son in Alonso de Santa María / Alonso de Cartagena (who will be a focus of our next chapter).

As with Pero López de Ayala, our discussion here will focus less on the social and political dealings of Pablo de Santa María and more on his written and literary contributions. As in the case of Ayala's Castilian translation of Livy, we will in particular examine a work with historiographic aims: Pablo's *Siete edades del mundo* (*Seven Ages of the World*) written around 1414. But in structure, subject matter and historical-scope, Pablo's *Siete edades* shares little with Ayala's Livy or even the *Crónica* for which he may have offered his assistance. Closer to Pablo's texts are the vernacular histories of Alfonso X El Sabio, the *Estoria de Espanna* and *General Estoria,* with their aims to tell both universal and national histories. But the most obvious difference between this works is that that Pablo's *Siete edades* is a historiographic poem written in verse. Pablo's *Siete edades* is thus essentially a poem that stiches together two abbreviated and versified versions of the Alfonsine historiographies, with estrofas 1-252 dedicated to the telling of a 'general' universal history that is divided into seven ages (edades), and estrofas 253-338 narrating, as it advertises, the history of "el fundamento de la poblaçion de España" (p. 109).

But Pablo's *Siete edades* also looks to the earlier Latin historiographies of Iberia. The seven-part division of the poem's universal history is not only an evocation of the seven days of biblical creation but was the historiographic schema first developed by Orosius in his *History Against the Pagans*. The concluding addendum of the *Siete edades* devoted to "la poblaçion de España" shares subject matter with the Alphonsine *Estoria de Espanna*, but also mirrors how Isidore concluded his *History of the Visigothic Kings* with an addendum that summarized the gens of the Goths. And indeed, like Isidore's addendum, Pablo's verse history of "la poblaçion de España" devotes much of its attention to Visigothic history.

Given such attention to the Visigothic, it is perhaps tempting to conclude that Pablo had followed his friend and collaborator Pero López de Ayala in transforming the earlier Gothicisim of Isidore and the Middle Ages into a new ideology for fifteenth-century Castile. But such a conclusion is incomplete, if not wholly inaccurate. By delving into Pablo's poetic telling of Visigothic history and especially his retelling of the very moment that Ayala so emphasized, the 410 Sack of Rome by Alaric, we shall come to see that Pablo's retelling of Visigothic history is also the beginning of its revision at the hands of Judeoconverso letrados.

Why the ethno-social group of the Judeoconversos would not be comfortable with the mode of fifteenth-century Gothicism expounded by Ayala should obvious from our analysis of Ayala's own words. Judeoconversos might have been able to achieve both wealth and influence, as Pablo himself did as a bishop. And within Castilian society, even the most elite families like the Ayalas may have come to accept Judeoconversos as sincere and true Christians. But no amount of wealth, power or privilege could ever grant Pablo de Santa María or any other Judeoconverso the Visigothic blood that was so 'pura e linpia.' Irrespective of Ayala's personal intentions and the implications his rhetoric held for his judeoconverso friend, the rhetoric of purity behind Visigothic blood was what gave it the power to exclude. But if Gothicism's first ideological pillar of blood purity brought exclusion, the second pillar of military process would enable its undoing at the skilled hands of judeoconverso authors. This project would take several generations to reach its fullest realization – and whether it was ever truly successful is itself up for debate – but it is a project that begins with Pablo de Santa María.

To best understand how Pablo deviates from and revises the Gothicism of Castile's caballero aristocrats, we should begin with those moments that seem to most overlap in historical content and ideological message. Like Ayala's Livy, Pablo's account of the Goths includes the genealogical declaration that their descendants will be the noblemen and kings of Castile:

> por que del linaje dellos [los Godos] desçendieron
> los nobles rreyes que en Castilla vivieron
> despues de su tienpo dellos a rreynar,
> …
> sabemos ya çierto que nunca jamas
> ninguna nasçion se les pudo ygualar
> (Sconza edition 1991; Estrofa 277, p. 114-15)

> …because they are descended from the line of the Goths, those noble kings who live in Castile, reigning after their [the Goth's] time …and we know that there will truly never be any nation that can equal them. (translation my own)

Though Pablo certainly echoes Ayala, how he frames these echoes propels us back to Foucault's historiographic discussion, and in particular the idea of "national dualism." As Ayala also did, Pablo speaks of a Visigothic "linaje." But Pablo uniquely introduces to his account the descriptor of "nasçion" – a term he uses not only here but also earlier when he describes the Goths as a single nation that has gone by various names: "aquella mesma nasçion / por otros nonbres despues son conosçidos" (269; p. 113) (that very nation by other names known later).[71] Conforming to Foucault's thesis, this Gothic "nasçion" first emerges within the rhetoric and vocabulary of Castilian historiography as something other than the nation-state we might assume it to be:

> The something that begins to speak in history, that speaks of history, and of which history will speak, is what the vocabulary of the day called a "nation."
> At this time, the nation is by no means something that is defined by its territorial unity, a definite political morphology, or its systematic subordination to some imperium. The nation has no frontiers, no definite system of power, and no State. The nation circulates behind frontiers and institutions. The nation, or rather "nations," or in other words the collections, societies, groupings of individuals who share a status, mores, customs, and a certain particular law … it is the nation that begins to speak. The nobility is one nation, as distinct from the many other nations that circulate within the State and come into conflict with one another … [this nation] will give rise to the notion of race. And, finally, it will give rise to the notion of class. (134)[72]

[71] This mention of other, later names alludes to the very linchpin Gothicism by which the Visigoths become Spaniards (or more accurately Asturians then Leonese then Castilians).
[72] In the next two chapter we will increasingly see how this construction of race and nation takes on class dimensions with the rise of a letrado bureaucracy largely populated by Judeoconversos and their descendants.

If we think of not only the Goths as Pablo describes them but also earlier accounts in Spanish historiography, we see an image of a people that very much conforms to Foucault's nation with the nation. "No frontiers": as in the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna*, in Pablo's *Siete edades* the Visigoths are a roaming horde who begin in "yslas que son en Aquilon" (Isles that are in Aquilon0 and make their way to Iberia conquering everything in their wake. As Pablo writes: "los godos que de muchos lexos vinieron … rrequeriendo conquistar / otros muchos rreyons e diversesas tierras" (the Goths came from far away … desiring to conquest many other kingdoms and various lands) (268 & 271; p. 113). "Mores, customs, and a certain particular law": from Isidore we read how unspoken custom became written legal code, a point echoed when Pablo writes that the Visigoths give Spain "las leyes primeras por escripto dar" (the first written laws they gave) (291, p. 117). And like Ayala, Pablo also saw the Goths as distinct embodiments of "cavalleria" (271; p. 113). "The nobility is one nation": as we have already much discussed, and as Pablo reminds us when writing that from their various military victories the Goths "vieneron cobrar / asi por nobleza que en ellas avia" (came to earn, such was the nobility within them) (ibid), ingrained within the Castilian mindset was the notion that Spain's kings and noblemen could all enumerate Visigothic warriors as forefathers within their family lines.

That a judeoconverso author such as Pablo de Santa María who could lay no claim to Visigothic lineage would nonetheless praise the Goths is undoubtedly a testament to the heavy sway of Gothicism at this moment in Castilian historian and within the literary history of the Spanish language. But within his lauding of the Visigoths, Pablo also finds room for alternatives to the national mythos of Gothicism, alternatives with ideologically subversive potential. And while such alternatives are at this early stage somewhat quiet, they can be detected and will grow and go on to have a life of their own in successive generations.

Pablo's alternative to Gothicism continues to echo Foucault's historiographic thesis of a dualism that divides the national community into various nations at odds with one another. Yet what we find in Pablo's writing also takes us back to the communal imaginaries of Sepharad and its Hebrew authors – a community from which Pablo as a converso of course descended, and Hebrew authors whom Pablo had likely even read when he was still the Rabbi Solomon Ha-Levi. Of course, having now considered Foucault's thesis of national dualism, we can see that something similar was already beginning to emerge in the Sephardic texts we analyzed and in images of Iberia, like that of Abraham ibn Daud, which envisioned something of a struggle taking place in between the Jewish Sephardim and the Christian Visigoths (cast as the Hebrew sons of Jacob and the Edomite sons of Esau), yet who also saw in Rome and Roman Hispania a possible friend and ally.

Pablo is more torn as to whether the Romans who colonized Hispania should be seen as friends or enemies. In the estrofas that narrate "el fundamento de la poblaçion de España," Rome appears much as it does in the Alfonsine *Estoria*, as an oppressor and conqueror of the Iberian Peninsula: Scipio is paired and equated with Hannibal, Pompey with Julius Caesar, all categorized as people who brought ruin (desbarataron) to the Peninsula and who subjected those that managed to survive (de los rommanos quedaron sojudgados; 263-4; pp. 111-12). But in the earlier sections on universal history, Pablo recounts the reign of Trajan beginning with his birth in Hispania, which is however erroneously moved from Italica in southern Baetica up northward to Segovia: "varon noble llamado Trajano / que fe de su propia nasçion castellano / çerca de

tierra de Segovia criado" (210; p. 100) (that noble gentleman named Trajan who was Spanish by his very nation, near the land of Segovia he was raised).

Clearly Pablo seeks to praise Trajan, whom here he describes as a "varon noble" and, as we are told in the next estrofa, over whose soul Saint Gregory the Great prayed since the Iberian-born emperor lived a life of virtue, albeit as a pagan. Moreover, within Pablo's description of Trajan, the reader is provided not only with another usage of the word "nasçion" that is associated with Spain but even with a somewhat different conception of how nationality can be ascribed. Where the Goths were a foreign nation from "muchos lexos" whose construction as a people was grounded in ethnicity, kinship, and biological-genealogical filiation, Trajan is "castellano" because his "propia nasçion" is "çerca de tierra de Segovia."[73] With Trajan, nationality is thus a product of territory and where one is born, with the implication – reinforced by what Pablo says as well as what he does not – that it is perhaps even more correct to consider Trajan a "castellano" by nation than to consider him a Roman.

Pablo's *Siete edades* does not dramatize a struggle between these two nations of the Visigoths and the Hispano-Romans. However, as Pablo's Visigoths become more closely associated with Spain, the narrative becomes rather more complicated and ideological fissures begin to emerge. Perhaps not by coincidence, the first fissure emerges when Pablo narrates the very historical event that so prompted to Ayala to praise the Goths, Alaric's Sack of Rome in 410. Again reflecting the dual structure of Pablo's verse history, the Fall of Rome is narrated twice within the estrofas of the *Siete edades*, within both the universal and the Spanish sections. Pablo's reason for narrating the 410 Fall of Rome within the national portion of the *Siete edades* is perhaps explained by the erroneous declaration that, after sacking Rome, Alaric went on to become the first Visigothic king of Spain after: : "Aqueste Alarigo que a Rroma quemo / segunt que por las estorias ponen todos / avemos por el primer rrey de los godos / que en las Españas a

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[73] The Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna* does not use a vocabulary of nationhood to describe Trajan, but it does refer to him as an "español … natural duna uilla de Estremadura que a nombre Pedraza" 142). But there is also much emphasis on Trajan's having a more pan-Mediterranean and European profile. Perhaps reflecting Alfonso's own claims to becoming Holy Roman Emperor (which to be confirmed required a journey to the Germanic city of Aachen that Alonso never made) the *Estoria* states that Trajan "recibio el sennorio et la nobleza dell imperio en Agripina, una cibdat de Francia" (ibid). Looking backward to genealogy, the *Estoria* also asserts that the name Trajan is "por que era del linage de Troya que uinieron poblar a aqeulla tierra" (ibid). Indeed, in Foucault's analysis the notion of a various lineages that go back to Troy and which thus connect the various peoples of Europe through Trojan founders (not only Aeneas for the Romans, but Brutus in Britain, Frankus in France) is the historiographic episteme that precedes national dualism.

Such Trojan connections were never as prevalent in Spain as elsewhere, perhaps because there was already pre-existing mythographic subject matter with Hercules' westward travels, but surely also because the traces of the Romans, and also but to a lesser extent the Greeks, allowed for the appropriation of a classical past located not in fantastical myth but verifiable history.

As with so much else of the Hispano-Roman material of the *Estoria*, it is unclear what impact it had on the Spanish imaginary until authors like Pablo de Santa María looked to revive it nearly a century-and-a-half after its original composition and publication.

rreynar começo" (285; p. 116) (This Alaric who burnt Rome, as all the histories have it, we hold to be the first king of the Goths who began to rule in the Spains).

Besides 'learning' that Alaric ruled in Spain, the reader of the *Siete edades* finds little that had not already been recounted in Ayala's preface to Livy. The language of burning Rome is violent, yet no more so than what Ayala pointed to as evidence of Gothic military prowess and achievement. And yet, if we turn back to the earlier telling of the Sack of Rome within the *Siete edades*, we see that Pablos was not so enamored with the idea that Rome's fall should be praised or that it should be considered, to return to Ayala's words, an "obra tan grande e tan notable fecha":

> un rey de los godos llamado Alarigo
> con poder de gente que traxo consigo
> en Rroma fizo grant destruyçion,
> fasta que la puso toda en perdiçion
> e sangre e a fuego commo destruyda
> quando floresçiera en çiençia e en vida
> aquel Agustino de gant perfecçion. (229; p. 104)
>
> A king of the Goths named Alaric, with the power of the men he brought with him, brought great destruction to Rome, until he brought everything to loss, and just as it was destroyed to blood and fire, it had once flourished in knowledge and life with that Augustine of great perfection.

The first lines of the estrofa do not yet reveal any marked divergence from Ayala's laudatory account. Though Pablo certainly emphasizes for his readers the devastating violence of Alaric's actions as a "grant destruycion" and which leaves Rome "toda en perdiçion / e sangre e a fuego", such imagery is, again, not altogether so different from Ayala's relishing the might of the Visigothic fist that turns Rome into "polvo e ceniza." Yet by the estrofa's conclusion, it becomes clear that what Ayala praises, Pablo mourns. Alaric's sacking is not, or not only, the beginning of Visigothic supremacy in the west but also the end of a great civilization and culture that had hosted a flourishing of knowledge and life (floresçiera en çiençia e en vida). Unlike the letrado humanists who follow in his path, Pablo has yet to fully embrace classical culture in its own terms. As with his account of Trajan whose salvation was won through the prayers of Saint Gregory, Pablo praises the greatness of Rome through the intermediary of Christianity in the figure of Saint Augustine. By praising the Rome of Augustine, Pablo essentially creates a binary system of opposites: Alaric the bringer of great destruction and loss vs. Augustine the enabler of knowledge, life and perfection.

Despite establishing such binary division, Pablo's work does not – as I have emphasized – go on to narrate a struggle or clash between Goth and Roman, destroyer vs. enabler of culture. It will indeed take some time for such a clash of cultures/races/nations to be articulated in Spanish letters. And somewhat counterintuitively what precedes this clash between the Gothic and the Hispano-Roman is in fact a long and rather drawn-out effort to reconcile the contrasting values of these two nations within a single nation. Over its successive stages, these attempts at reconciling the Gothic with the Hispano-Roman will take different forms. What we find in Pablo's *Siete edades* is thus something of a first attempt that, like his valorizing of Trajan and the

city of Rome itself, is mediated by the Catholic Church of Late Antiquity. Given this religious lens, it is in fact probably more accurate to say that Pablo sees the national division less in the ethno-historical schema of Visigoths vs. Hispano-Romans and more as a social divide between Visigothic rulers and Church-affiliated letrados. By identifying the historical element of the Visigothic but not yet the Hispano-Roman, Pablo's national imaginary thus leaves out the key ingredient of our own overarching analysis and discussion, but his vision of letrado contribution creates a placeholder that will come to be filled by the image of Roman Hispania (indeed, soon enough with the writings of Pablo's own son Alonso), and for that reason Pablo's writings are necessary to tell our story.

Pablo's vision of the harmonious and utopian social order that Spain can aspire to achieve is essentially the photo-negative of what he saw as most devastating in Rome's destruction. Where Alaric's fire and fury had brought an end to Augustine's civilizational flourishing, the unity of political rule and Church learning can instead enable, ensure and preserve such flourishing and achievement. What is crucial about understanding this formula of Pablo's, however, is that it is not especially religious in nature. More important than the Church's theological teachings are the very men of the Church whose intellectual contributions guarantee not salvation in the next world but peace and prosperity in this one. It is something of a proto-secularism that will continue to play a role in our discussion of Roman Hispania.

About the Visigothic king perhaps most important to the Catholic history of Spain, Reccared I who first converted from Aryanism to Catholicism, Pablo's *Siete edades* thus says very little. Spain's first Catholic king is simply "otro catolico rrey," and soon after Pablo declares that "otra cosa aqui non diremos, / porque de los otros todos aun tenemos / despues Adelante mucho que contar" (296; p. 118-19) (we have nothing more to say here, because about all the others who came after, we have much to tell). Indeed it is hard to imagine Pablo saying less about the ruler who essentially makes official the Catholic faith in Visigothic Spain, particularly since he is the king about whom Isidore of Seville has the most to stay. Perhaps, however, it is not a coincidence that Reccared's conversion to Catholicism led not only to the persecution of those who stuck to Aryanism but was also the beginning of recurrent Visigothic persecution of Iberia's Sephardic Jews. That said, Pablo is not short on praising Reccared's successors who were no strangers to persecuting Jews.

Within the *Siete edades*, what is by far the quickest and easiest way for a Visigothic king to earn Pablo's praises is to show support for the Church by calling a Council or Synod of Bishops. Thus Sisebundo (Sisebut) proves himself not only a "buen guerrero" (good warrior) but also "justiçiero" (justice-giver) by holding a council in Seville (297; p. 119). Three kings later, Sisebando (Sisenand) earns even more praise for calling the Fifth Council of Toledo "do fueron juntados / de las Españas grant suma de perlados / con Sant Ysidrio que end ese acaesçio" (298; p. 119) (where a great number of prelates from Spain came together, with St. Isidore it took place), thus establishing greater connections between kings and churchmen. Continuing this progression is Chintila (Çintilla) who not only orders but celebrates (fizo çelebrar) a "grant çoncilio" to "ensalçar nuestra fe" (299) (expand our faither).

The fruits of such bonds between crown and Church come to be most fully realized, and expounded upon by Pablo, during the reign of King Wamba (Banba), who is credited with establishing "las buenas leyes que tenemos" (the good laws which we have). From there, Pablo provides an unusually lengthy and detailed account of Wamba's administrative reforms:

> los adarves de Toledo que eran desipados
> e [rey Banba] fizo poner despues de rreparados
> sobre cada puerta dellas un ditado,
> e ovo asi mesmo tanbien limitado
> en toda España por sus rrepartiçiones
> los terminos, tierras e jurediçiones
> que pertenesçen a cada obispado. (301, p. 120)
>
> The walls of Toledo were disintegrating, and after repairing them King Bamba appointed an official on each of its gates, and likewise to this had all of Spain delineated by repartitions, borders, lands and jurisdictions which each belonged to a bishopric.

Banba's is a project of reform that repairs not only the walls but the political institutions of the capital city to ensure an effective administrative regime where the new officials (ditado[s]) oversee a Spain that is at once unified and whole (toda España) yet effectively organized into "terminos, tierras e jurediçiones"; the nation comes to require administration. And to emphasize how an effective political regime involves a Visigogthic monarchy aligned with Church administration, Pablo concludes by specifying that these divided territories are likewise ecclesiastically run by Bishops (pertenesçen a cada obispado).

In the next reign, that of Ervigo, Pablo's vision of political and social flourishing connects the partnership between crown and Church back to the familiar topos of the Laus Hispania with its imagery of agricultural fertility. In a passage that seems to recount the implementation of monastic beer-making in Spain, Pablo credits king Ervigo as being the first to give to the monasteries, specifically the Cistercian monastery of Panpliega, "manjares yervas a bever / de guisa" (302; p. 120) (delicious herbs to drink brewed).

The Laus Hispaniae, as we remember, found its way from Classical geographic descriptions about Hispania (at times by Hispano-Roman authors) into the Castilian Middle Ages via Late Antique authors like Isidore of Seville and his brother Leander who also sought to emphasize the importance of political stability for a flourishing society. But, as we also saw, echoes of the Laus Hisapaniae likewise appeared within the Hebrew poetry of Judah HaLevi and Samuel HaNagid, poems that Pablo had likely known and read when he was still a rabbi going by his Hebrew name Solomon ha-Levi.

Returning to the moment when the Jew Solomon ha-Levi's became the Christian Pablo de Santa María, we remember that this conversion to Christianity by a leader of the Sephardic community created a crisis of confidence for Spain's Jews. Attesting to the uncertainty felt by the Sephardim of post-1391 Spain is a document whose fortuitous survival helps complete our understanding of who Solomon/Pablo was and of the two communities of which he was a part. In a Hebrew letter to Solomon, now Pablo, a former student named Joshua ha-Lorki probes what motivated the conversion of his teacher.

Ha-Lorki's letter can also be read as something of a microhistory for the converso mentality at this historical moment. the letter begins by pointedly asking whether Solomon's main motivation to convert to Christianity was his love for the material world. But as Benjamin Gampel discusses, we need not read this question as mere personal insult and can see behind it an ongoing struggle for Iberia's Sephardim to not only exist within but also contribute to a

society secure in peace and prosperity.[74] For Gampel, this historical negotiation goes back to the tenth century when the Jews experienced a "symbiotic relationship with Islam [that] had allowed for the efflorescence of a brilliant Andalusian Jewish culture" (p. 89). But the political shift in Al-Andalus from the more tolerant Umayyads to the often persecutory Almoravids brought on circumstances in which "Jews struggled to develop a new cultural synthesis" with either the Christians to the north or the Muslims in the south. Sephardic Jews were indeed often involved with the political administration of Umayyad Al-Andaluz (the poet Samuel HaNagid himself served as a vizier), so the assumption that such social stability would require the participation of Jews themselves was only natural. In essence, the Sephardic experience and mindset had not only a religious component located within the Jewish faith but a socio-political component embedded within Iberian politics (both Muslim and Christian). While Judah HaLevi might have preferred the dilapidated temple of Jerusalem to the "charms of Sepharad" perhaps he was in the minority. As the conversion of Solomon HaLevi into Pablo de Santa María, as well as that of so many other Jews illustrates, perhaps for some Sephardim adherence to the Jewish faith was in fact less important that participating in political life so as to ensure the continuation of Iberia's cultural flourishing and material comforts.

Further complementing Gampel's reading of ha-Lorki's letter to Solomon ha-Levi, is Mark Meyerson's discussion "The Politics of Plenty,"[75] that locates this Jewish and Judeoconverso desire for political stability and economic prosperity against the more specific experience of the 1391 pogroms and massacres. Lingering memories of 1391 when so many Jews had lost their lives and when so much Jewish property had been destroyed, were cast into particularly stark relief by the coinciding emergence of new opportunities for advancement within the growing bureaucracies of Castile's monarchy and municipal centers that depended on the very type of learning so many of Iberia's Jews and Judeoconversos had acquired.

Against such a backdrop, we can more greatly appreciate the historiographic encoding taking place within Pablo de Santa María's poetic descriptions of a national past where Visigothic kings and Catholic churchmen work in harmony for a harmonious society. Pablo's churchmen are none other than the letrados, many like him Judeoconversos who, also like him, sought advancement yet were also confident that their political contributions could serve Castilian and Spanish society as a whole. To secure their place and influence, however, they needed not only salaried positions but also a narrative. What could these former-Jews contribute that could not be achieved by the aristocratic caballero elites who descended from Visigothic kings? This question was practically waiting for an answer; the narrative was looking for someone to come along and write it. And Pablo was that person.

But in this sense Pablo is also an instrument of history, an author at the intersection of historical convergences. Indeed, at a time when political administration increasingly required not military might but education in letters – not to mention when just across the Mediterranean,

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[74] "Ha-Lorki challenged ha-Levi, asking whether his decision to convert had been motivated by materialistic or opportunistic consideration … for students of Sephardic culture, this is an argument that cannot easily be dismissed. Were Sephardic Jews so content with the material success they had enjoyed during the years of Christian rule that their fear of losing this comfortable existence, to the exclusion of all other considerations, led them to the baptismal font. Simply put, did they convert to enjoy the good life?" (Gampel: 89)

[75] See the fifth chapter of his *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (2004: 157-183)

Italy was witnessing a renewed passion for Classical culture – what sort of claim was it to possess the blood of those who burnt Rome to the ground? And yet, the myth and ideology of Gothicism was not so easily countered, nor was its exclusionary idea of a Spain decontaminated of any Jewish or Moorish influence. In the next chapter, our story will pick up where we are now. The ideological project begun by Pablo is most immediately continued by and evolves with his son, Alonso de Santa María (also Alonso/Alfonso de Cartagena, 1384-1456), and after Alonso by other Judeoconversos and letrados. Similarly, the aristocratic Gothicism of Pero López de Ayala has its own legacy in the literature of caballero noblemen such as Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and Rodrigo de Manrique. If the socio-political challenge for judeoconversos continues to be whether they have a legitimate role in the administration of Castilian society, a cultural challenge likewise emerges as to whether there is any room for Renaissance humanism within the Gothicism of the caballeros. These challenges will increasingly center around the image of Roman Hispania as both a cultural point of reference for the judeoconversos and as an alternative, both implicit and explicit, to the Gothic ideals of caballero aristocrats.

The story I will go on to tell in the next two chapters increasingly one of the Judeoconversos of Spain whose and education and responsibilities with political administration earned them the label of letrados. Naturally, not all letrados were judeoconversos. Not only were there of course Christian letrados, but until 1492 one did not necessarily have to convert, as Pablo did, to attain a high position at court or within Spanish universities. Before before telling this story, I want us to jump a bit forward to see how the historiographic rhetoric that presents a discourse of race by narrating the fall of great cities and civilization is echoed in the writings of those Jews who did not convert and instead faced expulsion in 1492. Having spent time on the Castilian prose and poetry of Pero López de Ayala and Pablo de Santa María, this consideration will take us back primarily, though not exclusively, to Hebrew letters. And perhaps not by coincidence, our return to Sephardic literature will likewise take us away from the Gothicism of these two authors – for even Pablo's judeoconverso and letrado qualification is still certainly a Gothicism – and back to Roman Hispania.

**The Fall of Sepharad and Memories of Hispania**

Our discussion has examined the histories that various Iberian communities have recounted to understand their bonds to the Peninsula. In the Visigoths and Romans/Hispano-Romans, we have seen a recurrent set of characters circulate within narratives crafted by Sephardic Jews, Castilian noblemen and Judeoconverso letrados. But as we have also seen, these histories come back not only to the same set of characters but also to the image of cities besieged and eventually fallen: the fall of Jerusalem to the Greeks in I Maccabees, Abraham Ibn Daud's telling of how the fall of Jerusalem to the Romans spurred the migration of Jews to Iberia, and, lastly, two versions of Rome's fall to the Visigoths in the prose of Pero López de Ayala and the poetry of Pablo de Santa María. The authors of our ensuing discussion will again replay and retell some of these sackings and falls, and while the authors themselves are not living through the siege of their own cities, they are certainly experiencing the fall of their culture and civilization, that being the end of Sepharad.

Just as the massacres and forced conversions of 1391 and the emerging notion of limpieza de sangre that culminated in the 1449 Estatutos required judeoconversos to seek and rediscover new modes for representing their role in Castilian and Spanish society, so too would the 1492 expulsion spur those Sephardic Jews who remained Jewish to reconsider what their

attachment to the Iberian Peninsula, their Sepharadic Spanishness, now meant. Indeed, in his seminal work *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory*, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi proposes that the diasporic generations that came in the wake of the post-1492 expulsion witnessed a "resurgence of Jewish historical writing … without parallel" (57).[76]

Undoubtedly influenced by the medieval Sephardic authors and texts that began our discussion, this turn to the post 1492 diasporic Sephardi is both a return and a bookend to our discussion. But as a conclusion to our opening chapter, this Sephardic material is also something of a bridge and anticipation of what's to come. The historiographic methodology and content we shall encounter (such as the narration of a city under siege) participates in the same vocabulary as that of Pero López de Ayala and Pablo de Santa María, but where even the judeoconverso Pablo was still operating within the framework of fifteenth-century Castilian Gothicism (albeit challenging it from within), this Sephardic material more fully embraces the Hispano-Roman image of a Spanish past. In doing so the historical imaginary of the post-1492 diasporic Sephardi both looks back to an image of Rome and Roman Hispania in medieval Sephardic texts and reveals a shared cultural disposition between post-1492 Hebrew authors and the Judeoconverso letrados and humanists who followed Pablo de Santa María.

The author at the center of our discussion is also a reminder that despite the comfortable lives and prestigious careers of Judeoconversos like Pablo de Santa María might, it was in fact possible to remain a Jew and still shape Spanish society and intellectual culture.[77] Indeed, if the cultural contributions of the Judeoconversos we have and will discuss can be rivaled by any Sephardim of the fifteenth-century, the most obvious contender would be the intellectual Abraham Zacuto. Yet as a polymath, Zacuto's contributions were perhaps most felt in the fields of astronomy, mathematics and navigation. Zacuto was a professor of astronomy at the

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[76] This plethora of Jewish historiographies renders the post-1492 diaspora generation an exception to Yerushalmi's overall thesis that "although Judaism throughout the ages was absorbed with the meaning of history, historiography itself played at best an ancillary role among the Jews, and often no role at all; and concomitantly, that while memory of the past was always a central component of Jewish experience, the historian was not its primary custodian" (xxxiii).

[77] In his *Perceptions of Jewish History* (1993), Amos Funkenstein builds on and responds to Yerushalmi's argument and articulates even stronger connections between the post-1492 historiographies and Renaissance humanism: "some Jews developed a keen interest in the writings of humanists and in the classical literature. They wrote history in a new way. They thought about similar problems in similar modes; in particular, their notion of "human nature," even of "Jewish nature" as shaped by history, bears the mark of encounter with the new world of letters" (211). However, while Funkenstein acknowledges that "ingredients of the humanistic movement can be found among some Jewish authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in one form or another" he ultimately concludes that "these ingredients never coalesced into a conscious, thematic program … while Jewish humanists existed, a Jewish humanism did not" (219). I would however emphasize that the connections and echoes between these Sephardic historiographies and the intellectual contributions of a figure like Pablo de Santa María show that both humanism, at least in Spain, and these diasporic writings arose together and in response to similar crises of the Sephardic experience, something we will continue to see in the next chapter as humanist writings, including that of Pablo's son Alonso, respond to the exclusionary mechanisms of the Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre.

University of Salamanca, the city where he was born. He developed a new type of astrolabe to determine latitude at sea, and his primary written work, a set of astronomical tables written in Hebrew (his החיבור הגדול or *Great Book*)[78] was translated into both Castilian and Latin, and consulted by both Vasco da Gama and Christian Columbus before their respective voyagas circumnavigating Africa and across the Atlantic.

In addition to his astronomical writings, Zacuto also wrote a Hebrew historiography, the *Sefer ha-Yohassin* (ספר יוחסין) or *Book of Lineage*. Zacuto began his *Book of Lineage* in the 1480s while still living and teaching in Salamanca but did not finish the work until around 1505, when he had long left Spain and was living in Tunis. The portion of the text that most concerns our own discussion was written last, and though most often read as the sixth and final part of the *Yohassin*, it has also been treated as a related though an independent work of historiography, that has at times been given the title "The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and the Kings of the Nations." While this might not have been Zacuto's own title, the section is undoubtedly a prime example of what Yerushalmi has identified as both a motivator behind and component of this post-1492 boom in Jewish historiographic text: "the renewed interest in the history of nations, especially of contemporary nations, in which a desire to know various aspects of non-Jewish history combines with an incipient recognition that Jewish destinies are affected by the interplay of relations between certain great powers" (62-63).

Indeed, Zacuto perhaps best illustrates his understanding of how the destiny of the Jewish people is interconnected with the affairs of great powers through an episode that also casts his *Yohassin* as a distinct product of the post-1492 diasporic imaginary. This episode also narrates the fall of a city, that of Granada in 1492, which was soon followed by the Jewish expulsion and thus the end of Iberian Sepharad:

> In 1482 they captured Alhama in the kingdom of Granada. That was the beginning of a ten-year war between Ishmael and Edom. On the eighteenth of August 1487, Malaga was captured. On the first of January 1492, Granada was captured; by the end of July that year the Jews were expelled from Castile, Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia. The same year a man struck the neck of the king of Castile with a sword in Barcelona and the king nearly died. In '494 at four hours of night on 12th January 1494, there was a big earthquake in Spain and Africa. In '495 AD there was a plague like those of Egypt, where rheumatic pains of hard, cold and evil moisture, and bodies were covered in *buboes*. Many people died of this disease…. For ten years it spread among all the nations except Israel. It starts in the genitalia. (605; Shamir translation)[79]

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[78] For a discussion of Zacuto's astronomical contributions see Marciano Martín Manuel's *Abraham Zacuto, astrólogo de don Juan de Zúñiga* (2010).

[79] ובנת אלף ותפ״ב לקחו לאלחמא במלכות גראנאדא ומאז התחילה המלחמה בין ישמעאל ואדום עשרה שנים. שנת תפ״ז י״ח (אוגוסט) נלכדה מלאגה. בשנת תצ״ב יום ראשון אינירו נכבשה גראנדה ובסוף גוליו הסמוך היה גירוש היהודים מקאשטיליא ואראגון וסיזיליא וסירדינייא. ובזאת השנה הכה בחרב איש אחד למלך קשטילייא בצואר בברצילונה והיה קרוב למות. בשנת תצ״ד י״ב לאינירו ד׳ שעות מהלילה רעש הארץ גדול בספרד ואפריקה. בשנת תצ״ה לנוצרים באה מכה ממכות מצרים בכל העולם מכאב הפרקים מקור גדול וליחה רעה ונולד בכל הגוף בֻּובָּאש ר״ל צמחים בכל הגוף ובפנים שמכמים צל הפנים כמו תאנים שחורות והרבה מתו מזה החולי ... ונתפשט קרוב מעשר שנים בכל האומות חוץ מישראל ומתחיל בערוה (358).

Though we have started near the work's conclusion, the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the Jews nonetheless provides a window onto various aspects of Zacuto's historiographic approach. Zacuto does not specify direct causality between the events he narrates, but he hardly has to as the sequence of events infers its own agency and interconnections. The Edict of Granada that forced Iberia's Jews into exile was followed by a series of catastrophes – an assassination attempt on Fernando II of Aragon during the Catalonian popular uprising of the Guerras remences, an earthquake and a ten-year plague – that cannot be anything but punishment from the God of Abraham as retribution for the Jew's expulsion, especially given Zacuto's claim that Israel was the only nation spared such plague. Indeed, by creating an Old Testament parallel to the boils inflicted upon Egypt as one of the Ten Plagues (Exodus 9:8-12), Zacuto's description of a venereal disease that "starts in the genitalia" becomes of plague of biblical proportions.

As we see, moreover, the plague is not the only point in this passage where Zacuto's biblical imaginary creeps in. His characterization of the Reconquista as a war between "Ishmael and Edom" (ישמעאל ואדום) takes us back to Ibn Daud's biblical mapping of Iberia's three faiths where the non-Jews are understood to descend from the antagonistic brothers of the Jewish patriarchs: the Visigothic-descended Christians are as the sons of Edom (or Esau, brother of Jacob) and the Moors are the descendants of Ishmael (the son of Abraham by his Egyptian servant-girl Hagar, and thus half-brother to Isaac). Yet unlike the earlier medieval authors, and no doubt influenced by his pursuits in astronomy and navigation, Zacuto's biblical mapping takes the form of a more precise geographic layout of territories and place-names.

In a display of his sensitivity to geography and its broader implications, Zacuto begins this final section of the *Yohassin* about the history of nations by tying the aims of his book to a poetic account of territory in the Song of Moses that concludes the Book of Deuteronomy, and thus the Pentateuch as a whole:

> The Holy Scripture says: 'Remember the olden days. When the Lord Most High gave nations their inheritance, when He divided all mankind, the Lord's portion is his people.' Israel needs to know about Christians if we are to argue their religion with them. (562)[80]

Though casting his text as a treatise in defense of the Jewish faith, Zacuto presents this defense within a geographic perspective that must first comprehend the division of nations [גוים]. And it is within such a rubric of geographic division that Zacuto first presents his own vision of Iberia and Iberian history.

Expanding on and revising the Table of Nations from Genesis 10 that relates how Noah's descendants populated the earth, Zacuto discusses Iberia in two separate but nearby passages:

> The sons of Japheth were in Europe, one third of the known world, from Portugal and Castile, to Turkey in Great Asia, where like the lands of Israel and Babylon.

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[80] בתורה כמו שאמרה התורה הקדושה זכור ימות עולם ... וכוי בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם צי חלק י״י עמו ... וכן יועיל מאד לישראל הדרים בין האומה הנוצרית להתוצח עמם אל דתם (327).

> Lusitania is Portugal. In all those places dwelt Gomer and Magog, their sons are the Goths, rulers of Castile … Tubal is Sepharad.(565)
>
> Nahor was born in 3035 and Tubal, in 3109, and he founded Hispania and Lusitania, which is Portugal and Taragonensis, which is Aragonensis. (566)[81]

Within Zacuto's layout of the world, the unknowing reader would be forgiven for assuming that Castile and Sepharad are two distinct territories with no relation to one another. Zacuto says nothing about how they spatially overlap, and more than that he presents different ethno-genealogies for their respective progenitors. Castile is defined as a territory of the Goths [גודש / *Godosh*] who descended from Gomer and Magog, two figures from the Book of Ezekiel (chapter 38), where they are enemies of the Jewish people from the north, as the Goths were also supposed to have been. Sepharad is presented with a separate genealogy in the figure of Tubal, another grandson of Noah.[82]

But despite Tubal's clear biblical genealogy, when Zacuto expands upon this figure's foundational ties to Iberia, he provides a Roman association. Though at first equated with Sepharad – literally: "Tubal *is* Sepharad" (תבלא הוא ספרד) – this grandson of Noah is here presented as the founder of Hispania and Lusitania (אושפאניא ולושיתנייא), both of course the Latin place-names for Iberia, and territories which Zacuto explains likewise encompass the Hispano-Roman territory of Tarragonensis (תרגינישיש). Zacuto's geographic vision thus uses Tubal to mediate a connection between Sepharad and Hispania-Lusitania , but relegates Castile as a seemingly separate and unconnected territory of the Goths.[83] Zacuto's distancing of Hispania and Sepharad from the Goths and their Castilian realm certainly bears similarities to the Biblical genealogy that Abraham ibn Daud had proposed in the Sephardic Middle Ages where the Goths were simultaneously the enemies to Rome yet were also elided with the sons of Edom, the perpetual rivals of Israel's Jews.

And like Daud, Zacuto is particularly interested in the histories of not only Israel and the Hebrews but also the gentiles of Rome and Greece. It is indeed within his history of the Romans during what he calls "Seventh Era" (הזמן השביעי) that Zacuto turns back to Iberia. This seventh epoch of Zacuto's history begins with the very series of events that brings the Iberian Peninsula into the fold of Rome's empire: "the war of the Carthaginians with the Romans in 4817 (222 BCE)" (582) (המלחמה מהקרטיגינש עם הרימיים שנת ד׳ תתקי״ז; 340). In emphasizing the Iberian campaigns of the Second Punic War, Zacuto of course joins many historiographers and writers

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[81] ובני יפת זי באורופא שהוא שליש העולם וקצהו בפורטגאל וקשטיליא וקצה השני אצל טורקיאה שהיא מהאשיא הגדולה שבה א״י ובבל. ולושיתניא היא פורתגאל בכל אלה ישוו גומר ימגוג והם הגודש מלצי קשטיליא ... תבלא הוא ספרד ... נחור היה גי אלף ולייה ותובל בסנת בשנת ג׳ אלפ וק״ם, ונה אושפאניא ולושיתנייא שהיא פורטוגאל ותרגינישיש שהם אראגונישיש (329).

[82] The association of Tubal and Iberia is likewise articulated in the writings of St. Jerome and Isidore.

[83] In a later passage, Hispania is further inflected with Classical associations when Zacuto discusses the two sons of Prometheus, Antares and Aspiros: "Antares was king of Tuscany, in Florence and Parma. Then there was Aspiros, brother of Antares, who was king of Hispania and the country was named after him" (568).

from the supposed Hispano-Roman epic poet Silius Italicus to his fellow Hebrew historiographer, the anonymous author of the *Sefer ha-Zichronot*.

Zacuto does not go as far as the *Zichronot* author by imagining an alliance between Scipio Africanus and Judah Maccabee.[84] Indeed, Zacuto's concerns with accurate chronology leads him to correct the Zichronot's anachronism of chronologically aligning the Second Punic War and the Maccabean Revolt. But taking the place of this Judean-Roman alliance is one between their respective enemies, between the Hellenistic ruler Antiochus III the Great and the Carthaginian Hannibal:

> Antiochus The Great, the second king of Aram (87) reigned for 37 years. Hannibal, king of Carthage, fled to this king from Scipio the Roman general … In 993, Hannibal and his brother Hasdrubal were minors when their father died, and they divided Spain along the river Ebro the bank on the Roman side went to the Romans, while the other bank remained Carthaginian and they built the Carthage of Castile … In those days, Antiochus the Great, king of Aram, vanquished King Ptolemy, conquered Jerusalem and devastated it … he killed 60,000 Jews, seized all the holy utensils and took 10,000 into captivity. He did great evils against Israel … Scipio went to Spain and led great battles for Rome. He fought Hannibal in Carthage near Tunis and devastated it. He was a philosopher (583)[85]

Having framed his account of the Second Punic War with an emphasis on the (historically accurate) alliance between Hannibal and Antiochus, Zacuto is able to keep to the spirit of the *Zichronot* while not distorting the historical record. As a substitute for the *Zichronot's* explicit though imagined treaty between Scipio and Judah Maccabee, Zacuto turns Scipio into something of an implied friend to Judea by being the enemy to their enemy's ally. The alliance between Hannibal and Antiochus likewise allows Zacuto to narrate Hannibal's war against Rome as well as Antiochus' attack on Jerusalem as interconnected actions within the same series of military events. The intertwining of these narratives leads to a geographically meandering panorama, yet yet one anchored by the repeated presence of Iberia/Sepharad as a space that continually reemerges. Iberia/Sepharad is present from the time the Romans and Carthaginians had "divided Spain along the river Ebro" (חלקו ספרד מאיברו) to the construction of a Carthaginian base in "the Carthage of Castile" (קארטיגניא מקשטילייו) and to Scipio's finally leading "a great many battles" (עשה מלחמות גדולות) in Iberia. With such details, Zacuto reveals that he has a rather intimate understanding of Iberia's place within the Second Punic War. Yet what stands out as much, if not more, than the details themselves is what Zacuto has decided to call this territory.

Given the Roman focus on these events, one might expect for Zacuto to continue with the Latin nomenclature with which he left off when writing of Tubal as founder and Aspiros as first

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[84] Zacuto likewise mentions the Maccabees treaty with Rome later (584).

[85] אנטיוכס הגדול המלך השני לארם בשנת פ״ז ומלך לייז שנים. ולזה המלך ברח אניבל מלך קרטאגינא מפני ציפיון השר מהרומים ...שנת תתקצ״ג היה אניבל ואדריבל אהיו ונשארו קטנים. ובזאת השנה מת אביהם ואז חלקו ספרד מאיברו לצד רומא מהרומיים. והחלק השני להלן בנהר איברו מהקרטיגינוש והמ בנו לקארטיגניא מקשטילייו ... היה בימי אנטיוכס הגדול מלך ארם ונצח לבטלמיוס מלך מצרים וכבש לירושלם והחריבה ... והרג ששים אלף יהודים ולקח כל כלי המקדס והוליך עשרנ אלפים בגולה ועשה רעות גדולות לישראל ... וציון הוא שהלך לספרד והוא עשה מלחמות גדולות בעבור הרומיים. והוא נלחם טמ אניבל בקרטיגיני אצל תונס והחריבה. והיה פילוסוף (341–42).

king of “Hispania” (אושפאניא). And yet, at each mention Iberia is "Sepharad” (ספרד). Beyond further connecting the Hispania of the Romans with the Sepharad of the Jews, Zacuto’s rendering of the Second Punic War as a conflict over and occurring in “Sepharad” contributes to his bifurcated focus that also looks to Jerusalem under Antiochus. Having from the very beginning of his account joined the aspirations of Hannibal with those of Antiochus, Zacuto punctuates the Second Punic War as an event that distinctly spans the Jewish-Mediterranean geographic imaginary, encompassing Jerusalem on the one end and Sepharad at the other. As with the 1492 fall of Granada where Moor and Christian, Ishmael and Edom, battle it out, here too the conflict of great powers (now Roman, Carthaginian and Greek) is interconnected to the destiny of the Jewish people, here now split between Jerusalem and Sepharad.

Zacuto’s effective geographic mirroring of Sepharad and Jerusalem is echoed yet also disrupted by his narration of the military events. After Antiochus “conquered Jerusalem and devastated it” (וכבש לירושלם והחריבה) we read of Scipio moving his forces into Sepharad. But Sepharad does not experience the devastation that Jerusalem suffered; that lot falls to Carthage, not the Carthage of Castile but the first Carthage near Tunis. Zacuto indeed writes of Scipio’s action against Carthage by employing the same verb of devastation (חרב) that described Antiochus’ attack on Jerusalem, thus essentially casting the events as echoes of one another. Indeed as the closing action of a narrative that had begun with the alliance of Antiochus and Hannibal, Scipio’s attack on Carthage becomes something of an implicit act of vengeance against Antiochus’ ally. Needless to say, repeating this act of military devastation does not render Scipio a double of Antiochus. Quite the opposite. Where Antiochus is clearly a ruthless enemy who commits “great evils against Israel” (ועשה רעות גדולות לישראל), Scipio concludes the account not only as victorious general of the Second Punic War but as likewise honored by Zacuto as a “philosopher” (פילוסוף).

Surely reflecting Zacuto’s own intellectual priorities as a Sephardic polymath and humanist, Zacuto demonstrates an interest in the history of philosophy through the *Yohassin*. He enumerates philosophers from Greece and Rome such as Pythagoras, Plato, Cato and even more surprisingly the poet Ovid, and likewise attributes philosophical characteristics to Jewish figures. In a description that echoes Zacuto’s own status as a Jew teaching Castilians at Salamanca, Abraham is a “great sage” (חכם גדול) who is called by Egypt’s Pharaoh to “teach astronomy and mathematics” (566) (שילמד שם המספר והתכונה; 330). This history of philosophy likes lead Zacuto back to the image of a harmonious relationship between Judea and Rome. About the Roman prefect of Judea, Valerius Gratus, Zacuto writes that he was “a wise philosopher who worked for the Romans in Jerusalem for nine years” (588) ( ואליריו ... בילוסווף וחכם והוא עמד בירושלם בעבור הרומיים טי שנים; 345). And soon after this, Zacuto comes to the philosophers of Iberian birth. Though their nationalities are not mentioned, Zacuto is sure to include “Seneca the great sage (year 291) who wrote many books … Then Lucano, the son of Seneca’s brother, wrote books” (589) (שיניקא החכם הגדול שנת תצייא ועשה ספרים הרבה ... ואז לוקנו בן אחיו של שיניקא עשה ספרים; 345).[86]

[86] For a discussion of a Sephardic interest in Senecan philosophy via the example of a particular Hebrew *aljamiado* manuscript, see Michelle Hamilton’s chapter “The Wisdom of Seneca: Humanism and the Jews” in her *Beyond Faith: Belief, Morality and Memory in a Fifteenth-Century Judeo-Iberian Manuscript* (2014: 166-204). Though focused this specific manuscript, Hamilton frames her study in terms similar to my own object, to examine the “role of Jews and *conversos* … in shaping what has been identified as the emerging sense of a “Spanish” national

Yet finally with a figure who can be none other than Quintilian, Zacuto brings philosophy back to Iberia for the first time since Scipio: "Kinteiro the philosopher flourished in Spain in the year 278 (79 BCE)" (589) (קינטיירו פילוסוף מספרד שנת רעייח; 346). And as it was with Scipio, this Kinteiro/Quintilian is specifically aligned with Sepharad/ספרד thus further presenting the legacy of Roman Hispania as within, if not coterminous to, the history and culture of Sepharad.

The primacy that the history of philosophy holds within the *Yohassin* not only illustrates Zacuto's own priorities as a Sephardic humanist, but also holds much the same function that the elevations of classical culture and learning did within the earlier and contemporaneous judeoconverso texts. As saw in Pablo Santa María's *Siete edades del mundo*, the praise of Rome, and even Roman Hispania, is frequently coupled, or at least begins, with a lament for Rome's fall at the hands of barbarous Goths. Much the same holds for Zacuto's own account of Rome's fall:

> Theodosius the Elder from Spain reigned in Constantinople for eleven years in 87 … In 5611 (412 of Christians), Rome was sacked and ruined by Alaric, fourth king of the Goths, from the kingdom of Gothia near Hungary. In his fifth year of reign, he conquered Rome, burned it, and devastated Italy. First he sent his general to Florence and Lombardy, and the king of Lombardy fought him, and Paul, his general defeated the Goth general. When Alaric king of the Goths learned this, he went and sacked France; then he went to Rome where he stayed until they ate the flesh of their sons, and he burned the city … Then Goths came to Spain (Sepharad), conquered it and remained there. (593)[87]

Zacuto's Hebrew account of the Visigothic Sack of Rome is in many ways the culmination of a historiographic tradition that begins with Pablo de Santa María's *Siete edades del mundo*, a tradition marked by the Judeoconverso – and here simply Jewish – hesitance and equivocation toward the Gothic legacy so vaunted by Castile's kings and nobleman. But Zacuto has gone further yet; converso ambivalence has turned into Jewish derision. His Goths are truly nothing more than a people of perpetual warfare, a roaming horde that brings devastation wherever it goes. Rome is "sacked and ruined" (שבא ...וחרבן), then "burned" (ושרפה באש), Italy "devastated" (והחריב). The last term is especially resonant with the converso tradition of Gothic portrayal as the Hebrew root חָרַב implies a sense of waste and desolation associated with drought. The Goths thus bring the very opposite of the fertility and abundance associated with the Laus Hispaniae, in its Classical, Castilian and even Hebrew articulations. The emphasis on agricultural bounty that dotted the *Siete edades* and its utopian vision of Iberian society thus comes full circle with Zacuto's Goths, who bring with them the exact opposite, a desolate wasteland unable to produce life and the basic conditions of human civilization. Indeed, as Zacuto's account goes on, the

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culture, as well as the unique nature of Iberia's contributions to the larger European humanism" (xii).

[87] טיאודושיש זקן ספרדי ק׳סר בקושטננינא י״א שנים בשנת פייז ... בשנת הי אלף ותרי״א שהיא שנת ת״ב לנוצרים היה גלות וחרבן רומא שבא עליה אלאריקו המלך הד׳ מהגודוש ממלכות גודיאה אצל אונגריא בשנת הי למלכותו וכבש רומא ושרפה באש והחריב לאיטליא, וזה היה צי בראשונה שלח לשר צבאו לפלורינסייא ולומברדיאה ונלחם עמו מלך לונברדיאה ופאול שר צבאו ונצחו לשר צבא מהגודוש וכששמע כה אלאריקו מלך הבדוש בא והחר׳ב צרפת והלך לרומא והיה שם עד שאכלו בשר בניהם ושרפה ... וכן אז הלכו הגודוש לספרד ולקחוה ונשאר שם (349).

Goths seem to epitomize the very undoing of human civilization with its basic tenants and taboos. During a second attack on Rome after invading France, Alaric brings wars that are so destructive that the people of Rome are led not only to cannibalism but to cannibalizing their own flesh and blood: "they ate the flesh of their sons" (שאכלו בשר בניהם). Rather forebodingly, from there Alaric and his Goths go to Sepharad and conquer it (הלכו הגודוש לספרד ולקחוה).

We notice, however, that Alaric's conquest and occupation of Spain/Sepharad is not the first, but rather second mention of Sepharad in his account of the Sack of Rome. Zacuto's chronology sets the Visigothic Sack of Rome right on the heels of the reign of "Theodosius the Elder from Spain/Sepharad" (טיאודושיש זקן ספרדי). Though seemingly slight, this detail within Zacuto's chronological arrangement is a return to and underscoring of the very ethnographic divisions which we saw in when he provided a geographic breakdown of the world and its people after the flood. Though Roman Hispania and the emperor Theodosius it spawns can be aligned with Sepharad, the Goths are something other. Though Alaric and his Goths conquer Sepharad and remain there (ונשאר שם), unlike the Romans of the *Yohassin* – not only the Emperor Theodosius but also the philosopher Quintilian/Kinteiro – they never seem to be truly of Spain/Sepharad, always a people apart.

Zacuto was not the only Iberian Jew of the diasporic expulsions to cast the Goths in such a light. Some decades later, in 1553, the Portuguese-born Jew Samuel Usque wrote his *Consolation for the Tribes of Israel* (*Consolação ás Tribulações de Israel*) in the Portuguese vernacular and as a response to Portugal's expulsion of the Jews in 1497. Further illustrating Yerushalmi's argument about diasporic historiographies possessing an interest for the history of other nations, Usque's *Consolação* includes various historical vignettes within a broader framing that elides the Hebrew Bible's image of the Jewish patriarchs as shepherds with the Renaissance's interest in pastoral genre of classical poets in which shepherd-poets come together to recount their woes in song. Among such historical vignettes of recounted woes is Rome's fall in 410 to Alaric:

> I shall remind you of the low estate to which the Goths reduced the grandeur of Rome, and how they avenged those nations throughout the world whom Rome had harmed. They killed Rome's children; they sacked her wealth; they set fire to her proud buildings and sumptuous palaces; they broke the memorable statues of her emperors and illustrious generals; and they pickaxed the marble slabs, the noteworthy antiquities which gave life to Rome's fame, on which the Romans had sculptured the account of their victories and exploits. The Goths were not content to avenge themselves on the living Romans; they determined to destroy the memory of their past, which they had preserved in sculptured stone. And for an entire year Rome was not inhabited by rational creatures, but by wild and poisonous beasts. Thus you see that the Roman Empire suffered a grievous punishment; it was not only left impoverished, without territory or subjects, but its memory and fame (like that of other peoples who committed so much evil) were nearly expunged. (162; Cohen translation)[88]

[88] Soomente te lembro a baixeza em que reduzieron os godos as grandezas de Roma, e á notauel vingança que derom a quantos ella pelo mundo offendido auia, matandolhe seus filhos, saqueiandolhe suas riquezas abrasandolhe seus soberbos edificios, e sumptuosos paços,

What Zacuto concisely conveys with the valence of his word choice, Usque represents in vivid imagery. Though here the children of Rome are not eaten by their parents, they are killed. But Usque's main emphasis is less on the human dimension than on culture and art. The Goths "set fire to her proud buildings and sumptuous palaces … broke the memorable statues … pickaxed the marble slabs, the noteworthy antiquities." As Usque puts it, the Goths' violence is directed not only "on the living Romans" but on "the memory of their past, which they had preserved in sculptured stone." Though differing from Zacuto's imagery, Usque's *Consolação* is equally an undoing of human civilization, or perhaps more accurately human culture, at the hands of Gothic destruction. The already vivid imagery concludes with further vision of Rome in rubble and ruins, inhabited for the duration of a full year by irrational "creatures … wild and poisonous beasts" (criaturas racionaes de feras e venenosas bichas).

Despite hailing from different Iberian nations and choosing to write in different languages,[89] Zacuto and Usque both illustrate how the texts that comprise this revival of Jewish historiography shared not only an interest in the history of non-Jewish peoples but also similar ideological dispositions to such histories.

And that this Jewish historiographic imagination condemns the Visigothic legacy in ways that echo what we have seen and will continue to see in the writings of judeoconversos is a further illustration of broader affinities between those Jews who chose to convert after 1391 and those forced to leave in 1492, 1497 and onward.[90] But their historiographic visions and ethnographic attitudes bear differences as well. Despite the horror and bleakness with which Usque paints his Sack of Rome, he also frames it as an act that "avenged those nations throughout the world whom Rome had harmed" including, of course, the people of Judea. Indeed, the very title of the section, "Consolation for the Loss of the Second Temple," echoes that of the work as a whole and thus presents the Visigothic Sack of Rome as a sort of providential (and poetic) justice for the Roman Sack of Jerusalem, as source of consolation. Though perhaps we can still see the ruthlessness with which the Goths are depicted as an indication that even in Usque's eyes they went too far with their destruction of Roman art and architecture, the very framing of the Sack of Rome as a consolation for Jews nonetheless casts the Goths as avengers. Such suggestion is a far cry from Zacuto's framing of the Gothic sack on Rome as an attack on Jewish Sepharad.

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quebrandolhe as memoraueis estatuas de sues emperadores e asinalados capitaes, desfazendolhe que dauam vida a suas famas e onde tinham os Romanos esculpidoo treslado de suas vitorias e façanhas. Por que nam se contentando da vingança presente detreminarom consumirlhe a memoria que nestas taes pedras tinham estes enemigos entesourado. E alem disto esteue Roma hũ año ynteira deserta de criaturas racionaes de feras e venenosas bichas habitada. Assi que per vltima concrusão te digo que ouue tal castigo este ymperio que de sicar pobre e despojado de todo o que senhoreaua e lhe obedeçia soi sua lembrança, e nome quasi assolado, e das outras gentes que tanto mal fizerom. (1906: xlii-xliii)

[89] Usque discusses his decision to write in Portuguese in the *Consolação's* preface, but interestingly enough the choice he saw himself presented with was not Portuguese or Hebrew but Portuguese or Castilian.

[90] It is possible that Usque's family lived as conversos before leaving Portugal.

Indeed, where Usque's *Consolação* juxtaposes the sackings of Jerusalem and Rome as intertwined – the latter as providential retribution for the former – Zacuto presents the Visigothic Sacking of Rome as the beginning of a different set and series of calamities. Having established the Visigothic conquest and occupation of Spain/Sepharad, Zacuto is sure to present both its intellectual culture as well as its downfall:

> In 814 (615 of the Christians), died Isidore, the bishop of Seville, called Isidore Baladin Sebilii. He was a discipline of Pope Gregory. He wrote books on astronomy, theology, cosmography and history from Adam the first man until his days. He was the man who knew through astronomy what would happen in nine hundred years. He lived in the days of Muhammad and died seventeen years before him [and in that time the Goth king of Spain forced the Jews to convert to Christianity, in the days of Isidore, as is written In the History of the Popes] … in 844 (or 834) the Ishmaelites came to Alexandria and conquered part of Africa, the Isle of Rhodes and the Isle of the Colossus; they took ninety camels [of gold] and sent them to Alexandria. They also went and ruined many places in Sicily. Then the Ishmaelites killed 150,000 Christians. Afterwards they went to Spain/Sepharad, defeated the Goths who were in Spain/Sepharad and ruined Spain/Sepharad. (595)[91]

This passage brings together the various concerns that motivate Zacuto's *Yohassin* as well as the many historiographic traditions within which the text exists. The laudatory statements about Isidore of Seville and his intellectual production would be more surprising were they not so similar in tone to the praises we saw written by Zacuto's converso brethren. But of course, this nonetheless stands out because, unlike them, Zacuto never made the turn to the Christian faith and tradition. As it was with Pablo de Santa María, Zacuto's description of Isidore is such that he might just as well be writing about (and praising) himself. Isidore's intellectual profile is strikingly analogous to that of Zacuto, from the advances made in astronomy to the historiographic chronicle that in recounting the "history of Adam the first man until his days" (ודברי הימים מאדם הראשון עד זמנו) could also serve as a descriptor for his own *Yohassin*.

Yet just as Zacuto's readers might hope that such parallels could extend to a broader shared set of values between the Sephardic Jews and Christian culture under the Visigoths, Zacuto makes clear that learning and politics are two very separate realms. The *Yohassin's* description of Isidore and his output as an author is quickly followed by an account of the forced conversions that the Sephardim faced under the Visigothic King Sisebut. But just as quickly – after chronicling the reigning years of a few emperors – Zacuto finds himself narrating the Moorish invasion of Iberia (here also dubbed Sepharad thrice within the final sentence). Indeed,

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91 בשנת תתי״ד שהוא סנת תרט״ו לנוצרים מת אישידרו הגמון שיביליא שנקרא אישפלינסי בלטין שביליאי והוא תלמיד גריגורין הפפא. וזה עשה ספרים ותכונה וטואולגיאה וקושמוגרגיה ודברי הימים מאדם הראשון עד זמנו. וזה האיש הוא שידע בתכונה בה שעתיד להיות עד יותר מתת״ק שנא והוא בזמן בוחמד ומת י״כ שנ׳ם קודם למוחמד [ואז בזה הזמן מלך ספרד מלך להגודוש טסה בכח ליהודים שיחזרו נוצרים בזמן איזידורי כאשר כתוב בדברי ימימ מפפא] ... ובשנת תתמ״,, באו הישמעאלים לאלסכנדריאה ולקחו קצת אפריקה ולקחו לאי רודוש ואי קולושו ולקחו מכל זה תשעים גלמים (מזהב) ושלחום לאלסכנדריא ובאו גם כן לשיזיליא והשחיתו [בה] הרבה מקומות. והרגו אז הישמעאלים בנוצרים ק״נ אלף איש. בקרוב נכנסו לספרד ונצחו לגודוש שבספרד והשחיתו [ל]ספרד (350).

Zacuto's chronology moves from the Moorish invasion of 711 up to 672 AD and thus much closer to the death of Isidore and the reign of Sisebut that concluded in 621 AD. Added to such chronological proximity is the rapidity of Zacuto's own telling of the events, which creates a juxtaposition ripe with providential implications. And as much is likewise said by what Zacuto leaves out: nowhere do Zacuto's readers learn of Don Rodrigo and his lustful actions toward Florinda (aka La Cava) or how the uncle of the latter, Don Julian, sought his revenge by inviting Tariq and his Moorish soldiers into the Iberian Peninsula. Instead, Zacuto's readers must surely find themselves asking: what else could the Moorish (Ishmaelite) defeat of the Goths, their killing of 150,000 and conquest of Spain/Sepharad be except for divine retribution for the Visigoth's treatment of the Jews? Yet unlike the exiles of Jerusalem we encountered at the beginning of our discussion within the pages of Abraham ibn Daud's *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, the early modern Sephardic readers of Zacuto's *Yohassin* and Usque's *Consolação* had no Roman leader to bring them back to their Sepharad.

# CHAPTER THREE

## CONVERSOS AND CABALLEROS:
## *Hispania and Gothicism in the Humanist Literature of Late Medieval Castile*

### From Father to Son: Writing the Letrado from Pablo to Alonso Santa María

The preceding chapter traced the development of two historiographic traditions in medieval Iberia. During both the Middle Ages and in the aftermath of the 1492 expulsion, Sephardic Jews wrote historiographies (mostly in Hebrew, but occasionally in romance languages) that connected a Sephardic past to the classical-colonial history of Iberia as Roman Hispania. Such historiographic vision evoked an image of the Roman Empire as a political structure that tolerated and accommodated ethno-religious pluralism. Yet between the Sephardic Middle Ages and 1492 and in the wake of the mass conversions that followed the 1391 pogroms, Castile also witnessed the revival of Gothicism. These writings drew on the earlier histories of Isidore of Seville and the Toledan bishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, but they also took on new qualities. For the caballero aristocrats who saw themselves as descendants of these Christian Visigothic warriors, such histories were not only chronicles of events (battles, coronations, usurpations, etc.) but also testimonial accounts of the supposedly unbroken lineage between a Visigothic and Castilian feudal aristocracy. With such genealogical narratives, Castile's caballero aristocrats possessed a weapon that legitimized their control of politics and society, and this historiographic legitimation they coupled with an emerging discourse of race that further equated the Old Christian lineage of Visigothic ancestry with the imagined biological marker of 'pura e limpia sangre.'

Limpieza de Sangre thus arose as a mechanism to bypass the religious category of conversion and thereby exclude Judeoconversos based on notions of Jewish blood, race and biology. The discursive and ideological linkage between Limpieza de Sangre and Gothicism thus created a problem for those Judeoconversos who had worked to inscribe themselves with the national fabric by contributing to the writing of a Visigothic past. Eventually this problem would be resolved by turning back to Hispania.

When previous Judeoconversos contributed their own works of historiography, they more closely followed the Visigothic model of their caballero-Christian counterparts rather than their Sephardic forefathers or still-Jewish brethren whose eyes were turned to an Iberian past that sought interconnections between Jewish Sepharad and Roman Hispania. And yet, within such converso-authored Visigothic histories, authors like the bishop Pablo de Santa María found a way to emphasize their own position in and contribution to Castilian society, if not per se as Judeoconversos than through their positions as university-educated letrados. Though not all Judeoconversos were letrados (namely only those with the sufficient financial resources and social connections) and not all letrados Judeoconversos, the figure of the letrado presented an image of communal participation based in neither shared blood-lineage nor military service. Instead, the Judeoconverso letrado offered cultural and intellectual contributions, arts not of war but of peace that would ensure social stability and civilizational flourishing. The letrado, at times projected historically backward onto the figure of the Churchman (as we saw in Pablo's evocation of St. Augustine), was thus imagined not only as a social alternative to the aristocratic

caballero Visigoth but even as a check on the latter's warrior tendencies toward military violence with its potential for destruction and ruination. Indeed, while Judeoconverso and Sephardic authors differed on whether to emphasize Spain as Visigothic versus Spain as Hispano-Roman, they shared an understanding that as a people the Goths were a potentially, even innately, destructive force on civilization.

The figures of the converso and the caballero and their authorial contributions will continue to dominate the cultural climate of Castile as the fifteenth century unfolds. Both the creative cross-pollination that exists between them as well as moments of fissure and divide will inform how the communities which made up late medieval Spain saw themselves in relation to one another and to their nation's past, and from there went on to inform Spanish letters more broadly in the transition from the late Middle ages to the beginning of the Renaissance.

Within the Judeoconverso wish to de-emphasize blood lineage and genealogical descent, Pablo de Santa María's project is first assumed (somewhat ironically) by his own blood-relation in his son Alonso de Santa María, also known as Alonso de Cartagena.[92] Already in the advance of one generation, from father to son, we see how the methods and principles of early Renaissance humanism that were on the rise in Italy would likewise take a foothold in fifteenth-century Castile. Since Italian humanists were also concerned with the writing of history and exploring the origins of political communities (be they city-states, regional kingdoms or nations), the sorts of historiographic texts that were the focus of the previous chapter will continue to play a role, but they will be joined by other forms of writing and literature that were coming to define humanist and Renaissance culture: translations from classical languages into the vernacular, political and religious treatises, historiography not only in chronicle form but biography, and perhaps most importantly, verse poetry. Such expansion of literary form and genre is once again already seen in the writings of Alonso de Cartagena, particular in his work as a translator of the classics. But following Alonso are a host of authors, both converso and caballero, who came to mark the transition from Spain's late medieval to its Renaissance literature, authors such as Juan de Mena, the Marqués de Santillana and Jorge Manrique.

And yet, even with this greater variety of authors and their litery genre, many concerns will continue to appear familiar. Like Pero López de Ayala, the caballero authors who follow him continue to see and write of themselves as inheritors of a Visigothic past. And like Pablo de Santa María, the judeoconverso authors who follow him continue to participate in the mythology of Gothicism while simultaneously searching for and articulating alternatives. But it does not take long for judeoconversos to realize that the most powerful alternative to the Gothic ethos of blood-purity and chivalric militarism is not achieved by subverting Gothicism from within but rather by turning to new models and images of nationhood. Though the converso figures of this chapter's focus hardly abandon Gothicism and its values, these authors begin to turn to the very historical image of Spain that their Sephardic ancestors and brethren embraced: that of Roman Hispania. This too begins rather quickly. Among the classical authors whom Alonso de Cartagena translated is the Cordovan-born Hispano-Roman philosopher and tragedian Seneca; indeed, Cartagena's is the first translation of Seneca undertaken in any vernacular language.

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[92] Like his father Pablo de Santa María, Alonso de Santa María was a leading intellectual of his generation who, also like his father, started his career through the Church, first in the city of Murcia, the seat of the Dioceses of Cartagena, from which he took the name Cartagena.

While connections between the Sephardic interest in Roman Hispania and the later judeoconverso turn should not be dismissed, it is unlikely that such connections were direct. While the once rabbi Solomon ha-Levi and later Pablo de Santa María could certainly read fluently (and indeed left us writings in) Hebrew, it is less likely that the same is true of his son, that Alonso was pouring over the Hebrew prose of Abraham ibn Daud or pages of the *Sefer ha-Zichronot*. What is more likely is that such image of Roman Hispania conformed to the Classical values of Renaissance humanism that was increasingly influencing the very educational training by which such men became 'letrados.' Of course, we should also remember that Sephardic images of Hispania were all something of an outgrowth of I Maccabees where the Roman conquest of Iberia was woven into a praise of Rome's political pluralism as an empire of religious and ethnic diversity. The Sephardic turn to Roman Hispania thus had from its beginnings anticipated humanism's valorization of Classical culture. So while Sephardic authors might not have had a direct influence on the later Judeoconverso letrado humanists, both came to see in Hispania the images and ideals of a similar communal model.

Already of concern at the beginning of the fifteenth century, matters of religious and ethnic pluralism came to hold even greater importance as the decades moved along and when the rhetoric of "pura e limpia sangre" took on legal codification with the Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre of Toledo in 1449. Roman Hispania thus spoke to both components of the judeoconverso letrado's identity, to the letrado with his classically-grounded humanist education and to the converso who was excluded by the blood-purity of Gothicism yet who nonetheless sought connection to Spanish history and nationhood.

Speaking at once to ethno-racial categories as well as to socio-political role and status, Hispania's dual sense of meaning for the letrado likewise calls our attention to the dynamics of Spanish identity formation at this transition point from the medieval to the early modern. As discussed in our introduction, investigations into Spanish identity reached a peak with the so-called Hispanidad debates between Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Américo Castro. Castro, as we remember, denied the Hispano-Roman past any influence on modern Spanish identity, insisting that Hispanidad was composed of more decidedly Semitic origins and ingredients, both Moorish/morisco and Jewish/judeoconverso. Though such a stance painted him as the more progressive and open-minded of the two interlocutors, in more recent decades the implications of his argument have been reconsidered by historians of religion such as David Nirenberg as well by hispanists Paul Julian Smith and John Beverley.

John Beverley's evaluation proves particularly relevant to our discussion. Analyzing, and to a large extent accepting, Castro's preferred term of caste/casta over race because of the former's ability to encompass a sense of ethno-religious identity, Beverley proposes that what is in fact needed is an expansion of our understanding that furthermore includes socio-economic class. Beverley turns to the very wording of the statutes of blood-purity to remind us that in addition to targeting conversos and moriscos, the statutes further protected the hereditary nobility by likewise excluding from high offices and honors the "descendientes de villanos" (those descended from of peasants/commoners; 144).[93] Despite the title of his essay – "Caste or Class:

[93] Readers of *Don Quixote* are also familiar with the opposing myth that was in fact Castile's peasants and farmers who lay claim to Old Christian heritage; Sancho Panza states that "aunque pobre, soy cristiano viejo" (I.47; p. 563) (although poor, I'm an Old Christian; translation my own) and an earlier chapter describes "labradores, gente llana, sin mezcla de alguna raza mal

A Critique of the Castro Thesis" – Beverley does not see the two as mutually exclusive or as presenting a choice; instead, he concludes that we must see caste and class as "lived through" one another, as mutually informing categories (146).

Though Beverley does not discuss the historiographic images and discourse at the center of our analysis, his remarks are only further supported by what we have seen in the caballero aristocrats who present themselves as the descendants of Visigothic Christian warriors. Like much of Beverley's scholarship, his critique of the Castro thesis is informed by Marxist literary theory. As our own discussion has been informed more by political and social theorists such as Hannah Arendt and Michel Foucault who analyze the very writing of history, we add yet another element to Beverley's; we can conclude that just as caste and class were shared experiences lived through one another, so too were experiences shaped by narratives of history that imagined and constructed a discourse where class and caste were always already intertwined.

Against the Old Christian noblemen who use to their advantage statutes of blood-purity (or in our case Visigothic histories), Beverley identifies a new rising social class: "the "emergence of a new type of bourgeois intellectual or *letrado* … steeped in nominalism and the new secularism of academic Humanism" (144).[94] By introducing humanism into his analysis of class and caste, Beverley's outline of Spanish society further mirrors the direction that our own analysis will take. And yet, the heavy collapse of the humanist and letrado with a "new type of bourgeois intellectual" also raises for us a flag of caution.

During the Middle Ages, social hierarchy was based as much, if not more, on familial lineage and the structures of feudalism as much as on wealth, a situation made even more complex in Iberia with the added dimension of a large non-Christian population, including of Sephardic Jews and Judeoconversos who lived among Christians. By the end of this chapter and especially in the next, we will encounter Judeoconverso letrados who are of decidedly humble origins and are thus closer to something like an emerging Spanish (proto-)bourgeois middle class. But as we remember, such was certainly not the case of the Santa María family, who in their previous existence as Jews were something of a Sephardic aristocracy. In Alonso de Cartagena we thus see the discourse of social class working itself out just as it comes into existence. As the most elite Judeoconverso of his time, Alonso de Cartagena shows us what it means to be simultaneously excluded from the aristocracy yet also closely connected to it, to be neither nobleman nor middle class. Having secured his intellectual position as a bishop, Cartagena is likewise a ways off from the "new secularism" that Beverley proposes. Yet it is Cartagena who first shifts the image of the letrado away of that of the churchmen and toward a non-Christian and thus secularizing association of Roman Hispania. Indeed, fellow Judeoconverso author Mosén Diego de Valera would go on to defend the idea that conversos could enter the Castilian nobility with his *Verdadero espejo de la nobleza* (1441) which includes

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sonante, y, como suele decirse, cristianos viejos granciosos" (I.28, p. 348) (farmers, simple people, without mix of any disreputable races, as they say, the oldest of the Old Christians). See note 4 of the previous chapter for an account of how scholars have been divided, yet also sought to reconcile, these two strains of aristocratic and popular claims to Old Christianity.

[94] Beverley's specific focus is not any of the Judeoconverso humanist we will be focus on, but rather author of the tragicomic *Celestina* Fernando de Rojas. The transition from a caste to class-based society is also a central line of discussion in Anthony Cascardi's *Ideologies of History in the Spanish Golden Age* (2000).

an entire chapter on the many Romans who came from humble beginnings yet attained senatorial and even consular rank, the so-called "novus homo."[95] And though in our introduction we saw Tacitus depict Seneca fretting over his provincial origins and equestrian status, in one of his moral letters to Lucilius, the Hispano-Roman provides a philosophical defense of the concept of the "novus homo" by writing that, "If there is any good in philosophy, it is this: it has no regard for genealogy … It is the mind that confers nobility" (*Ep*. 44, p. 129-130; Graver and Long translation) (Si quid est aliud in philosophia boni, hoc est, quod stemma non inspicit … animus facit nobilem). We shall see Cartagena turn to Seneca as an exemplar of not only philosophical virtue but also of the broader cultural merits of the Hispano-Roman legacy, and in so doing he gestures to a connective line between the Roman "novus homo" and the Judeoconverso "cristiano nuevo."[96]

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[95] Valera's list of novi homines includes figures such as Terence and Cato (96). Valera is likewise discussed by Bruce Rosenstock in his aptly titled *New Men: Conversos, Christian Theology, and Society in Fifteenth-Century Castile* (2002: 49). However, despite the work's title foregrounding "new men", Rosenstock focuses far more on how Judeoconversos used theology to defend themselves, rather than how they turned to classical humanism. However, he does frame Judeoconveso intellectual production as a response to the racial discourse of limpieza de sangre (13) and likewise refutes the claim that letrados were uniquely behind the Inquisition (15-16)

[96] In his *Spanish Humanism in the Fifteenth Century* (1973), Ottavio di Camillo writes that :

> Cartagena promoted a civic humanism suitable to Spain, but similar to the Italian counterpart in its concern for man as a citizen, as well as a responsible part of the state or society. This new attitude toward the intellectual or speculative life and the practical and active life was shared by the more enlightened "letrados" who, whether "conversos" like Cartagnea, or old Christians, had one thing in common. From obscure origins they had risen by virtue of their learning and professional education, to share the political and administrative power which had previously been the domain of the nobility. As secretaries, legal advisers, historians and diplomats at the service of the king or a magnate, these "letrados' acquired a new social and political awareness, to the point that we can even perceive among them the development of a class consciousness (xiv).

As this passage suggests, my own discussion shares points of overlap with, and is surely indebted to aspects of Camillo's study, but overall Camillo becomes more concerned with dissecting the philosophical theories and principles of these humanists, how they reworked and adapted the earlier philosophies of virtue, knowledge and poetry from Classical Antiquity or the Middle Ages. My own discussion is less concerned with such abstract philosophical notions and more with the ethno-religious and socio-political implications.

## Three Identities and Three Roles: The Letrado-Converso-Roman as Educator-Wife-Knight

Before he would translate into Spanish the works of the Iberian-born Seneca, Alonso de Cartagena translated two works of the Roman orator and statesman Cicero.[97] As with Pero López de Ayala's translation of Livy, Cartagena's 1422 Cicero thus represents the centrality of vernacular translation for the early humanism of Castile.[98] And as we also saw in the Gothic-infused preface of Ayala's Livy, Cartagena's own prefatory remarks reflect a mentality not wholly divorced from the Castilian Middle Ages. When Cartagena takes up his father's project of defining and redefining the role of the letrado in Castilian society, he thus does so within a framework still very much informed by the social structures of feudalism and a feudalistic worldview. But unlike Ayala and more like his father Pablo, Cartagena's feudal-humanist eclecticism seems less in contradiction with itself and more an attempt to bring humanist values into harmony with institutions still entrenched with the feudal of medieval Castile. Just has Pablo elided the figure of the Churchman with that of the more secular letrado who seemed less concerned with theology than the stability and flourishing of society, so too we see Alonso take the basic notion that feudal society was divided into 'Three Orders'[99] – those who fight (lords and knights), those who labor (serfs, peasants, and artisans), and those who pray (priests and monks – but substitute the last order with the letrado, not as a figure who prays but as one who learns and teaches:

> Non que diga que todos sean letrados, ca la governaçión de la cosa pública non lo padesçe, porque muchos son nesçesarios para labrar la tierra e otros para defender e algunos para negoçiar e otros para ofiçios e artefiçios que goviernan e fazen fermosa la çivilidad; pero, cada uno en quanto en sí es, deve querer e preçiar el saber. E los que del todo se podieren dar a ello, resçíbanlo con deleitaçieón e áyanlo por buen exerçiçio; los otros, deléitense en oír algo. (1996: 155-56)

> It should not be said that all should be letrados, for the governing of public affairs could not support this, as many are necessary to work the land and others to defend and some to conduct commerce and others for the offices and crafts that govern and make beautiful our civilization. But everyone as much as is in them, should desire and value knowing. And those who can give themselves over in full to this pursuit, should receive it with delight and tend to it with diligence; and the rest should delight themselves by hearing a bit. (my translation)

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[97] Our dating of the first manuscript editions of Cartagena's *Cinco libros de Séneca* remains uncertain, but it is likely it occurred sometime (though perhaps shortly) before 1434, and thus likely after Cartagena had already completed his 1422 translations of Cicero.
[98] In his overview of "Converso Authors, Chronicles, and Polemicists", Norman Roth identifies that, as with Spanish humanism more broadly, "the translation of classical works [was] again dominated by conversos" (157).
[99] For an analysis of the three orders in medieval culture (though one focused primarily on France and with little to say about Castile or Spain, see Georges Duby's *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (1980).

Cartagena has certainly separated out the duties of the letrados from those who defend the republic or work its lands, but he also poses a question as to whether the learning of the letrado is always confined to the purview of this particular profession or whether it is a universal aspiration toward which all in society should aspire. Cartagena's own formulation rests on something of a rhetorical shift; the spheres of social duty are separate – "pero"/but – all who are capable of it, should nonetheless devote themselves to acquiring knowledge. But extending the social scope of letrado learning does not dilute the letrado's place in society; in fact, it reinforces such position. When Cartagena broadens the activity and aims of learning, he ends up formulating an active/passive hierarchy wherein letrados actively delight in the activity of tending diligently to knowledge ("áyanlo por buen exerçiçio") while the rest of society delights in the passive reception of merely hearing such knowledge in bits ("deléitense en oír algo"). The letrado possess more of the knowledge to which all aspire and thus becomes a mediator by which the other members of society must receive such knowledge.

Cartagena's image of letrados as social stewards of knowledge is not far removed from the image that his father previously presented where the stability of society required the "ciençia" of learned figures such as Isidore of Seville or, at a later date, Pablo himself. Indeed, this implied parallel between the learned Isidore and the letrado Santa María is more explicitly made by Alfonso in another work, a treatise written in defense of Spain's judeoconversos as authentic Christians, *Defensorium Unitatis Christianae* (*Defense of Christian Unity*), published very shortly after the first Estatutos de limpieza de sangre were codified in 1449 in Toledo.

Cartagena's *Defensorium* is dedicated to the same recipient as Ayala's Livy, King Juan II of Castile, and in his dedicatory preface Cartagena presents to his king advice that Isidore had given to the Visigothic princes under whom he had served, the advice that they rule in a state of mutual dependence with the Church.[100] With such quotation, the preface of the *Defensorium* becomes something like a discursive set of nesting dolls: Cartagena reminds Juan II of Isidore's advice to earlier monarchs so that Juan II better keep in mind the advice that Cartagena himself, as something of a present day Isidore of Seville, is presenting in this work.

As his words are directly addressed to Juan II, Cartagena has taken his father's poetic and historiographic image of Church-state / letrado-monarchical union and made sure that both the components and the implications of such a union are not lost on his king. Beyond providing such clarity, Cartagena likewise intensifies the Spanish national context by dubbing Isidore an "insigni ysidoro, incola yspanie vestre" (illustrious Isidore, inhabitant of your Spain; ibid). Having brought Isidore's advice into a contemporaneous context, Cartagena then nationalizes him. Isidore's words are valuable not only because he is a learned Church Father, but because he is a Spaniard (incola yspanie), an inhabitant of the same nation over which Juan II reigns.

Such rhetoric of nationhood is both accompanied by and, I would argue, connected to the increasing importance of humanism in Cartagena's Castile. While Pablo's *Siete edades* as universal history in verse stands, more or less, neatly within medieval traditions of poetry and historiography, Alonso's writings, as we have already seen, embrace not only more humanist-

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[100] "The princes of God's world should know that they must especially head the reason/advice of the Church of Christ if they are to receive support" (translation my own) (cognoscant principes seculi deo se debere esse reddituros rationem propter ecclesiam quam a Christo tuendam suscipiunt; 1943: 62).

inspired images of society but also the genres of humanist writing. Indeed, in Octavio di Camillo's study of Cartagena, he states that the *Defensorium* contains what is quite likely the first articulation of humanism and 'humanist study' in Spain.[101] This too occurs in the *Defensorium's* prologue, in a moment where Cartagena compliments Juan II's ability to discuss intellectual matters:

> For in fact there is immense pleasure in your conversation, which Your Serenity is dignified to show frequently in scholastic matters. Many are those who perceive with clear-sighted faith, and among those many am I now, and have felt myself to be at other times when I discuss with Your Highness, as much in spoken conversation as in writing, scholastic matters and *humanistic studies*.
>
> Inesse namque ingentem dulcidenem conversationi vestre quam in scolasticis actibus interdum exhibere serenitas vestra digantur: plurimi sunt qui occulata fide senserunt / et inter plurimus ego nunc/ et aliis temporibus sensi cum scholastica quedam ac *humanitatis studia* cum celsitudine vestra tam verbalibus colloquiis quam scriptis plerumque tractarem. (ibid, emphasis added)

As scholars once argued that the Semitic presence of Sephardim and Moors in Iberia challenged (if not wholly negated) the very idea that Spain experienced a Renaissance, it is no doubt ironically fitting that this very first mention of humanism in Spanish letter is housed within a defense of Spain's judeoconversos.[102] This placement of humanistic rhetoric within a defense of judeoconversos thus further supports Beverley's revision and expansion of the Castro Thesis with the claim that the interconnectedness of ethno-religious caste and socio-political class likewise takes us in the direction of the new letrado humanist.

And where some scholars deny Spain a Renaissance due to Semitic heritage, others do so by pointing to a political structure absent any tradition of republicanism.[103] Such narrow equating of Renaissance humanism with republican politics is no doubt centered on the Renaissance's supposedly Florentine origins. But while political, cultural and intellectual historians of Italy have broadened their idea of the Renaissance beyond the Florence of Petrarch, Bruno and Salutati, to recognize and better appreciate the intellectual and cultural contributions of Ferrara, Rome, and even the Aragonese-controlled Naples, such a more expansive Renaissance has yet to include fully the contemporaneous situation of fifteenth-century Castile under Juan II. But when Cartagena invokes the notion of humanist study, he does so to present Juan II as nothing short of a Renaissance prince.

Where in his translation of Cicero, Cartagena had presented the letrados as the active disseminators in a hierarchy of knowledge, such hierarchy has now been leveled into a more

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[101] Ottavio di Camillo makes this observation, but relegates it to a footnote and does not expound on its significance for understanding the overlaps between humanist intellectual culture and Judeoconverso society; see his *Spanish Humanism* (13n.12).
[102] See Ameríco Castro's "The Problem of the Spanish Renaissance" (1977).
[103] For such argument see Nicholas Round's "Renaissance Culture and its Opponents in Fifteenth-Century Castile" (1962), however such mentality also goes back to foundational definitions of the Renaissance in Jakob Burkhardt and Hans Baron, either implicitly or explicitly.

egalitarian two-way conversation. "Scholastic matters and humanistic studies" are evoked less in reference to Cartagena's own intellectual activities but to those of Juan II who displays a princely ability to write and discuss philosophy and letters with at ease. And this "humanitatis studia" is not merely an intellectual commitment of Cartagena's gained through his engagement with Cicero, Seneca and other Classical authors, but one shared between him and his king Juan II. The monarch now educates the letrado.

Within the chapters of the *Defensorium*, yet another hierarchy and mode of relation is presented, that of marriage between husband and wife. And as we delve into the *Defensorium's* defense of the judeoconverso, we see how when constructing such a defense, Cartagena drew not only on the intellectual figure and contributions of the letrado humanist (who quite frequently, as in his case, included university-educated judeoconversos) but also on imagery of a decidedly Jewish and Hebrew nature, or more accurately, and image of the letrado that blended the humanist and Hebrew traditions. By embracing rather than rejecting the Hebrew heritage of the converso, the *Defensorium* illustrates that even though Cartagena never himself contributed to the intellectual culture of the Sephardim as his father had done, and even though Cartagena exemplifies a further progression toward the humanist study of classical antiquity, such humanism is not entirely removed from the Sephardic roots we examined in our previous chapter.

Unlike Sephardic precursors like Abraham ibn Daud, however, Cartagena does not explicitly refer to either Goths or Hispano-Romans in the pages of the *Defensorium* (or, for that matter, anywhere else aside from his prefatory reference to Isidore as "yspanie"). But as Bruce Rosenstock has pointedly observed, the work contains an image of ethnographic union that can rather neatly map onto Spain's bifurcated origins between Old Christians of purported Visigothic ancestry and the New Christians/'cristianos nuevos" of Semitic descent.[104] As the title itself suggests, a central theme of Cartagena's work is the very idea of unity. Primarily, this unity is religious, that of the Church and its believers, but not far behind such image of religious unity is that of a unified Spanish society and national identity. The *Defensorium* arrives at its image of unity by first proposing a binary division of human populations, a division that, according to Cartagena, has played out again and again over the course of human history, that has "endured for many age" (magnis duravit temporibus; I.5; p. 75):

> From such divisions, a difference among peoples is born that endured for many ages. There are those peculiar and small in number who live in a fixed and promised land under the written law. And there are those many in number and great in power who are spread throughout the entire world, dispersed and living without the law of God through scripture.
>
> Ex hiis divisionibus differentia populorum exorta magnis duravit temporibus. Illi pauci et peculiares intra certam promissionis terram sub lege scripta morantes. Isti multi numero et grandi potentia suffulti per universas plagas orbis disperse sine lege dei per scriptarum late vixerunt. (I.5; p. 75)

[104] See his "Alonso de Cartagena: Nation, Miscegenation, and the Jew in Late-Medieval Castile" (especially 190-92).

As Cartagena sees it, the peoples of the world are divided between those who stay put and those who migrate. But of course, the division implies more than that; those who roam the world have the power of force (grandi potentia) while those who stay put have God's law (sub lege scripta).

With regard to these latter "peculiar" people – few in number, who live by God's law and remain within a fixed territory – Cartagena clearly seems to have in mind the Hebrew people with their homeland in Israel and the Jewish law code that Moses received at Mount Sinai. But the identification of the second more dispersed group who lack God's law is less clear. Perhaps these people who are spread throughout the earth are the Romans with their expanding empire of colonial conquest? Or perhaps they are the migratory Goths who make their way across the Europe of Late Antiquity battling and conquering, as we already saw described in the chronicles of Alfonso X and Ayala? Of course, such multiplicity of options is also Cartagena's point: the framework is one that repeats itself different with peoples conforming to the same dual categories.

But greater clarity is provided a few chapters later when Cartagena returns to this schema, this time referencing its originary source material in the Book of Isaiah where the image takes on a gendered language of sons and daughters, husbands and wives, fathers and mothers:

> Sons that come from afar and daughters who grow up close by, as it is pronounced. This label of 'sons' is not unsuitable for the gentiles who roam far from the law, thus signifying that those who are strong in arms and who excessively drag themselves diffused throughout the earth, rightly earn the designation of the masculine sex, since it is usually the sons who wander from the houses of their fathers and even the provinces of their own patria. But certainly 'daughters' designates the Jewish people, since daughters tend to remain at home, just as this [Jewish] people kept within the limits of their promised land and descended from Jacob who remained at home peacefully. But Esau went hunting, often wandering this way and that. All, however, both sons and daughters, should converge not in diverse but rather one place.
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> filios de longe venturos et filias de latere surrecturas pronunciat, filiorum appelatione non incongrue gentiles qui longe e lege errant. significans, qui potentia armorum ac terrarium diffusione nimium preextollentes, sub masculinio sexu non inmerito designari merebantur. Solent enim filii extra domos parentum et etiam provincias patrie proprie vagari. Filie vero iudaicum populum designabant, quia sicunt filie domi consistere solent, sec et illi certos fines promisse terre morabantur et iacob a quo descendebant, domi manebat quietus. Esau ad venationem hac et illac sepe vagante. Omnes tamen filii et filie in unum non in diversis locis congregandi erant. (I.9; p. 87-88)

As before, the people who wander are associated with force, this time even more explicitly the militaristic force of arms. And what was before left to insinuation – that those who remain in one place are the Jewish people – is here made explicit. Cartagena also elevates the political stakes of this later passage, injecting a series of terms that decidedly belong to the world of territorial politics; the militaristic sons wander beyond "the provinces of their own patria," while

the Jewish daughters keep "within the limits/borders [fines]" of their homeland. Yet at the same time, Cartagena also adds an additional biblical element with the parallel to Jacob and of Esau.

By more specifically turning to the paradigm of Jacob and Esau, the *Defensorium* again points us back to authors of Sepharad, to both the historian Abraham Ibn Daud and the poet Judah HaLevi who had both equated the Visigoths with the decedents Esau. Intentional or not, Cartagena's binary participates within and continues this Sephardic framework. But where the earlier Sephardim had used this biblical genealogy to articulate difference and even enmity (Esau as enemy of Jacob, Edom as perpetual enemy of Israel), Cartagena has found room for synthesis: the sons will marry the daughters.

The biblical genealogy of Iberia's Sephardim is not the only historiographic image the passage evokes. That very 'renowned Spaniard' whom Cartagena evoked in his preface, Isidore of Seville, had, we remember from our first chapter, offered his own vision of intermarriage between the (also roaming) Visigothic kings and the territorial land of Hispania allegorized as a woman and bride. As we shall see later in our discussion, Cartagena was intimately familiar with Isidore's writing of Gothic history, and thus would have surely known of the Isidorian marital image of Hispania to Goth. Though not labeled as such, Cartagena's Israel has in a sense become Hispania. Isidore's very image of Hispania was that of a feminized land wed to the political rule of Gothic sovereignties. Similarly, Cartagena emphasizes that the betrothed daughters of Isaiah are a landed people. And yet, where Isidore personified and allegorized territory as bride, Cartagena retains a greater sense of the collective population; his patria is less turned into a woman than it is peopled with those daughters who have remained within its borders. And with this shift from personification to populating, Cartagena has populated Hispania as a land of Jews.[105] The Hispano-Roman wife of Isidore and the homeland of Jacob's feminized descendants are one and the same, both promised in marriage to the roaming Visigothic sons of Esau.

That both Isidore and Cartagena imagine Hispania as a female bride to a Gothic masculine husband is not altogether so surprising. Though separated by seven centuries, both authors present their images of a feminized patria to monarchs whose kingly identities are wrapped in the Gothic, with all its resonances of masculinity and militarism. But the implications behind these two feminized registers of Spanish land also depart in meaningful ways. Isidore's Hispania, as we remember, grew out of the classical tradition of the Laus Hispaniae; his Hispania is a woman fertile and bounteous. Cartegena's vision is not entirely without such registers; the daughters rise/grow/emerge (surrectura) from familiar territory, as if they not only inhabit the land but are its very products, no different from the trees and flowers.

At one level Cartagena's imagery is rather clear and in keeping with the historical record: the Jews of Sepharad were in Iberia before the arrival of the Goths, and thus in some ways have more right to identify Iberia as their homeland. But Cartagena's passage also carries broader implications for theorizing land-based communal identity. Because his characterization of the Jewish bond to Israel is presented as the more abstract attachment to homeland, the explicit identification of Spain's landed 'daughters' with the Jewish people nearly suggests that rootedness might be an innately Jewish sentiment, that the very notion of patriotic belonging and

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[105] This anticipates the antiquarian interests and speculations of the latter writers discussed by Beaver (2016).

land-based identity was brought to Iberia by those Jews who made it their homeland and called it Sepharad.

And to this more expansive notion of Iberian land-based identity, Cartagena adds an interrelated commitment to the law. As we saw earlier, in one sense the daughters' law is that received by Moses from on high. But by projecting Israel onto Hispania, Cartagena also allows for a broader possibility of what might lie behind this image of feminized legality. Indeed, we need look no further than to images that Cartagena, and his father, have already offered us: law is the administrative realm of those who ensure the flourishing of society and human civilization; law is the domain of the letrados who study its tenants and principles. But here too Cartagena's use of the Old Testament sheds light. Rabbinic tradition going back to Rashi, though also earlier articulated by Church Fathers such as Jerome,[106] reads Genesis' account of Jacob staying put in his tent (while Esau roams with the hunt) as evoking the stillness of scholarly activity. Jacob's tents, so the Rabbis and Jerome tell us, were actually schoolhouses where he studied Jewish law. Applying such imagery to later modes of self-representation in Jewish culture, contemporary scholar of rabbinic literature Daniel Boyarin articulates a theoretical paradigm not so unlike that of Cartagena. As Boyarin proposes, such scholarly activity and study of the Hebrew Torah renders the Jew not only unheroic but even unmanly and feminized when compared to the more masculine gentile images of Christian crusaders or Roman centurions.[107] Cartagena's Jews are thus daughters not only because they remain in the house of their fathers (their patria) but also because they are different from those roaming foreigners. Where their husbands are skilled in arms and warfare, they study the law. The husbands are Visigothic caballeros; the daughters are letrados, both judeo-converso and subtly Hispano-Roman.

Cartagena's Hispania was not, however, always a woman. Despite the *Defensorium's* gesture of dividing the letrado from the activity of arms, Cartagena followed his converso colleague Mosén Diego de Valera in contributing to a rather curious genre where judeoconverso letrados would present themselves as experts on knighthood. Here again we are reminded of Ayala who had evoked the Goths as precursors of and models for Castilian chivalry. But Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los caualleros* (1444) never connects Gothicism to its conception of chivalry.

Within the pages of Cartagena's *Doctrinal*, chivalry in fact becomes something more akin to the search for wisdom, not so unlike the activity of learning presented in the Ciceronian translation. And as in his preface to Cicero, Cartagena states that the duty of the caballero is to "gouernar la rrepublica e la defender" (Fallows edition 1995; 79) (govern the republic and defend it; translation my own). But beyond such governing and defending, the caballero should also dedicate himself to the "trabaio de sçiençia" (ibid) (labor of knowledge). And who might best exemplify such image of chivalry as a search for wisdom? Indeed it is no figure from Visigothic antiquity or the Castilian Middle ages, but rather that very Roman soldier who first displayed his valor on the fields of Iberia fighting Hannibal's Carthaginians: Publius Scipio

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[106] See the section "Jacob the Scholar" in James Kugel's *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the Start of the Common Era* (1999: 354)

[107] See *Unheroic Conduct* (1997: 12). Boyarin's focus on the masculine Roman vs. the feminized Jewish scholar is clearly a different image of Roman-Jewish interaction than my own, but his framework can nonetheless apply to the latter masculinity of the Visigothic mythos, and indeed Rosenstock's own discussion draws on Boyarin's approach to gender and Judaism.

Africanus. As Cartagena tells us, between battles Scipio, "se apartaua a algunos onestos estudios" (79-80) (carried himself away to honest modes of study).[108] And though Cartagena does not explicitly refer to the Iberian campaigns of Scipio, he does state that chivalry was present in Iberia all the way back to the "çercas de las villas en las batallas campales que en las prouinçias antiguamente llamadas Betica e Çeltiberia çerca del mar Mediterraneo" (84) (sieges of villages and battles in the field, in those provinces that in antiquity were called Baetica and Celtiberia close to the Mediterranean Sea).[109] Though somewhat vague, Cartagena's geographic designation for these battles in the ancient provinces of "Betica e Çeltiberia" certainly evokes Latin place-names for the Roman administrative territories of its colony of Hispania. The "çercas" are likely a reference to famous sieges (*cercos*) of Rome's Iberian wars (Numantia, Saguntum, and Ilerda) that we shall return to in our discussion of Cervantes' tragedy *El cerco de Numancia*. And by qualifying their coastal proximity as "çerca del mar Mediterraneo," Cartagena's çercas and batallas pushes us away from the Castilian center and further toward the seaboard exteriors of the peninsula that held more value for the Mediterranean maritime empires of Carthage and Rome.

Further confirming how such ideologies and cultural images are interwoven, Cartagena's move away from the Gothic and toward a more ancient and Roman past of Iberia is coupled with a championing of values that unite the humanistic with the Hebraic. In a passage that takes us back to, and which seems to be clearly influenced by the praise of Roman politics in I Maccabees, Cartagena states that the true caballero is not a monarch or emperor who wears the "diadema de imperio nin de rreyno" (81) (diadem of impire or of kingship) but instead a figure who possesses intellectual virtues and a "grand exçelencia de ingenio para enseñar" (great excellence of mind to instruct). Yet as with other appropriations of Cartagena's, the divergences matter just as much as the echoes. Where I Maccabees went on to praise the Roman republican model of a Senate and rotating Consuls, the monarchical context of Cartagena's Castile would hardly allow him to do the same so easily. The republicanism of I Maccabees is thus replaced by the humanist pursuit of learning.

Bloodlines and lineage are likewise downplayed when Cartagena declares that "escelençia del linaje" (excellency of lineage) is on its own insufficient to achieve chivalric valor, and further advises his readers not to be fooled by "claridad de la sangre" (81) (gleam of blood)."[110] The latter construction obviously echoes notions of "pura e limpia sangre" but with precisely the opposite intent. Against those who would see the cleanliness of blood as the irreducible biological marker of honor and virtue, Cartagena presents blood's "claridad" (brightness) not as something that reveals the truth of one's character but which deceives. Fittingly ironic in its wording, Cartagina's "claridad" is not a clarity through which one sees inner and innate virtue, but rather a bright shimmering and shiny illusion that blinds the observer.

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[108] Though Scipio is also a recurrent exemplar within Valera's discussion of chivalry, his presence in Iberia during the Second Punic War is never mentioned.

[109] Reflecting, as we shall soon see in greater depth, Cartagena's eclectic wedding of the Hispano-Roman with the Gothic, he does go on to celebrate the battles Christians and Moors.

[110] Editor of the *Doctrinal*, Noel Fallows elsewhere examines the Renaissance commonplace of the "nobility of soul", and quotes Cartagena's declaration that "no es sufiçiente la exselençia del linaje para escusar la infamia de los fechos" (excellence of lineage is not sufficient to excuse the infamy of deeds) (1993: 306).

Within Alonso de Cartagena's textual fashioning of the letrado, we see various traditions coming together: the feudal notion of the Three Orders of society, the emphasis on an alliance between letrado and monarch as earlier articulated by his father Pablo, visions of scholarship and national community from Hebrew and Sephardic authors, and the idea that Spain is a marriage between Gothic and Hispano-Roman as inherited from Isidore of Seville. But having drawn on so many traditions, Cartagena does not offer a stable vision of the letrado's place in society. Indeed within Cartagena's various imaginings, we see the seeds of an equally unsettled dispute that was debated in the ensuing centuries, leading up to though by no means concluding with the very input of Cervantes' mad knight: that of arms versus letters.

Certainly aspects of this debate were already present when his father Pablo crafted a historical lesson where unchecked Gothic arms brought destruction yet could achieve civilizational flourishing when balanced by and coupled with the letters of the letrado. Yet the son Alonso asks what such a union exactly looks like, and it is here that he carries out something of an internal debate with himself. Can arms and letters be united in one figure, as the *Doctrinal* suggests with its presentation of the Roman general Scipio who wrested Iberia from the Carthaginians and won it for Rome? Or are arms and letters separate callings for two distinct social group, even two differing peoples with different origins? If separate, is the letrado an educator and teacher who stands above the knightly defenders of the republic, or more like a submissive wife who obeys her militant husband? Or can a more egalitarian exchange take place, a mutual conversation of reciprocal education?

In the latter part of our discussion we will see how a consensus begins to arise with respect to such questions, not a consensus of total unanimity but one that more clearly sorts itself out: caballero authors presenting one answer, and conversos another. That Cartagena cannot settle on a single formulation of the letrado even within his own writings suggests that while he has assumed his father's project, he does not do so as a complete expression of caste (Judeoconverso) or class (letrado) identity. Or perhaps more accurately, Cartagena's shifting modes of monarchical-letrado union illustrate how letrados could not yet see themselves in distinct social terms, instead always placing themselves beneath, next to, and occasionally above the caballero and the king. Indeed, Cartagena seems to articulate within his intellectual project a vision akin to the Foucauldian "national dualism"; he cannot write the letrado without the letrado's monarch, the converso without the caballero, Hispania without the Goth. And such remains to be the case as Cartagena articulates his most developed image of Hispania through his translation and commentary on the works of Seneca who is likewise never far from a Visigothic counterpart.

### Cartagena's Seneca: A Hispano-Roman Letrado at the Service of a Visigothic King

Alonso de Cartagena's engagement with Seneca comes in the form of a five-part work, his *Cinco libros de Séneca*, composed sometime around or before 1434, and which like his *Defensorium* is dedicated to Juan II of Castile. Included in Cartagena's *Cinco libros* are: two dialogues, *De Vita Beata* and *De Providentia* (the latter broken up into two books, four and five), an anthology of Pseudo-Senecan proverbs that dates back to the Middle Ages (the shorts of the

books), and a letter excerpted from the *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* (*Ep*. 88) to which Cartagena gives the title, "de las Siete Artes Liberales." [111]

The two-book "de la Providencia de Dios" is something of a centerpiece for the work. Its prologue is once again addressed to Juan II and takes us once more to the question of knowledge's social role and to the dispute over who should study such works of learnedness. Though Cartagena begins his preface by declaring "Cuán dulce es la ciencia" (How sweet is knowledge) it does not take long for him to concede that,

> aunque la ciencia sea muy deleitable, no se deleitan igualmente todos en ella. Ca así como en muchas cosas de que los hombres toman placer, no se alegran las bestias, así el gozo del saber, la dulzura del estilo elocuente con que se huelgan los elevados ingenious, no sólo no se gozan tanto como debían, mas las veces aún se enojan algunos. (Villagañas Berlanga edition 202: 201)
>
> even though knowledge might quite delightful, not everyone delights in it equally. Such as it is with many things from which men take pleasure, but which give no happiness to animals, such it is with the joy of knowing [and] the sweetness of eloquent style with which elevated minds amuse themselves, [but which] others are not only unable to enjoy as much as they should, but sometimes even become angry. (translations my own)

Though Cartagena begins with a rather neutral tone, the analogy to animals that follows soon after is anything but. Those who love learning (here not necessarily confined to the letrado) are removed from their fellow man just as mankind stands above the world of beasts. Further emphasizing the beastly nature of those for whom neither knowledge nor even eloquence brings any joy, Cartagena describes such individuals as so rash that the mere presence of style and learning brings them to anger (no sólo no se gozan …mas las veces aún se enojan).

Cartagena is not, moreover, shy about specifying whom he has in mind. His praise of learning and disdain for those who disdain it, brings him back to that very point where the dispute between arms vs letters is inflected by the class divide of letrados and aristocratic warriors:

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[111] I earlier proposed that Cartagena's turn to Seneca as not only a classical philosopher but as a Hispano-Roman should be seen as something of a further development, even a greater secularizing, of his father's emphasis on the Fathers of the Early Church as the guarantors of culture and civilization. Our examination of Cartagena's Seneca will only support this, but at the same time we do well to be aware that Seneca was widely read throughout the Middle Ages in no small part than because he was thought to have converted to Christianity after an exchange of letters with the Apostle Paul.

Cartagena's Seneca is not however Christianized, not even in the more spurious third book of Pseudo-Senecan proverbs. And even though this longest of Cartagena's translation of the *De Providentia* does add God to the construction ("de la Providencia de Dios"), Seneca does actually refer to a singular 'deus' throughout. Of course this was not the monotheistic Judeo-Christian God, but likely a stoic conception of the singular divinity that orders the Cosmos.

> Ca si no se deleitase en las nobles doctrinas de ciencia, especialmente en aquellas que guían y fuerzan las buenas costumbres entre tantos trabajos y tantas y tales occupaciones de guerra notorias a toda Europa y aún a gran parte e África, no se ocuparía en leer doctrinas de los antiguos.
>
> Thus there might not be pleasure in the noble teachings of knowledge, especially for those who guide and exact good customs through so much toil and so many activities of war, well known throughout all of Europe and even a great part of Africa, and who wouldn't busy themselves with reading the teachings of the ancients.

As before, the balancing act continues; as Cartagena further clarifies who might be included in those angered by letters; the insult to beastly nature is mollified. If warriors and soldiers do not have time to read the teachings of the ancients, such is understandable since their wars are of much importance and renown. Such fighting, moreover, does not turn these warriors into the rash animals of sentences earlier but rather brings on a demanding toil and exertion that in itself ingrains "good customs." It is as if the teachings of the ancients are unnecessary for this warrior class; arms have become their own very means of education.

Yet the passage is not without its ambiguities. Somewhat echoing (or rather anticipating) the *Doctrinal's* disregard for lineage in order to elevate both learning and deeds, Cartagena here designates as "noble" not those who wage these famous wars, but rather the very "doctrinas de ciencia" that are ignored by the aristocratic knights. While wars bring notoriety to the knights, nobility is reserved for the activity of learning itself.

Whether those who disregard learning live a bestial existence or become civilized by other means is a question that comes to be inflected within the very pages of Seneca's dialogue and the glosses with which Cartagena responds. Cartagena's translation of Seneca indeed coincided with the rediscovery Tacitus' *Germania* in 1425, that through the efforts of the manuscript-hunter Poggio Broccolini and the humanist (and later Pope) Enea Silvio Piccolomini which allowed Europe to once again see Tacitus' Roman version of the 'noble savage.' Whether or not Cartagena's connections to the Papal See brought him into contact with the work, a moment in his *De Providentia* certainly echoes the Tacitian image. Here Seneca asks his readers to consider those peoples who live beyond the Pax Romana, whom Cartagena faithfully translates as "los germanos y por todas aquellas compañas que andan de lugar en lugar cerca de Istros" (225) (the Germanic peoples and all those tribes who go from place to place near the Istros/Black Sea). Seneca points to such peoples foreign to Roman ways and culture in order to illustrate how happiness is possible in even those most wretched of conditions. But Cartagena's commentary brings a more ethnographic lens to the account. Responding to the statement that such peoples lack "casas ni lugares de *morada*" (226) (houses and places to dwell), Cartagena glosses the word "morada" (dwelling) so as to draw a parallel to a people by now quite familiar to us, the Goths:

> *Morada*. Dicen por algunas gentes que hay cerca de la parte septentrional que no tienen policía ordenada de vivir como los de acá. E de hacia aquella parte salieron los godos. E vemos hoy que los canarios no dejan de vivir en su puro

> natural, aunque no tienen moneda ni las otras maneras de vivir que acá tenemos. (ibid))
>
> *Dwelling*. It is said by some that people near the Arctic North do not have an ordered policy for living like those here. And it is from around this part that the Goths came. And we see today that those of the Canary Islands have not stopped living in the purest nature, even lacking money and other modes of living that we have here.

When Cartagena introduces the Goths into this discussion he does exactly echo Seneca's lesson that like the tribes of Germania and those of the Black Sea, the Goths display the capacity for human happiness without the luxury of civilization. More matter-of-factly Cartagena simply draws an analogy between those non-Romans mentioned by Seneca and two peoples who are perhaps more familiar to the fifteenth-century Castilian reader.

But Cartagena also introduces new terminology and categories into his analysis. Though Seneca had emphasized more tangible aspects of existence – soil hard to till, clothing and thatching insufficient to keep out the cold and rain – Cartagena moves from the absence of dwellings to the more expansive and abstract notion of "policía ordenada de vivir" a construction that connotes more regulated civilizational and political order. The Goths, at least in their origins, are thus a pre- or a-political people who lack, or once lacked, the very rudiments of organized living.

As I mentioned above, the Goths are but one of two people Cartagena likens to Seneca's Germanic and Black Sea tribes; the other are the inhabitants of the Canary Islands. With such reference, Cartagena creates a temporal balance for the reader of his gloss. The Goths evoke for the Castilian reader a more historical image, one of a familiar people who possess rather primordial beginnings in a far-off place. By contrast, the "canarios" who live in their "puro natural" are evidence that such modes of existence have continued well into the reader's fifteenth-century present.

Indeed, in the same year of 1434 around which these translations of Seneca are dated, Cartagena represented the Crown of Castile at the ecclesiastical Council of Basel where he defended Castile's right to rule over the Canaries against a counter claim made by the England of Henry VI. Yet beyond its specific focus on the Canaries, Cartagena's address becomes yet another justification of politics through genealogy and history, one that is not limited to but that emphasizes the history of the Visigoths in Iberia. Fairly early in his address, Cartagena foregrounds the centrality of blood within this political vision, and having established blood, he goes on to attribute to Castile a rather expansive and meandering genealogical river of royal lineage:

> La sangre de sus antecesores, es muy noble: ca, no solamente desciende de los reyes de los godos e da las de Castilla e de León, mas aun de linage de todos los reyes de España … Descienden eso mesmo de linaje de enperodores romanos e griegos; e mas cercanamente de la casa de Francia. (Penna edition 1959; 208)
>
> The blood of their ancestors is very noble: such as it descends not only from the kings of the Goths and those of Castile and Leon, but from a lineage of all those

kings of Spain … these very lines descend from emperors both Roman and Greek, and even more proximately rom the house of France. (translation my own)

The royal line is presented not so much as having inherited the political rule of these various powers that governed the Iberian Peninsula but rather their very blood – Roman, Greek, Carolingian French, and Gothic all mixed together.

Yet despite such image of Castile's royal line as interwoven with the lineages of Rome, Greece and France, when it comes time to justify Castile's claims over the Canaries against their main rival in England, Cartagena emphasizes Gothic and Iberian independence from Rome. Whereas the English king Chloe paid tribute to Rome, the kings of Spain "nunca fueron sujectos al Inperio romano nin a otro alguno" (210) (were never subject to the Roman Empire, nor any other). The presence of empire in Iberia is thus presented not through Hispano-Romans such as Trajan and Hadrian or even the Christian Theodosius but through the Gothic kings who "se llamaron enperadores, e tenían la silla inperial en Toledo, e regían a toda España e a aquella parte de Francia que entonce llamavan Galia gótica" (211) (they called themselves emperors, and had an imperial seat in Toledo, and ruled all Spain as well as that part of France that was then called Gallia Gothica).

At right around the same time, close to the year 1434, Cartagena thus presents two drastically different visions of the Goths whose differences are all the more accentuated by their juxtaposition to the Canary Islands. While his gloss of Seneca positions the Canary natives as a present-day witness to what the Goths must have looked like in their origins, within the Basel address, Gothic history justifies Castilian sovereignty over the Canaries. The contradictions of Castilian Gothicism are on the rise, and come to take on new political and ethnographic dimensions. Certainly these contradictions echo the earlier depiction of Pablo de Santa María where Gothic violence demanded the necessary check of letrado arts of civilization, but this duality is no longer about unchecked extremes and repercussions. Now seen through the lens of humanism with its love of Greco-Roman antiquity, Gothicism has become a more unresolvable paradox. From the Roman-inflected vantage point, the Goths are like the Canary natives, perhaps something of noble savages, but nonetheless a people without culture or political organization and thus over whom Rome should rule. But Iberia's history has also made it necessary to see Gothic kings as the new Roman Emperors, as a line who are justified in their rule over others. The "national dualism" of Goth and Hispano-Roman now houses its own binary image of the Gothic where the figure of the Goth is simultaneously that of the uncultured savage yet also the sovereign and supreme monarch.

With the paradox of Gothicism that emerges between the Senecan glosses and the Basel address, Cartagena ends up having to replay and renegotiate his earlier attempt to both defend letters against those who would reject their study while also pardoning those caballero noblemen who would rather wage war than read the classics. But even while Cartagena allowed for a certain leniency for those noblemen and knights who have no time to educate themselves because they are busy with Reconquista battles, Cartagena makes it clear that Juan II himself stands apart from this militant feudal aristocracy. Anticipating the *Defensoriom's* praise of Juan II as a monarch who engages in "humanist study," here Cartagena praises his king's "escogido ingenio" (select mind) as possessing a mind that frequently turns to the "lectura de libros, como a un placentero fructuoso vergel" (202) (reading of books, as if it were a pleasant and fruitful orchar), an image that takes us back to the elision of agricultural fertility with cultural

flourishing. Indeed, Cartagena presents his motivations to translate Seneca not as an outgrowth of his own humanist priorities or even as a patriotic gesture to Spain's past as Hispania, but rather as a reflection of the king's own readerly preferences, stating directly to Juan II that although "aunque muchos leés, pláceos escoger a las veces as Seneca y no sin razón" (ibid) (although you read much, choosing Seneca time and again pleases you, and not without reason).

The king's reading preferences are not, however, the full extent of Cartagena's justification for why he translated, and why his readers should read, Seneca. Anticipating what will become a common rhetorical strategy among the Spanish humanists who elevate Roman Hispania, Cartagena compares Seneca to a counterpart of Italian origin, here Cicero. But where later humanists would emphasize the national implications for such difference in origins, Cartagena focuses more purely on style; compared to the solemnity of Cicero's prose,

> [Séneca] puso las reglas de la virtud con estilo elocuente, comi si bordara una ropa de argentería bien obrada de ciencia en el muy lindo paño de la elocuencia
>
> Seneca composed the rules of virtue with eloquent style, as if he had embroidered a garment of well-crafted silver with knowledge in the so very fine clothe of eloquence

With such repeated emphasis on Seneca's eloquence and style – estilo elocuente … la elocuencia – Cartagena cannot but remind us how only pages earlier he had chastised those made angry by "la dulzura del estilo elocuente." But with such echoes, Cartagena also underscores his strategy for presenting Seneca and making him acceptable, literally by dressing up the philosopher. Seneca's rhetorical eloquence thus becomes a luxurious outfit, his words are threads that embroider a "garment of well-crafted silver," his text a "fine clothe." Here we can also think back to Isidore's account of the Gothic King Leovigild who not only extended the power of the Goths over much of Iberia, and not only revised the legal code of Euric, but who also abandoned, as Andrew Fear puts it, "the traditional Germanic notion of a king as a war leader who was *primus inter pares* […instead] the ruler was raised far above his subjects … Leovigild was the first Gothic king to sit upon a throne (*solium*) and to wear royal robes (*regalis vestis*)" (285).[112]

To mollify the Visigothic nobleman's distaste for learning and eloquence, Cartagena must make Seneca into this very *regalis vestis*, less an interlocutor for learning than the ornate trappings of a nobleman. Yet in making such a move, Cartagena has risked betraying his own project by fashioning Seneca's philosophy into that very object of illusory shininess that he would come to warn against when dismissing blood-lineage as a sign of chivalric virtue. On the other hand, we have also come to see since the very beginning of our discussion how Cartagena rarely settles on any one way of imaging the intersection between letrado learning and caballero politics. Less a contradiction or betrayal of values, Cartagena's project is defined by this very shifting negotiation of interrelation and hierarchy. And indeed, soon after turning Seneca into the caballero aristocrat's luxurious garment, he imagines yet another mode by which learning can serve politics:

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[112] The entirety of his discussion "God and Caesar: The Dynamics of Visigothic Monarchy" (2012) provides a useful perspective of the construction of kingship within Gothicism.

> E aún con esta razón bien puedo mover otra, porque Séneca fue vuestro natural y nacido en vuestros reinos y tenido sería, si viviese, de vos hacer homenaje. E pues catorce centenas de años que entre vos y él pasaron no lo consintieron que por persona vos pudiese servir, sirvan vos ahora sus escrituras.
>
> And in addition to this reason another might well motivate you, because Seneca is your native countryman and, as one born in your kingdoms he would have to, if he were alive, pay homage to you. And though fourteen-hundred years have passed between you and he, thus not allowing him to be able to serve you in person, his writings serve you now.

We see here what is thus far the most pronounced and lucid evocation of Roman Hispania. Just as with the Churchman Isidore, Cartagena has recognized a shared sense of national belonging with the Hispano-Roman Seneca. Yet also like Isidore, who is a renowned (insigni) "inhabitant of *your* Spain" (incola yspanie *vestre*), when Cartagena writes Seneca into this Hispano-Roman national fabric, he does so by explicitly casting the philosopher as a subject of the king. Seneca is "vuestro natural" born in "vuestros reinos," and were he alive he would, "de vos hacer homenaje." Indeed even the longevity of Seneca's teachings is warped into formulation that Seneca, though dead for fourteen-hundred years, is still able to serve Juan II, if not in person at least through his writings (sirvan vos ahora sus escritura). Once, and only lines before, an adornment, Seneca is now made subject to the Castilian King.

Shortly after this treatment of Seneca as royal subject, Cartagena expands upon this notion that the act of writing as well as the object of a written text can be forms of homage and service to the crown:

> E aunque habés gran familiaridad en la lengua latina y para vuestra conformación bastaba leerlo como lo escribió, por quisístes haber algunos de sus notables dichos en vuestro castellano lenguaje, porque en vuestra súbdita lengua se leyese lo que vuestro súbdito en los tiempos antiguos compuso. (ibid)
>
> And even though you have a great familiarity with the Latin language, and for your formation it would be suffice to read them as he wrote, out of your desire to have something of his prominent sayings in your Castilian language, thus in the language subject to you we can read what your subject of ancient times composed.

Here we see yet another anticipation of Cartagena's *Defensorium* where Juan II is depicted as a learned king who "has a great familiarity with the Latin language" (habés gran familiaridad en la lengua latina). And of course even in this same preface, Cartagena had referred to Juan II's frequent consultation of Seneca. These translations of Seneca were thus not undertaken for the king's own reading or learning, as such would be superfluous for a king so well versed in Latin.[113] But the translations are nonetheless a sign of Juan II's monarchical power and its extent.

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[113] Likely not actually the case and an invention on Cartagena's part.

Somewhat aligned with the metaphor of Seneca's style as a fine garment, to have Seneca translated into Spanish is something of cultural novelty; the king might enjoy seeing Seneca's prominent sayings in his (again, within the preface, "your/vestre") Castilian language. But Castilian is not only the king's language because it is spoken and read by the king; Juan II rules over this "your subject language" (vuestra súbdita lengua) as if the language were itself one of his royal subjects. Indeed to translate Seneca into Castilian is to ensure that as this "your subject of ancient times" (vuestro súbdito en los tiempos antiguos) is still able to serve Juan II as his rightful monarch.[114] The rule of Juan II is seemingly boundless, encompassing the Castilian language itself yet also an ancient history that predates this language. It is, moreover, nothing other than Cartagena's very act of translating Seneca that collapses these two hyperboles of monarchical sovereignty into the single tangible object of the text of the *Cinco libros*; Seneca is brought out of Latin into the Castilian tongue and out of ancient history into the Castilian present. And having now entered the proximity of Juan II, what else would he be but a subject?

Cartagena's vision of Juan II's rule as timeless and eternal carries implications not only for the fifteenth-century reception of Seneca by Castilian humanists but also for the very idea of the Spanish nation as imagined by both humanists and political elites. As the prefatory dedication continues, Cartagena returns to the familiar images of weaving and of a woven object, likewise with an end goal granting the Spanish monarchy an air of timelessness. The very material object of the crown – "la corona de España" – is said to be, "tejida de emperadores y reyes desde los siglos antiguos" (203) (woven by emperors and kings from centuries of old). With such image we remember both only earlier transformation of Seneca's eloquence into a finely silver-embroidered cloth as well as the genealogical account of the Basel Address where royal blood became a river into which various lineages converge, Greek, Roman, Goth and Frank. The intermingling bloodlines have now become the interwoven metallic filaments of the king's crown. Just as the Senecan translation collapsed fourteen-hundred years of history, so too does the crown become an embodied object where ancient bloodlines are synonymous with present-day sovereignty.

Cartagena's crown presents something of a revision, or at least a reorientation, of Ernst Kantorowicz's famous thesis in *The King's Two Bodies* where the monarch is the secularized embodiment of divine sovereignty. Indeed Kantorowicz discusses the crown as something of a secularized halo within medieval political theology. And yet (and why I say Cartagena presents a reorientation rather than a refutation) Kantorowicz emphasized that just, if not more, important than notions of divine authority (*divius*) was that of perennial kingship (*perennitas*). Thus when Carolingian kings evoked King David, the message was less that they too were anointed by God but that a continuity existed between such monarchical lines, that within the "Carolingian empire idea, the *regnum Davidicum*, culminated and become manifest" (81), just as both Gothic and Hispano-Roman history are manifest in Juan II. More pertinent yet, Kantorowicz likewise acknowledges that just as the medieval crown is the political secularization of the halo, so too is the pre-history of the Christian halo a sacralizing of Roman concepts that are themselves grounded in the imperial-provincial imagination:

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[114] In his overview of "Humanism in the Iberian Peninsula" (1990), Jeremy Lawrance goes so far as to this passage as an implicit reference to the Gothic conquest of Roman Hispania, the Gothic Juan II thus having earned through territorial conquest, a form of sovereignty over the Hispano-Roman Seneca.

> This special mark of distinction indicated that the figure was meant to represent in every respect a continuum something permanent and sempiternal, beyond the contingencies of time and corruption. Roman provinces such as Egypt, Gaul, Spain, and others were sometimes represented with a halo … we usually call these haloed females "abstractions" or "personifications," which is correct so far as it goes; but we have to be aware that the most significant feature of all abstractions and personifications is their supra-temporal character their continuity with time. In fact, it was no so much the personification which was made conspicuous by the halo, as the *Genius* of the individual province, that is its perennial creative and seminal power (79)

With his translation of the provincial Seneca, Cartagena has removed the middle-man of Christianity and connected Castilian sovereignty directly back to the history and creativity of Roman Hispania.[115] But where Kantorowicz located all such notions of provincial creativity and historical continuum in the single object of the halo-turned-crown, Cartagena gives us a king fully dressed. Having previously turned Seneca's eloquence into a fine silver-embroidered cloth, these garments are now completed by the addition of the crown. And across such various items of regal fashion, the relationship between history, sovereignty and intellectual creativity are made legible. Indeed such costume is yet another hierarchy, one in which philosophy and style can serve as fine adornments, but where sovereignty's true power is located in the object most associated with blood and lineage, the crown.

I early suggested that although Alonso de Cartagena develops and expands the letrado-monarchical union that his father Pablo had poetically evoked through Church Fathers like St. Augustine, Alonso also turns his father's more harmonious partnership into a hierarchy of disproportionate power. Such disproportional hierarchy is of course all the more emphasized in Cartagena's inability to revive Seneca and his Hispania as anything other than entities subservient to his king of Visigothic descent. And indeed, as we also began to see with Cartagena's Basel address arguing in 1434 for Castile's rule over the Canary Islands against claims made by England, Cartagena's career as an author is dotted as much by works that invoke Gothicism as Roman-Hispanism. Indeed, three years after disputing English claims to the Canaries, Cartagena would do so again against the Portuguese.

These later 1437 "Allegationes" against Portugal are something of a case study for how Gothicism went hand-in-hand with the emergent political hegemony of Castile. Cartagena presents Castile as terminologically synonymous and thus territorially coterminous with the entirety of Hispania (regem Castelle vocant regem Hispaniae; Suárez Fernández edition 1960: 260), a claim which would thus include Portugal. Cartagena's elision of Castile with Hispania rests not on any particular version of Iberian history but rather on ignoring the territorial history of Iberia. For Cartagena, history is about dynastic legitimation and royal genealogies, not about lands and territory. Thus Cartagena begins his history of Spanish kingship with Theodoric "the first of the Goths to rule Hispania" (primus ex gothis in Hispania regnavit; 262) and goes on to

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[115] Indeed the Latin term 'genius' that denotes land-based tutelary gods and spirits is related to the words for mind (*ingenium*) and filial lines (*gignere*, to beget and produce; where we derive genealogy).

declare for Castile "a direct hereditary succession with Gothic kings" (successionem heridtarium regum gothorum inmediate; ibid).

By contrast, Castile is a more eternal entity, something that existed even in mythological times with the westward journeys of Hercules. Yet this too proves to be of service to Castile and its claim to Iberian hegemony regarding the Canaries from the earlier address. Here Cartagena finds a primordial beginning of Castilian kingship in the giant Gerion whom Hercules defeats:

> aquel Gerión era rey de Castilla, ca entonce él era rey de tres regnos, conviene a saber: de Lusitania que agora llamamos Estremadura, e de Bética, que llaman el Andalusía e da Gallisia, que aun oy tiene su nombre, las quales todas son del señorío de mi señor el rey … E así, de Gerión rey de España, o más propiamante fablando rey de Castilla, que en aquella parte regnava que agora llamamos Castilla. (212)

Beyond his insistence that Gerión was "propiamante" king of Castile is, Cartagena's use of territorial place-names communicates a vision of history. Though Lusitania and Bética are designations that refer to the administrative territories of Roman Hispania, Cartagena has situated them within Geríon's kingdom and thus turned these lands into pre-Roman territorial entities. And if Lusitania and Bética are no longer the administrative territories of Roman Hispania but instead predate Rome's rule over Iberia, then discussion of Rome becomes essentially extraneous. [116] Just as Juan II's sovereignty encompassed both ancient past and contemporaneous present, so too is Castile something more eternal. Just as the Gothic reigns over the Hispano-Roman, so too does Castile overshadow España/Hispania.[117]

In the intellectual career of Alonso de Cartagena we see illustrated two prominent features of the project of reviving Roman Hispania. First, Hispania was a project that uniquely spoke to the Judeoconverso letrado, simultaneously to their increasingly-humanist education yet also to their desire for a connectedness to Spanish history that Gothicism could not allow. Yet with something of a bitter irony to it, this Hispano-Roman alternative to Gothicism was first developed within a discourse that repeatedly placed it beneath the Gothic, just as the letrado was (at least for now) always beneath the monarch.

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[116] Cartagena returns to a discussion of territory and the historical transformation of place names later in his discourse (218ff.)

[117] Perhaps an even great gesture to Gothicism is Cartagena's final text, the *Anacephaleosis* (1456). Here Cartagena looks back to the loudest voice of medieval Gothicism, the historian Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada whose *De rebus Hispaniae* entirely passes over Iberia's centuries as Roman Hispania. Indeed, Cartagena's late work the *Anacephaleosis* (1456) is little more than a Castilian abridgement of Rada's Latin historiography with no effort made to draw on other historiographic texts (including as I mention even the Alfonsine histories) to fill Rada's many centuries omission of what occurred between Iberia's mythological beginnings with Hercules and his nephew Hispan and the arrival of the Visigothic kings in the sixth century. Unsurprisingly, the work and its emphasis on Gothic history held an appeal among caballero noblemen; Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (whom we shall soon discuss) went on to translate Cartagena's text in 1463 under the title, *Genealogía de los Reyes de España*.

**A Poetic Synthesis of the Gothic with the Hispano-Roman, the Caballero with the Letrado: The Poems of Mena, Burgos, Santillana and Guzmán**

The lastingness of associating Judeoconversos letrados with Hispano-Roman authors begins even with Cartagena's own death in 1456. Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, the very nephew of Pero López de Ayala, studied as a pupil of Cartagena's and upon the death of his tutor penned a funeral elegy that takes us back to the figure of Seneca. In his *Coplas a la muerte del Obispo de Burgos, Don Alonso de Cartagena*, Guzmán begins with the following:

> Aquel Séneca espiró
> a quien yo era Lucilo
> la facundia y alto estilo
> de España con él murió.
> Assí que, no sólo yo,
> mas España en triste son
> (González Cuenca edition; 2004: I.1-6; p. 519)

> Such a Seneca to my Lucilius exhaled his final breath, and the fecund and lofty stile of Spain died with him. Such that no only I, but all of Spain mourns in sadness. (translation my own)

Beyond simply Seneca's translator, Cartagena is mourned as a second Seneca, as "Aquel Séneca." Guzmán, moreover, praises this Cartagena-as-Seneca figure in the very terms that Cartagena had himself used to present the Hispano-Roman philosopher, as an author of "alto estilo."

But In certain ways Guzmán is even more audacious, going further than Cartagena had dared. National resonances become more pronounced as Guzmán connects the style of Cartagena/Seneca back to the familiar image of fertility (facundia); and indeed here we see that such "facundia y alto estilo" are not only authorial characteristics but the patrimony of the nation (de España). Such fertility, moreover, mirrors the very processes of nature where flourishing cannot but be followed by decay and death. Unlike the sense of timelessness found in Cartagena's prologue, here rhetorical eloquence expires hand-in-hand with the mortal body of the author (con él murió). [118]

Yet perhaps even more significant that what Guzmán says about Cartagena, is what he says about himself. Just as he presented a historical and figural fusion of Seneca with Cartagena and from there fused individual and nation, so does he perform similar poetic gestures on himself. With the passing of his teacher, Guzmán mourns not in isolation (no sólo yo) but rather as a representative of the entire Spanish nation (mas España en triste son). And if Cartagena was

[118] There is no doubt is something in Guzmán's elegy that betrays a rhetoric not yet of the Renaissance in the very little sense of a project of cultural revival. Cartagena represents not the beginning of a broader cultural revival but only more personal achievements one that will come and go with his own lifespan. He does however at the end of the poem call him a "fénix" though does not specify what form this rebirth will take. The imagery of fertility is likewise expanded in the fifth estrofa that describes the many stocks/ramas of a tree of ivy/yedra.

a Seneca, than clearly Guzmán must be Lucilo (Lucilius) the young pupil to whom Seneca addresses his epistles. And yet by positioning himself as the Lucilo/Lucilius, Guzmán has taken us back to the educator-pupil hierarchy of Cartagena's earlier translation of Cicero. No longer the equal exchange of ideas between Cartagena and Juan II, nor the hierarchy of power between Gothic king and Hispano-Roman subject, Guzmán emphasizes that he was in the subordinate position, the caballero nobleman beneath the converso letrado.

While Guzmán's eulogistic projection of the Seneca-Lucilius relationship onto Cartagena and himself might have served as a capstone to Cartagena's life, it was far from the final word on this attempt to negotiate the converso and the caballero, the Gothic and the Hispano-Roman. Indeed across his own poetic corpus, Guzmán would continue to imagine possibilities for uniting the caballero Gothicism of his aristocratic class with a cultural of Hispania's classical legacy. Other caballero poets would likewise join Guzmán in this project: the Marqués de Santillana Íñigo López de Mendoza and Jorge Manrique. And in Cartagena's place as the voices of converso authorship are the poets Diego de Burgos as well as the more renowned Juan de Mena.[119]

That the poetry of these authors defined the Spanish literature of this period is a long recognized fact. Yet our discussion here will shed new light on their poetic production. By analyzing their poems on the heels of Alonso de Cartagena's humanism, we will come to appreciate how this turn to poetry, with all its greater literary resonances, nonetheless retained the ethical, social and political concerns of earlier humanist writings. The humanism of the letrados is thus a necessary precursor to the later poets. Among these concerns shared by both letrado humanist and verse poets, is the very question of Spanish identity as divided between the Gothic and the Hispano-Roman. In some ways the joint participation of both caballeros and conversos in the writing of poetry brings about a synthesis, the creative cross-pollination between ethno-religious caste and social class thus serving to bring about something of a resolution for our longstanding national binary.

But while images of both the Gothic and the Hispano-Roman appear across this divide, in the verses of caballeros and conversos, in other ways the divide becomes more pronounced than ever. Our own broadened scope that now moves beyond the individual figure of Alonso de Cartagena to a grouping of poets indeed reflects the very expansion of converso cultural production. And as such expansion occurs, a greater sense of caste-class identity takes shape. On the other end, as caballeros come to more willingly accept the classicizing image of Spain as Roman Hispania, they are forced to reconcile with the challenges that such national image poses to their long-cherished sense of Gothic superiority. In this way, the differences are never clearer than when the two sides begin to move closer together.

Indeed, it did not take long for Cartagena's project to ripple into the poetry of the mid to late fifteenth century. In the same year, 1448, that Cartagena wrote both his *Doctrinal* and *Defensorium*, another converso poet what would pen would soon be recognized as a poetic hallmark of these times. Like his converso compatriot Alonso de Cartagena, the poet Juan de Mena was influenced by Renaissance humanism, but Mena also looked to the vernacular poetics

[119] The foundational, and in many regards still most exhaustive, study on Mena's work is María Rosa Lida de Malkiel's *Juan de Mena: Poeta del prerrenacimiento español* (1984), which is largely a study of language and style but does contain discussion of Mena's "Poesías políticas" (87ff.) and Mena's contribution to an "Idea nacional" (537ff.).

of Dante and Petrarch, from whom he borrowed verse allegory. Where the Italian poets pushed the boundaries of allegory to fit the forms of an autobiographical dream-vision (Dante's *Commedia*) or the spectacle of versified ceremony (Petrarch's *Trionfi*), Mena's *Laberinto de Fortuna* would use the allegorical dream-vision to interrogate history itself. Thus, where verse historiographies such as Pablo de Burgos' *Siete edades* kept largely to a linear chronology, Mena (as well as other poets we shall encounter who followed his model) created a series of poetic tableaus, depicting a historical event, a territorial landscape or an encounter with an exemplar. Mena's allegorical mode was, moreover, amenable to classicizing tendencies, as is clear from the poem's beginning; he invokes the muse of epic Caliope and dubs (once again) Juan II both "gran rey d'España" and a "Çésar novelo" (Cummins 2008 edition; I.5, p.55). Soon afterward Mena further underscores his poetic motivation to wed Spanish affairs to a classical world by declaring that "no creo que fuessen menores / que los d'Affricano los fechos del Çid" (IV.25, p. 56) (I don't believe that the deeds of El Cid were any less than those of [Scipio] Africanus; translation my own). As with Cartagena in his *Doctrinal de Caballeros*, the mentioning of Scipio Africanus gestures to Roman presence in Iberia, but the juxtaposition of Reconquista medievalism as represented by El Cid is never truly abandoned by Mena. In what is perhaps the poem's most famous set of passages, Mena presents a versified mappa mundi. His description of Europe beginning with the Gothic homeland and a praise of its people:

> E vi la provincia muy generosa
> que'es dicha Gothia segund nuestro uso,
> …
> saliese de tierra tan mucho famosa
> la gótica gente que el mundo vastasa,
> por que la nuestra Spaña gosase
> de stirpe de reyes tan glorïosa.
> (XLIII.337-44, p. 75-76)
>
> And I saw that very generous province which by our custom is called Gothia …
> From this land, that famous Gothic people went out into the vast world and came
> to enjoy our Spain through a glorious line of kings.

We see of course many of the Gothic myth's familiar hallmarks. As in the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna*, the "famosa … gótica gente" are a roaming horde who leave their homeland, moving through various nations (el mundo vastasa) and finally arriving in Spain, here to its supposed benefit (nuesta Spaña *gosase*). And once there they establish a line of monarchs (stirpe de reyes). Mena's Gothicism is thus a giving thanks, a declaration that the nation (nuestra España) owes gratitude to a specific people in the Goths.[120]

When Mena arrives at the Iberian Peninsula some stanzas later, Spain is presented with less celebratory notes, but it is certainly classicized. Mena uses the mythological terminology of

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[120] In rather stark distinction to Cartagena's 'yspanie vestre' (repeated with relation to language) this new vocabulary of "nuestra Spaña" will becoming increasingly more common and is a central theme of our next chapter on the next generation of humanism pioneered by Antonio de Nebrija.

the Greeks and refers to the peninsula as Esperia and writes of Hispano-Roman localities and place-names such as Tarragona, Celtiberia, la menor Cartago, Lusitania and Tinguitania (XLVIII.377-84, p. 77-78). Iberian territory thus takes on the form and labels of Roman Hispania, but what of its culture? Indeed, several stanzas later Mena takes up the liberal arts, and in his account of orators ("Eloquentes") he concludes by praising "la lumbre del claro thesoro / del nuestro rectórico Quntiliano" (CXIX.951-52, p. 111) (the luster of a shining treasure, that is our rhetorician Quintilian). Mena's identification of Quintilian as "nuestro" is an unmistakable nod to the first-century rhetorician's birth in the northern Hispano-Roman town of Calagurris (today Calahorra in La Rioja). Such a nod to the compatriotism shared between Quintilian and Mena is of course much in keeping with Cartagena's earlier presentation of Seneca. And the *Laberinto* was not actually first time Mena expressed such sentiments of shared lineage and culture with the authors of Hispania.[121]

Though less known and celebrated than his *Laberinto*, Mena's earlier *Coronaçión* of 1438 represents, as so many of the works we are considering do, the interconnections between converso authors such as Mena and the powerful caballero families of Castile. Though also infused with the structure of allegory, Mena's *Coronaçión* is essentially a panegyric addressed to another poet famous for turning to Italian verse, the caballero nobleman Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana. And though, as we shall see, the *Coronaçión* certainly celebrates culture and the arts, the poem's immediate prompting was a far more caballero endeavor: the Marqués' Reconquista military victory in Jaén. But if anything, the creative context of the Reconquista allows us to appreciate Mena's turn to Hispania as a de-Christianizing of the peninsula and its cultural legacy.

Unlike the legends of conversion and correspondence with the Apostle Paul that grew around Seneca, no such Christianizing fabrications and myths surrounded Quintilian, leaving his legacy unquestionably pagan. However, there does seem to have been confusion with regards to the particulars of Quintilian's Iberian provenance. Mena mistakenly believed that Quintilian shared with the Senecas and Lucan, and indeed with Mena, himself a birthplace in the city of Córdova/Corduba. Within Mena's poetic structuring of the *Coronaçión* as a Dantescan dream-vision, the narrator recounts a view of Parnassus where he sees Homer alongside many "sabios cordobeses":

> Vi a Omero e Lucano
> en aquellos entremeses,
> con Virgilio mantüano,
> Séneca vandalïano
> e otros sabios cordobeses;
> puesto que digan de mí,
> porque en Córdova nasçí,
> (Kerkhof edition 2009; Estrofa XXXVII, p. 103)

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[121] For another take on Mena's *Laberinto* as national poem see Gregory Hutcheson's "Cracks in the Labyrinth: Juan de Mena, Converso Experience, and the Rise of the Spanish Nation" (1996). Hutcheson also focuses on Mena as a converso but focuses on more proximate historical events surrounding Álvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla and favorite of King Juan II.

> I saw Homer and Lucan in the distance, with Mantuan Virgil, Vandal Seneca, and other Cordovan sages; if such could be said of me, as I too was born in Cordoba. (translation my own)

As we ourselves see, Quintilian is not mentioned in the stanza itself, but instead comes later. Just as Cartagena glossed Seneca's moral philosophy, so would Mena again follow a poetic technique pioneered by Dante and gloss his own writings. Glossing such "sabios cordobeses," Mena repeats the claim, citing Jerome, that "Séneca vandalïano"[122] was a Christian. Córdova is however cast as hosting a storied intellectual tradition that cuts through various confessional faiths:

> ¡O Córdova, dadora de comendable eloqüençia de los grandes philósophos, istoriógrafos, poetas, doctores, que en ti ovieron nasçimiento e de quien tú seído madre! Ca de ti fue Abenruiz, precipuo e eximio comentator sobre Aristótiles; de ti fue otrosi Aviçena, philósopho que sobre los philósophos todos más libros conpuso … e assimesmo Séneca e Lucano, como dixe. E pues que la fuente de la philosophía d'España fue Córdova, creer debemos que todos los philósofos a los más d'ellos que de España salieron, de Córdova ovieron la sçiençia o nasçimiento. Así que devemos aver por conclusión que pues Aristótiles salió de España … Aristótiles fuese de Córdova, fuente de la philosophía, pero después pasó de Greçia, do fue disçípulo de Platón e maestro de Alixandre. Otrosí fue Quintiliano de Córdova … despúes que Galva fue d'Espanã enperador, fue el primero este Quintiliano que tovo en Roma escuela pública. (107-9)
>
> Oh Cordoba! You bestow admirable eloquence for the great philosophers, historiographers, poets, doctors, who in you were born and who hold you as a mother! Thus from you came Averroes, that high and illustrious commentator on Aristotle; from you also came Avicenna, the philosopher who wrote more books than any other philosopher … and likewise Seneca and Lucan, as I said. And thus the font of Spain's philosophy was Cordoba, from Cordoba learning was born. As such we should arrive at the conclusion that Aristotle came from Spain … that Aristotle, the font of philosophy, was from Cordoba, but then afterward passed to Greece, where he was a discipline of Plato and teacher of Alexander. And Quintilian too was from Cordoba … after Galba left Spain to become emperor, Quintilian was the first in Rome to establish a school for the public. (translation my own)

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[122] The gentilic of "vandaliano" is not part of a mistaken belief that Seneca was a Vandal (which would make him of the Germanic tribes and closer to the Visigoths) but rather the result of an etymological belief, one we saw with Abraham ibn Daud, that believed 'Andalucía' was derived from 'Vandal.' As Mena states: "Conviene a saber andaluz, ca Vandalia por Andaluzía se toma, e fue andaluz pues fue de la gloriosa Códova" (106) (It is useful to understand 'Andalaz', such from 'Vandalia' is taken 'Andalucía' and he was Andalusian because he was from glorious Cordoba).

In his overzealous patriotism, Mena certainly gets ahead of himself. His proposal that we readers should come to the conclusion that Aristotle was from Spain, was of course off the mark, as is his claim that the Persian Avicena was from Cordoba.[123] But even if mistaken about Avicena, it is rather remarkable that in this text celebrating a Reconquista victory against the Moors, that Mena's praise – his Laus Cordubensis, if you will – begins with the Muslim philosophers Avicena and Abenruiz, by which he means Averroes / Ibn Rushd (who was indeed from Cordoba). As the font of "sçiençia" and "philosophía," Mena's Corduba and the learning it births is thus cast in a decidedly non-Christian shadow and is marked by cultural history of both Semitism and paganism.

The manner in which Mena presents this Cordoban learning also becomes something of a translatio studii in reverse. Instead of philosophy and literature following empire from the Greek east to the Roman west and then perhaps making its way further westward to Iberia, Mena's Cordovan Aristotle "fuese de Córdova … pero después pasó de Greçia" and his Quintilian is "el primero … que tovo en Roma escuela pública."[124] Learning thus begins in Cordoba and spreads outward, passing from Hispania to Greece and Rome. Mena's characterization of Quintilian carries particular weight, less because the rhetorician was actually from Hispania than because he comes to be associated with the founding of the first "escuela pública" in Rome. Thus, where Aristotle is the tutor of a prince, Alexander the Great, Quintilian is associated with institutional learning of a more open and public nature. As we shall see in the next chapter, this rhetoric is characteristic of what would be embraced by humanists at the turn of the sixteenth century, who likewise invoked a more expansive Hispano-Roman canon when championing the reform of Spain's educational institutions.

Perhaps recognizing the radical message behind his image of Cordoba's cultural traditions, Mena would take a marked step backward when he once again depicted his hometown in the *Laberinto*. Unlike the earlier Laus Cordubensis of the *Coronaçión*, in the *Laberinto* Mena asserts that is better to remain silent so as not raise suspicions of patriotic bias.[125] Yet Mena is not beyond an opening praise of Cordoba as "flor de saber e de cavallería." Of course, in this image of praise Cordoba is presented not as a place of Islamic Moors and Hispano-Roman pagans but one where arms and letters come together. Rather than hosting non-Christian

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[123] Though Mena presents the notion of an Iberian Aristotle as the possible, even likely, conclusion he draws based on the number of philosophers known to be of Cordovan birth, he is also carrying over a more widespread misconception; see Francisco Rico's "Aristoteles Hispanus: En torno a Gil de Zamora, Petrarca y Juan de Mena" (1967).

[124] The juxtaposition of Quintilian with the emperor Galba also takes us back to our first chapter, where we saw the moniker given to him by Suetonius of an "emperor made in Spain" (imperatorem in Hispania factum).

[125] The header of Mena's estrofa is "Razón por que no loa los poetas de Córdova" (p. 113) (The Reason I do not praise the poets of Cordoba), and he goes on to state: "non divulgare tu sabiduría. / De sabios valientes loarte podría / que fueron espejo muy maravilloso; / por ser de ti misma, seré sospechoso; / dirán que los pinto mejor que devía." (CXXIV.985-92, p. 113) (I will not divulge your wisdom. Of your valiant sages I could praise, that they were a marvelous mirror; but as I myself am from you, I would raise suspicion. They will say I paint you better than I should).

cultures, Mena's patria chica is now presented as a geographic locus that embodies the very synthesis of arms and letters.[126]

Mena's *Laberinto* and *Coronaçión* would find something of a caballero counterpart in the poetic production of the very author who upon Cartagena's death had dubbed the converso author a 'Seneca': Fernán Pérez de Guzmán. Like Mena's *Coronaçión*, Guzmán's *Quatro virtudes cardinals* is an allegorical poem dedicated to the Marqués de Santillana, who was in fact the nephew of Guzmán (whom we remember was himself nephew to Pero López de Ayala). Though not laden with Hispano-Roman imagery, Guzmán casts "Séneca, el de tu España" as an exemplar of prudence; to represent exemplars of justice, Guzmán presents the emperor Trajan from Hispania Baetica (though not specifically advertised as such) in a cross-cultural and transhistorical pantheon of lawgivers that includes the likes of Solon, Alexander and Alfonso X El Sabio (Folché-Delbosc edition 1912; Estrofas 33 & 20; p. 667 & 666).[127]

In another of Guzmán's poem, his *Loores a los claros varones de España* ,one less evocative of Mena's dream-vision allegory in the *Laberinto* and more akin to the versified historiography of Pablo de Santa María's *Siete edades del mundo*, Guzmán would return to images of Hispania with greater interest. Yet restructuring Santa María's concluding verse epilogue of Gothic history a la Isidore and Jiménez de Rada, Guzmán begins his poem with a series of patriotic stanzas predominantly focused on Hispano-Roman figures and subject matter. After beginning with a familiar account of Gerion and an overview of the regions of España (familiar to us from Cartagena's Basel Address), Guzmán praises the deeds of the Numantinos against Scipio Aemelianus. Of course, and as we shall discuss later in our treatment of the Battle of Numantia and Cervantes' tragedy, the history of Numantia is certainly part of Spain's history as Roman Hispania, but it is also rather anti-Roman in its nature, the Numantinos representing a rebellious resistance against the cruelty of Roman imperialism. Perhaps recognizing such Roman/anti-Roman tensions, Guzmán uses the Numancia episode both to participate in yet also to subvert longstanding literary tropes associated with Hispania. Beyond seeing the Numantinos' decision for mass suicide over surrender as an exemplar of their "ardor de libertad," he presents their means of doing so, a mass conflagration of the town with its residents still within, as something of an inverted Laus Hispaniae:

> España nunca da oro
> con que los suyos se rienden;
> fierro e fuego es el thesoro
> que da con que se defiendan.
> Sus enemigos no entiendan
> de los despojos lleuar;
> o ser muertos o matar,
> otras joyas non atiendan.
> (Folché-Delbosc edition 1912; Estrofa 21, p. 708)

[126] Independent of his praise for Cordoba, Mena also makes us of Lucan as a poetic model for several passages in the *Laberinto*; see Cummins' appendix II (p. 197-200).
[127] Guzmán's mode of identifying Trajan is in fact further confusing as it places him in a trio with Titus and the Hellenistic Alexander as "todos tres del gran romano" (all three from that great Rome).

> Spain never gives gold to rulers from amongst her own; fire and iron is the treasure she gives and with which she is defended. Her enemies do not understand the spoils they take; either kill or be killed, there are no other jewels to attend to. (translation my own)

The "oro," "thesoro," and "joyas" that in the typical Laus Hispaniae would serve to enrich Rome, are here unmasked as the spoils/despojos of imperial exploitation. Instead of such bounty, the Numantinos send Rome "fierro y fuego" as well as the message of choosing not to surrender and be part of Rome's empire but to "ser muertos o matar."[128]

After his account of Numancia, Guzmán moves through several other Hispano-Roman figures. The poet Lucan is "natural desta nacion," and like the Numantinos, Lucan is associated with "libertad" as the "virtud del reyno ispano," (Estrofa 26, p. 709) ostensibly because liberty is a running theme throughout his *Pharsalia* but perhaps also because of Lucan's opposition to Nero that led to his own suicide.[129] Displaying a common tension and paradox surrounding the mythologizing of Iberia's Roman past, Guzmán praises the anti-Roman guerilla fighter "Viriato lusitano," whom he compares to Hannibal as a "tan cruel enemigo" of Rome, right before heaping praise upon a Hispano-Roman emperor (Estrofas 28-29, p. 709). Trajan is presented in Guzmáns's *Loores* as a blessing not only for "el regno ispano" but for "el alto imperio romano" and even "todo home humano" (Estrofa 31, p. 709), thus moving from nation to empire to universal humanity. As Pablo de Santa María had done, Guzmán frames his praise for Trajan with the apocryphal legend that Gregory the Great uttered a prayer to deliver the soul of the Iberian-born emperor out from purgatory and to heaven. Such lessons are not even necessary with Guzmán's next exemplar, the Christian emperor Theodosius, "natural de España", whom he describes as an iconoclast who "fizo destruir todos los templos de los idolos" (he had all the temples of the idols destroyed) and as Rome's last great emperor: "despues non vido / el imperio su igual" (afterward none saw an emperor his equal) (Estrofas 42-43, p. 711).

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[128] As with his attribution of Iberian-birth to Aristotle, Mena participates in the misconception of the time that thought Numancia was located near Zamora as opposed to Soria (both in Castilla y León but at opposite ends). Such misconception arises with the late thirteenth-century *De Preconiis civitatis Numantine* of Juan Gil de Zamora, as his name suggests a native of the town, but continues into the Renaissance and is likewise committed by the Italian Humanist Giannozzo de Manetti in his *Laudatio Agnetis Numantinae*. Manetti wrote both this work and a life of Seneca in 1440 for the Spanish nobleman Nuño de Guzmán, Spanish nobleman and relative of Fernán Pérez, in part because Nuño's mother, Inés de Torres, was born in Zamora. Both works have been edited and translated in modern editions, either into Spanish or English, with helpful introductions and commentary: *Un Episodio del proto-humanismo español: Tres opúsculos de Nuño de Guzmán y Giannozzo Manetti* edited by Jeremy Lawrance (1989) and *Biographical Writings* edited by Stefano U. Baldassarri and Rolf Bagemihl (2003).

[129] Mena juxtaposes in rhyme Lucan as "cauto romano" (wary Roman) with his "mano" (hand), aligning the hand as instrument of poetic with that which self-inflicts the wound of suicide. However, Lucan's suicide was not his own choice of evading Nero's tyranny but rather his proscribed punishment, and he divulged the names of several co-conspirators, including his mother, in hopes of gaining pardon.

Following the treatment of Theodosius are a set of passages that move the *Loores* unmistakably toward the poetics of Mena's *Coronaçión* and *Laberinto*. Echoing Mena's "sabios valientes" and "poetas de Córdova," Guzmán presents his readers with the "sabios de España":

> De filosofos e auctores
> vno fue Seneca ispano;
> non desdeñan a Lucano,
> poetas e istoriadores.
> Es entre los oradores
> insigne Quintiliano:
> España nunca da flores,
> mas fruto vtil e sano. (Estrofa 46, p. 711)

> Of philosophers and authors, was one Spanish Seneca; and Lucan is not ignored by the poets and historians. Among the orators is famous Quintilian: Spain never gives flowers, but rather beneficial and wholesome fruit.

Beyond cementing a Hispano-Roman trinity in Seneca, Lucan and Quintilian, Guzmán's treatment of these "sabios" becomes yet another opportunity for him to poetically refashion the trope of the Laus Hispaniae. The bounty Iberia bestows is no longer one of agriculture but of culture itself – poetry, history and oratory. Yet preserving through metaphor the associations and slippage between cultural/agricultural, Guzmán explains that such writings are not the ornamental nothings of "flores" but rather "fruto vtil e sano."

The parallels between Guzmán's "Sabios de España" and Mena's "Poetas de Córdova" are all the more heightened through Guzmán's own gestures of synthesizing the Gothic with the Hispano-Roman. Just as Mena united arms and letters with a praise of Cordoba as the "flor de saber e de cavallería" so does Guzmán state the importance of culture with the following popular refrain he states not once but twice: "Es vn vulgar e comun fablar de España que dizen quel principe guerrero en la vna mano debe traer la lanza e en la otra la arte e la maña" (p. 711) (there is a common and popular saying in Spain which tells that a warrior prince should carry a lance in one hand and in the other art and ability).[130]

In echoing Cartagena and Mena's rhetoric of synthesis, Guzmán contributes a caballero voice to the imagined union of arms and letters, or at least armas y arte. Yet beyond merely repeating the earlier converso constructions, Guzmán's framing advertises an important difference that however subtle, further elucidates the divergences between converso and caballero mentalities. Mena's synthesis of armas y letras occurred at the level of territory; his Córdoba was a locality that produced saber y cavallería, but in different individuals, some

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[130] This prose header comes immediately before the Hispano-Roman literary canon of estrofa 46 and is itself preceded by a verse rendition: "Prouerbio vulgar de España / es que dize, que la espada / de la arte e de la maña / deue ser acompañada. / Pues si va la lanza errada / sin la industria e sin la arte, / conuiene en esta parte / la ciencia sea notada" (45, p. 711) (A common saying in Spain tells that the sword should be accompanied by an ability in the arts. Thus if the lance errs without industry and without the arts, in such cases it is known that knowledge is advisable).

caballeros, some sabios or letrados. Divided by specialty, Mena's vision of society is much like Cartagena's reworking of feudalism's Three Orders, where the work of the letrados was separated from those who fought to defend the nation.

By contrast, Guzmán imagines such synthesis occurring within a single individual, one who is unmistakably caballero, a "principe guerrero" (warrior prince) who first carries his lance in one hand and then his "arte" in the other hand. Though it was indeed Guzmán who so praised Alonso de Cartagena by calling him a Seneca, the formulation of his *Loores* essentially downplays the role of and need for the letrado. Though the letrado contribution to sciences and wisdom is acknowledged, such learning is presented as capable of being wholly absorbed by – and thus fully realized through – the caballero and principe who possess both armas y letras.[131]

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[131] The notion of a 'Caballero Renaissance' has been proposed by Helen Nader in her work *The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 to 1550* (1979). This work is no doubt a valuable contribution and history of humanism and classicism in Spain. However, ultimately I am in stark disagreement with Nader exclusively attributing Renaissance learning to the caballero class, as should be obvious by now given my narrative of a primarily Judeoconverso and letrado humanist revival of Hispania, albeit one that, as I have argued above, caballero aristocrats eventually took part in. Aside from the fact that she basis her argument on the one family of the Mendozas, even her claims here strain logic.

We can begin with her analysis of the first caballero whom I treated: Pero López de Ayala. Seemingly aware that Gothicism is contrary to humanism, Nader attempts to cast the Mendoza's as a departure from earlier medieval chronicles. She is either unaware or decides to ignore Ayala's prologue to his translation of Livy in which he praises the Visigoths, and even for their sacking and destroying of Rome. So what is Nader's evidence? That when chronicling his mother's ancestry Ayala does not go all the way back to the Goths as his father Fernán Pérez had done for the paternal side of the family (200 n.45). But while Ayala says nothing at all here about the Visigoths or the records they left, Nader insinuates that for Ayala, "the Visigothic period, with its lack of written records, was a dark age" (74). And when Ayala provides a brief summary of the Gothic kings, identifying Atanarico as a Christian, Nader somehow detects an "ironic summary" where Ayala "ridicules what was known of the Visigoths" (ibid). Such arguments strain logic, and as J.N. Hillgarth has posited, this prologue essentially argues that Spanish history begins with the Visigoths and then goes on to argue that the first Asturian King Pelayo was a descendent of Goths (119). Nader then goes on to argue that Ayala believed Spanish history began with the Romans, even though she provides no evidence for this and quickly elides the use of Roman models with the history of the 'Reconquista' (74). Of course, as we saw, Ayala did know Livy intimately as a translator, and he even refers to the treaty between the Maccabees and the Romans as an early example of history writing; but neither directly factor into Ayala's account of the Iberian past.

Nader's later discussion of the Mendoza patronage of universities and humanism does provide a useful overview. But when she comes to our own topic of focus in the revival of Hispano-Roman authors, she argues that the letrados "[Antonio de] Nebrija and [Hernán] Núñez were influenced by their noble patrons' preference for the "Spanish" Romans" (146) – here ignoring the first translation of Seneca by the Judeoconverso and letrado Alonso de Cartagena. Nader does, however, acknowledge that humanist study at the University of Alcalá was set back by the removal of Nebrija from the Polyglot Bible because he had insisted on historicizing

Guzmán's privileging of the caballero extends to the structure of the work as a whole and its prolonged narration of Gothic history. As mentioned above, Guzmán's *Loores* is something of a return to Pablo de Santa María's *Siete edades* as a verse rendering of the national-historical vision laid out in the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna*. And like both earlier works, Guzmán's *Loores* dedicates the vast majority of its estrofas to the deeds of the Visigothic rulers and the kings of Castile and Leon, whom he connects through Don Pelayo, who is dubbed a "pequeña centalla gotica … aquella / pequeña e chica estralla" (Estrofa 117, p. 719) (a small Gothic spark … that small little star).[132] Beyond referring to the Goths as "gente, tanto clara e excelente" (Estrofa 70, p. 714) (a people so bright and excellent), Guzmán's narration of deeds reminds us how fifteenth-century Gothicism began with Pero López de Ayala's preface to Livy and its celebration of Rome's fall at Gothic hands. Clearly Guzmán has embraced aspects of the Hispano-Roman project, but just as his vision of the "principe guerrero" absorbed the letrado's learning into the figure of the caballero nobleman, so too does his historical vision work to present the history of Hispania as something of a preface to Visigothic history. To articulate this transition from one cultural image to another, Guzmán juxtaposes the Iberian-born Emperor Theodosius with his own Alaric as bringing on Rome's destruction and suffering:

> de Theodosio me partiendo,
> veo a Roma estar gimiendo
> ante Alarico y llorando.
> Porque deste fue vencida
> la que al mundo conquisto;
> a este fue sometida
> la que a todos sojuzgo.
> (Estrofa 61-62, p. 713)
>
> From Theodosius I depart, and see Rome in mourning before Alaric, crying. Because since this one was defeated, who had before conquered the world, to him [Alaric] she submitted, who had before subjugated all.

As the poem passes from Theodosius to Alaric, Guzmán's own poetic voice enters as both guide and spectator; it is he who moves (me partiendo) from Hispano-Roman to Goth and likewise he who witness (veo) the wails and cries of the Romans as their city falls. But if Guzmán's depiction of the Fall of Rome lacks the celebratory tone of Ayala's earlier account, as an inserted spectator Guzmán also stands apart from and does not seem to share in the suffering of the Romans. Indeed Guzmán nearly seems to relish in Rome's sacking as something of a historical

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biblical language "in terms of its time and place" and applying to the Bible the same standards of "linguistic criticism applied to the pagan classics" (148). Both Nebrija's philological methods and his relationship to the university system will be treated in the next chapter.

[132] Guzmán also articulates the more familiar dynastic connection: "De noble generacion / de los godos descendio" (113, p. 719) (From the noble lineage of the Goths, he descended), and also earlier: "De la estirpe de los quales / e clara generacion, / reinaron tantos e tales / reyes en esta nacion" (Estrofa 74, p. 714) (Of the line of those, that bright lineage, so many and such kings reined in this nation).

irony in which the onetime rulers of the world must now submit to a new ruler in Alaric the Visigoth (la que al mundo conquisto / a este fue sometida), and image that likewise recalls Isidore's female Hispania submitting herself to the masculine Visigoth.

Such sentiments of liberation carry through into Guzmán's narration of the Visigothic entry into Iberia, where Goths are presented not as violent conquerors, as even the Alfonsine histories acknowledged, but as liberators who "de subjecion romana / saco la nacion ispana" (Estrofa 87) (from Roman subjugation, delivered the Spanish nation). Guzmán thus realizes the previously discussed Foucauldian paradigm of a racialized aristocracy that justifies its socio-political dominance through a history of having liberated the underclass from a worse oppressor. And beyond the very emphasis on dynastic continuity between the Visigothic kings and those of Leon and Castile, Gothic presence continues well into later Spanish affairs. Despite Guzmán's praises for Ferdinand I, King of León and Count of Castile (a union that prompted the further title of "Emperor of Spain"), we are likewise told how Ferdinand divided the kingdom among his sons "contra la antigua costumbre de los godos," (against the ancient custom of the Goths) a departure from Gothic tradition that brought the perhaps expected "grandes daños e males" (great harm and misfortune) (p. 729). Thus, while Guzmán imagines a caballero disposition amenable to letrado learning, the Gothicism that informs this caballero life remains largely consistent with the feudal ideology we have encountered; it positions itself as an enemy to Classical Rome and prioritizes the continuation of aristocratic bloodlines and dynastic power.

It is, however, hard to say whether Guzmán's *Loores* represented a revitalization of the verse historiographies of earlier decades or was a more momentary relapse to what had already become a retrograde poetic form. As we indeed saw with his own *Quatro virtudes cardinales*, even Guzmán's own corpus presented a poetics more squarely in the tradition of the Dantescan dream-allegories pioneered in the Spanish tradition by Mena and Santillana. Indeed, as the dedicatee of both Mena's *Coronaçión* and Guzmán's *Quatro virtudes*, the very figure of the Marqués was becoming something of a poetic focal point around which images of Hispania were spun, this despite having celebrated his own purported Visigothic origins and bloodlines with the declaration that "De gótica sangre fue yo produzida" (*Comedieta de Ponça*, xxiii.177) (Of gothic blood was I produced). But what had been true in celebrations of his life and deeds remained true in the mourning of his death.

To commemorate the Marqués' passing, Santillana's own secretary Diego de Burgos penned the *Triunfo del Marqués* (ca. 1458). As a work, Burgos' *Triunfo* exists within a network of family resemblances to others we have been considering. Like Guzmán's elegiac *Coplas a la muerte de Alonso de Cartagena*, Burgos' *Triunfo* is a poem of mourning. But Burgos was likely a judeoconverso himself – his family having possibly taken the name "Burgos" for its associations with Pablo de Santa María Bishop of Burgos. Burgos' *Triunfo* thus presents the relational inverse of the caballero Guzmán's mourning of the converso Cartagena; here the converso mourns. And as suggested above, Burgos' *Triunfo* poetically expands the elegiac form to encompass the sort of dream-vision allegory seen in the *Laberinto* and *Coronaçión* of Mena and the *Quatro virtudes* of Guzmán.

Like his predecessors both caballero and converso, Burgos uses the framework of a dream-vision, one in which Dante himself is in fact the guide, to communicate images of history and historical exemplarity, including from Roman Hispania. At about a third of the way into the poem, the Hispano-Roman emperors come into view with "de Castilla el justo Trajano" (just Trajan from Castile) and "Elio Adriano / príncipe docto" (González Cuenca edition; 2004:

lxxvi.605-6, p. 677) (Aelius Hadrian, a learned prince; translation my own) and the broader image of reversed translation imperii that moves west to east, from province to empire: "la gloria imperial / que vino de España al centro romano" (lxxvi.601, p. 677) (the imperial glory that came to and which include; translation my own). Rather echoing Guzmán's Roman/anti-Roman juxtaposition of the Iberian-born Emperors alongside the Lusitanian resistance leader Viriathus, Burgos soon after introduces his own anti-Roman in the defected captain and rebel Sertorius:

> Ves allí a otro por las Españas
> con muy gran esfuerço y captas maneras,
> obró tales cosas que son por hazañas
> a gentes presentes y aun venideras:
> Sertorio se llama, de quien las carreras
> Si bien aprendieran los tus castellanos
> no sola Granada mas los africanos
> havrían espanto de ver sus banderas. (625-32)
>
> Look there at another one from the Spains, of great strength and worthy ways, who through his efforts created much for people in the present day and yet to come: his name is Sertorius, and if you Castilians learned from his methods not only Granada but also Africans would be frightened upon seeing your banners.

As a historical exemplar, Burgos' Sertorius has a surprisingly far reach, one of importance for "gentes presentes y aun venideras." But beyond maintaining temporal relevance, this Sertorius is the key to bringing the Reconquista to a successful conclusion. Indeed, were the "castellanos" of the Marqués able to learn Sertorius' methods (de quien las carreras / Si bien aprendieran) they could not only reclaim Granada but ostensibly extend the war into Africa (no sola Granada mas los africanos / havrían espanto de ver sus banderas). Though reasons for this are never stated, we might speculate that for Burgos, Sertorius is a figure who combines the best of Rome and of Iberia, and thus represents something of a historical (and militarized) figuration of the aesthetic fusion represented by the poetry of Santillana, Mena and Burgos himself, one in which the Spanish language intersected with Italianate forms and heavily-Classicized imagery. From another vantage point, the notion of Sertorius as strategic key to the Reconquista displaces the ideological primacy of the caballero of Gothic ancestry, and replaces him with an exemplar of Classical Antiquity. Thus where Cartagena pardoned noblemen too busy with war to read the Latin Classics, Burgos suggests that the very key to military victory so sought after by Castile lies in such classical learning and the classical exemplar provided by Sertorius.

There is one such caballero nobleman who engages in this study; unsurprisingly, the Marqués himself. The Marqués's intellectual pursuits are indeed presented alongside the *Triunfo's* account of Hispania's author:

> Mira el estoico moral cordovés,
> Séneca, fuente de sabiduría
> cuyas doctrinas el noble Marqués
> no sin gran fruto continuo leía.
> Verás el famoso que tanto sabía

en arte oratoria, Quintiliano (841-46)

> Look at the Cordovan of Stoic morals, Seneca, fountain of wisdom, whose teachings the noble Marques continues to read not without great benefit. You will see that famous one who knew so much in the art of oratory, Quintilian.

Like "justo" Trajan and "docto" Hadrian, the Hispano-Roman authors are simultaneously connected to abstract virtues and to the land itself. Seneca is both moral Stoic and citizen of Córdoba. Yet, as mentioned earlier, the true form of mediation is textual and occurs through the Marqués' act of reading "no sin gran fruto continuo" these moral doctrines of Seneca.

As the poetic product of a less-known author, Burgos' *Triunfo del Marqués* could readily be taken as derivative of more popular works like Mena's *Laberinto*. Our own concerns have considered the specifics with which Burgos represents the history and culture of Hispania, yet this search has also led us to the work's primary means of reimaging the poetic genre. In what is essentially an allegory for the very dynamics of textual and readerly engagement, the second half of the poem becomes a succession of short speeches by various authors and figures of history. This procession of authorial voices likewise reveals the levels of complexity within the work's very title. The poem is a triunfo not only because it celebrates the life of the Marqués, but because it looks to Petrarch's *Trionfi* with the important difference that Petrarch's procession of abstract virtues and forces (Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time, and Eternity) are replaced by short speeches from particular individuals and writers from history.[133] Those figures most central to the history of Hispania are not forgotten: Seneca (estrofa 149), Lucan (154), Quintilian (155), Scipio Aemilianus (170),[134] Trajan (173), and Sertorius (184). And likewise present are Burgos' fellow Judeoconverso letrados, Cartagena and Mena (estrofas 162 & 164).

Certain editions of the *Triunfo del Marqués* included a preface where Burgos uses the cultural achievements of Santillana to tell a broader narrative of Spain's journey from ignorance to learning:

> … ca este es el que nuestras Españas a librado de la ciega ynorançia ylustrandola[s] por lunbre de caridad verdadera, y trayendo a notiçia de todos el conosçimiento del mayor bien que en la vida mortal se puede buscar por los onbres de esta es la çiençia … asy que deste tan gran venefiçio no solamente nuestros prynçipes e los grandes senores e aun los otros tenidos por letrados varones eran en España menguados mas tanuien todos los otros omnes de menor condiçion entre la de los quales rrazonable cosa fuera que alguno semejante se ouiera fallado. Mas como el varon de alto yngenio viese por discursos de tienpos, desde Lucano e Seneca e Quintiliano e otros antiguos sauios, rrobada e desierta su patria de tanta rriqueza, doliendose dello, trauajo con grand diligençia por sus

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133 Burgos elaborates on the triumph later (p. 721-22), and in our own discussion we will return to this celebratory ritual in our analysis of Cervantes' *Numancia*.

134 This is Scipio Aemilianus who fought the Numantinos not Africanus who fought Hannibal's Carthaginians in Iberia during the Second Punic War. Burgos describes Scipio's battles with imagery once again reminiscent of what we shall discuss in Cervantes' *Numancia*: "Domó los contrarios de su propia tierra, / vertiendo su sangre muy muchas vegadas" (1358-59) (He broke his enemies on their own soil, spilling their blood a great many times.

> propios estudios e destreza e con muchos e muy claras obras conpuestos del mesmo, ygualarla e conpararla con la gloria de los famosos onbres de Atenas o de academia e tanbien de Rromanos, trayendo a ella grand copia de libros de todo genero de filosofía en estas partes fasta entonçe non conoçidos, enseñando el por si a muchos e teniendo onbres muy sabios que a la letura de otros aprouechasen … e dando en toda dotrina orden de documentos a todo estado de onbres para fazerse muy enseñados. Asi que ya por su causa nuestra España reesplandeçe de çençia. (Schiff edition 1905: 461-62)

> … thus, he [the Marqués] is the one who liberated our Spains from blind ignorance, illuminating her with the brightness of true charity, and calling attention to all knowledge of the greatest good that all men search for in mortal life, which is learning … as it were, this great benefit had been lacking for many in Spain, not only the great lords and even those held as men of letters, but also all the other men of lower condition among the multitude, from whom it is reasonable to think that another similar could have also discovered it [i.e. learning]. But as the man of a great mind can see across the passage of time, from Lucan and Seneca and Quintilian and other ancient sages, their nation had been robbed and emptied of such wealth, and saddened by this, he [Santillana] worked with great diligence through his own study and ability and with many and very splendid works from Athens, or the Academy, and also from the Romans, bringing to her [Spain] a copious amount of books of all genre of philosophy in these parts till then not known, teaching many by himself and with very wise men who benefited from reading others … and giving an order of documents to all learning and to every station of men so that they could learn. Thus by his own agency, our Spain shines with learning.

Though Burgos is ostensibly celebrating the individual accomplishments of the Marqués, his account emphasizes the broader community of "nuestras Españas." This collective image first takes form in a more universalizing moral message that defines knowledge (çiençia) as the greatest good (mayor bien) that humans (onbres) can search for in their mortal lives (en la vida mortal). But as Burgos goes on, this universal morality becomes instead a breakdown of social classes. Knowledge provides "gran venifiçio" to not only elite "prynçipes e los grandes senores" but also to "otros tenidos por letrados" and even "otros omnes de menor condiçion entre la multitude," or as he writes later "a todo estado de onbres." Even more surprisingly, Burgos' class panorama comes to serve two purposes. Beyond outlining how all elements of society from princes to the multitude benefit from knowledge, Burgos goes on to suggest that had it not been Santillana himself, it is only reasonable (rrazonable cosa) to assume that another (alguno semejante) would have come along to accomplish similar cultural ends. And as this hypothetical aside comes after all of Burgos's enumerated classes, indeed most immediately after the "multitud," the implication is that a Santillana need not be a prince or one of "los grandes senores" but that instead from among the letrados or even "omnes de menor condiçion" there could arise a Santillana. Thus while the poem of the *Triunfo del Marqués* is more squarely in line with the poetic trends of the fifteenth century, written by either conversos or caballeros, the

prose preface to the work goes a step beyond and anticipates the humanism of a new rising social class.[135]

Having stated that a cultural pioneer like the Marqués can arise from any social class, Burgos then explains why it then took so long for one to emerge. To do this he turns to the era of "Lucano e Seneca e Quintiliano e otros antiguos sauios" as the beginning of a long history of despoiling the peninsula of "tanta riqueza." By listing these Hispano-Roman authors Burgos surely seems to be casting "riqueza" as broader cultural wealth, but the more material connotation also anticipates what Antonio de Nebrija will communicate more explicitly in our next chapter: that Hispania's cultural contributions to the Roman Empire were themselves a form of colonial tribute akin to the precious metals and agricultural bounty celebrated in the Laus Hispaniae.[136] Indeed though Lucan, Seneca and Quintilian most explicitly serve as a chronological marker of when this cultural-colonial looting began, there is undoubtedly an implication that they themselves are examples of this tributary extraction, all having eventually moved to Rome for their careers.

This image of resource extraction from Hispania to Rome also sets the framing for Santillana's own cultural contribution, which is framed as something of a reversal, of bringing books "fasta entonçe non conoçidos" from Athens and Rome to Spain. Juxtaposed in this manner, Burgos' narrative is less a translatio studii than a historical correction through which Spain is finally reimbursed for the riches and culture stolen during a colonial past. The patriotic significance of Burgos' historical and social vision is thus achieved by continuing, though also heightening and inverting, a discourse of empire we encountered earlier. We already saw how a poet like Fernán Pérez de Guzmán adapted the topos of the Laus Hispaniae to depict cultural and literary contributions of Hispano-Romans as akin, yet superior to, the agricultural and mineral output that Hispania delivered to Rome. But with Burgos cultural contribution is patriotic because it is a response to a history of national destruction; it compensates for such loss. However much Burgos' verse praised the military efforts of Sertorius' Iberian forces against Rome, Hispania's true victory comes only with the learned efforts of Seneca, Lucan, Quintilian, Santillana, and perhaps eventually from the multitude.

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[135] Burgos thus comes to embody Beverley's notion of the proto-bourgeois letrado humanist and Camillo's belief that this cadre of "secretaries, legal advisers, historians and diplomats" came to acquire "a new social and political awareness, [and even] a class consciousness" (xiv). And here we do well to remember that while this rising administrative class might have inherited the letrado intellectual values of earlier generations, the hold a far different social status from figures like Pablo and Alonso de Santa María who had been among the most wealthy of the Sephardic families.

[136] In the parts elided Burgos also anticipates Nebrija's elevation of literature over law. As Burgos sees it, Spain was not lacking in "derechos canonicos [e] los çeuiles" but such legal accomplishments did not enable the cultural flourishing carried out by the Marqués when he brought over and taught Spain "las moralidades que las poeticas fiçiones en sus fablas tienen veladas, dando a conoçer el fruto que de la sabia eloquençia se puede seguir" (462), a construction that combines moral philosophy with poetic fictions with rhetorical eloquence, and indeed locates the benefits of the former within the latter two.

**Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre*: Caballero Nostalgia and Regret**

What is perhaps the crowning poetic achievement of the fifteenth century also represents a merging of the various poetic energies we have thus far seen at play. Jorge Manrique's *Coplas a la muerte de su padre* (ca. 1476[137]) is, as its title advertises, an elegy of mourning similar to Guzmán's own elegiac *Coplas* written on the death of Alonso de Cartagena. Yet like many of the other poem's we have seen from Mena's *Laberinto* and *Coronaçión* to Burgos' *Triunfo*, Manrique's *Coplas* combines the perspectives of both allegory and historiography to celebrate in verse the virtues of various historical exemplars. Yet where Mena and Burgos were conversos, Manrique takes us back to the poetic voice of the caballero aristocrat as earlier represented by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán and the Marqués de Santillana. In our examination of these earlier caballero poets, we detected ways in which the aristocratic ideology of late medieval feudalism inflected their writings, in particular what sentiments the expressed in relation to the somewhat overlapping divides between Gothicism vs. Roman Hispanism, arms vs. letters. In its serving as something of a culmination of this tradition of caballero poetry, Manrique's *Coplas* is a remarkable poetic contribution not just because it continues to voice such caballero ideology but because it amplifies its expression.

Among the *Coplas'* many approaches to history is one of nostalgia. Manrique's utilization of the 'ubi sunt?' poetic motif has been long noticed by scholars,[138] yet less emphasized is the specific object of Manrique's nostalgia, the epoch of time whose passing he asks after and mourns. Where poets after Manrique, more influenced by Renaissance classicism, would lament the disappearance of classical Rome or even Hispano-Roman towns such as Italica,[139] Manrique himself looks to the passing of the Middle Ages, which he associates with the reign of Juan II, the very monarchical personage whom earlier judeoconverso authors had so praised as their protector and patron: "¿Qué se hizo el rey don Juan?" (Beltrán 1993 edition; XVI.181, p. 158) (What has come of King don Juan II?; translation my own). For Manrique, Juan II embodies the "galán" (gallantry) of chivalric festivity, the "justas" (jousts) and "torneos" (tournaments) that have with him disappeared (XVI.184 & 187, p. 158-9). Thus after conversos from Cartagena to Mena spilt so much ink to convince readers of Juan II's humanist disposition, a caballero now informs us that he was in fact Castile's last chivalric king.

And with the passing chivalry of Juan II's reign, so too are medieval modes of art and aesthetics lost. Along with the jousting and tournaments, so have passed the accompanying ornament of "paramentos, bordaduras / y cimeras" (XVI.188-89, p. 159) (ornaments, embroideries and crests). Such ceremonial games of warfare find a counterpart in the passing of medieval love poetry and music. Just as he asked of Juan II, Manrique likewise wonders, "¿Qué se hizo aquel trobar, / las músicas acordadas / que tañían?" (XVII.199-201) (What has come of troubadour song, the harmonious music they made)[140]

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[137] For discussion see Vicente Beltrán's prologue (19).

[138] See 'estudio preliminar' (xxvii).

[139] This is most present in the Rodrigo Caro's poem "Canción a las ruinas de Italica."

[140] With the troubadour love poetry, so too went the very female objects of love and modes of loving, "¿Qué se hizieron las damas, / sus tocados, sus vestidos, / sus olores? / ¿Qué se hizieron las llamas / de los fuegos encedidos / de amadores?" (XVII.193-98) (What has come of the

Manrique's nostalgia for a more chivalric Castile under Juan II clarifies a historical and aesthetic vision more subtly hinted at earlier. In the preceding estrofa, when Manrique declares his intent to "Dexemos a los troyanos … dexemos a los romanos / aunque oímos y leímos / sus vitorias" (XV.169-74, p. 157-58) (Let us leave the Trojans … Let us leave the Romans, even though we hear and read of their victories), or even earlier when he states that he will "Dexo las invocaciones / de los famosos poetas" (IV.37-38, p. 150) (I set aside the invocations of famous poets), we can now understand that such is done not to disavow the historical past for the lived present, but rather as a poetic gesture that seeks to reject the particularly Classicizing designs of an emerging Renaissance literary culture. Manrique scorns classical cultures and the techniques of classical poetry ostensibly because he believes their recent revival in the Renaissance to have brought on the vanishing of more chivalric modes of art and life.[141]

Yet as it has been for so many of the poets and authors of fifteenth-century Castile, Manrique's vision of history and aesthetics cannot be separated from social attitudes that take us back to the familiar topic of Gothicism and blood purity. Manrique's mourning after a vanishing medieval aesthetic is also a protest against the social reconfiguration of feudalism's aristocratic hierarchy. Indeed, Manrique's verse expression of Gothicism comes somewhat before his later rejection of Renaissance classicism and his nostalgic medievalism, but having examined such poetic tropes as part a unified historical and aesthetic vision, we can now better appreciate it within a grander historical vision:

> Pues la sangre de los godos,
> el linage y la nobleza
> tan crescida,
> ¡por cuantas vías y modos
> se sume su grand alteza
> en esta vida!
> Unos, por poco valer,
> ¡por cuán baxos y abatidos
> que los tienen!
> otros por, por no tener,
> con oficios no devidos
> se sostienen. (X.109-20)[142]

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ladies, their adornments, their gowns and their scents? What has come of the flames from those fires lit by lovers?).

[141] This larger understanding of the late medieval / early Renaissance period of time as an end rather than a beginning was made famous by Johan Huizinga's seminal *Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919, English edition 1996).

[142] This estrofa is notoriously complex due to the rather antiquated verb "se sume (sumirse)" at the enter of the first part and the also hard to place pronouns the second part. To assist readers, Jesús-Manuel Alda Tesán includes the following prose rendition in his edition: "La nobleza antigua está humillada o sumida, la de unos que, por carecer de valimiento o amistad con los poderosos, permanecen en desgracia y apartados; otros, que por no tener medios de subsistencia, se dedican a oficios indignos" (149n.18).

> Thus the blood of the Goths, that soaring lineage and nobility, by how many paths and ways has its vaunted greatness been thrown down within this life. Some by not seeing its value, how low and abject is their estimation! Others because they do not have it by unworthy offices keep themselves alive.

For Manrique, the decline in prestige of a feudal aristocracy descended from Goths is more a self-inflicted phenomenon than one caused by competing rivalries of an outsider class. The fault lies with the aristocrats themselves for having followed "vías y modos" of "poco valor," either because they have fallen out of political favor (abatidos) or simply to survive (se sostienen). Yet in the end the social vision is clear: "la sangre de los godos / el linage y la nobleza / tan crescida" are not what they used to be; blood and lineage do not matter as they once did.

The poignancy with which Manrique bemoans the social decline of Visigothic linage in his *Coplas* is matched only by the clarity with which the poem articulates such decline as a question of blood. Roughly three-quarters of a century after Pero López de Ayala initially praised the "pura e linpia sangre" of Castile's Gothic monarchy, the social vision has been turned on its head (at least as Manrique perceives it), but the vocabulary and ideology of blood persists. And while a Manrique never sat on the throne of Castile, their clan did seek to portray themselves as akin to monarchs with emblems such as "No descendemos de reyes, sino los reyes de nos," "Es de los Manrique, que vienen de los godos," and "Manriques, sangre de godos, defensa de los chirstianos y espanto de los paganos" (quoted in Beltrán, p. 210 note 48.49). The last of these family mottos not only ties the rhetoric of Gothic blood-lineage to the Christian militarism of the Reconquista but perhaps even houses the very anti-Roman/anti-classicism that López de Ayala first used when introducing Gothic blood to the fifteenth century.

But to classify Manrique's *Coplas* as a work wholly committed to an ideology of Gothicism would be premature. While the first seventeen estrofas certainly wed Manrique's nostalgic medievalism to an elevation of Gothic blood-lineage, the *Coplas* take a decided turn at estrofa twenty-eight. When describing the virtues of his father don Rodrigo Manrique, Jorge Manrique turns to historical exemplars so as to emphasize shared traits. Despite the earlier proclamation that we "dejamos los romanos," Manrique's list is made up entirely of Classical exemplars and especially of the generals and emperors of Rome. And as scholars since Ernst Curtius have noticed, within Manrique's Roman pantheon, there is a particular predominance of historical figures associated with Roman Hispania, either by birth and descent or who campaigned and governed there. Indeed, mutual enemies Scipio Africanus and Hannibal who battled one another on the fields of Iberia are paired respectively as exemplars of "virtud" and "el saber y trabajar" (XXVII.316-17). After them come Trajan for his "bondad," and in the next estrofa, "Marco Aurelio en igualdad / del semblante; / Adriano en elocuencia, / Theodosio en humanidad / y buen talente" (XXVIII.226-30) - all of course, Hispano-Roman emperors.

Estrofas twenty-seven and -eight have been at the very center of controversies and poetic estimations of the *Coplas*. No less a critic than Menéndez Pelayo thought these estrofas were the lowest point of the *Coplas*, with nineteenth century editor José Manuel Quintana excising them from his edition.[143] Though such bowdlerizing and condemnation were more likely borne by a

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[143] For discussion see Domínguez (1988: preface xiii, p. 71 and114). Other editors were less precise in their censorship but would often leave out estrofas twenty-five to forty, thus nearly half of the poem.

lack of regard for the poetic merit of the estrofas, such rejection also points to readerly discomfort with the poem's ideological tensions as such Classical images destabilize not only the poem's early proposition of leaving behind the Trojans and the Romans but also its nostalgic elevation of the Castilian Middle Ages as the apex of history.

A likely poetic inspiration and precedent for his *Coplas'* list of exemplars was the "Aguilando al conde de Paredes" of his uncle Goméz Manrique, but what is most noticeable is that where Gómez concludes his list with the mention of a single medieval exemplar in El Cid, Jorge's remains entirely classical till its end.[144] As we saw, even Judeoconverso letrados such as Juan de Mena tended to include figures from medieval Castile – El Cid is likewise mentioned in his *Laberinto* – but Manrique stops at the aforementioned lines about the Late Antique Christian emperors in the Iberian-born Theodosius who is soon after followed by Constantine.[145]

The contradictions and discrepancies that *Coplas* XXVII - XXVIII present for the poem as a whole underscore a central tenet of our treatment of broader themes and concepts. When Manrique populates his pantheon of virtues with classical exemplars, he is also establishing a network of affiliative relations. Unlike connections of Gothic blood, the relationship between the exemplar and the individual is clearly not familial but rather constructed through a network of virtuous affinities. Historical connections and continuities are established not through blood-lineage and filiative descent but through shared traits and habits that simultaneously span various cultures yet which are inflected by the geographic organization of the Iberian Peninsula. That so many of Manrique's figures come from the history of Roman Hispania illustrates how this affiliative repository of exemplary models is simultaneously expansive and yet also constricted, that it reaches across historical eras and even modes of cultural identification (Roman-born, Hispano-Roman, Carthaginian; pagan as well as Christian) yet is inflected by the defined parameters of a national community. Having conceded (albeit begrudgingly and mournfully) the decline of Visigothic blood-lineage, Manrique's man of virtue must turn to these looser bonds of history and nation, ostensibly by reclaiming the very Roman histories that had just earlier been discarded. The historical and national thus assert themselves over the genealogical and feudalistic ties of blood-lineage.[146]

Yet we must also remember that Manrique's discourse of exemplarity is really operating at two distinct levels. Though in the broader sense the *Coplas* could be read as poetic guidance on how to live a virtuous and exemplary life, the immediate framing of the poem is of course the elegiac remembrance of the poet's father don Rodrigo. And unlike the procession of historical figures we saw in Diego de Burgos' *Triunfo*, the pantheon of exemplars that Manrique constructs also points back to his father. The "bondad" of Trajan, "virtud" of Scipio Africanus, "elocuencia" of Adriano, and "humanidad" of Theodosius are mentioned not precisely as abstract virtues located in the histories of Iberia and that all can follow, but as the qualities that

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[144] See Domínguez (115-17).

[145] It is of some not that Manrique breaks his diachronicity and after the Late Antique emperors but returns back to the republican era with the general Camilus.

[146] For an overview of exemplarity in the Renaissance see Timothy Hampton's *Writing from History: The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature* (1990). Though the question of filial, biological production does not motivate Hampton's examples of study as much as Manrique, a continuing theme is the personal vs. the universal that Hampton introduces with the example of Antonio de Guevara (24).

don Rodrigo possessed within himself and exemplified in his own life as a caballero. Rodrigo Manrique thus becomes something of an arch- (or meta-) exemplar that contains within himself the poem's pantheon of the classical Hispano-Roman exemplar.

In his discussion of the *Coplas'* final estrofas, Frank Domínguez identifies a series of contrasts and relationships pertinent to this analysis. When likewise recognizing the significance of don Rodrigo as a paternal repository for the enumerated virtues of the historical exemplar, Domínguez also looks ahead to how don Rodrigo is depicted in the estrofas that conclude the poem. In the last twelve estrofas (XXIX-XL), Domínguez identifies a contrast between the persistence of virtuous action displayed by don Rodrigo versus the virtue of Gothic blood that had gone into decline and was even lost by Jorge Manrique's lifetime (136). Yet somewhat complicating this contrast is Domínguez's earlier observation that the liquidity evoked by the "sangre de los godos" participates in the *Coplas'* ever-present image of a flowing river that from the poem's beginning serves as a visual metaphor for the living of one's life ("Nuestras vidas son los ríos" III.25; Domínguez: 99-100). The river of Gothic blood that runs through Castilian history and the family line of the Manriques thus seems to have run dry at a certain point either at or before don Rodrigo's lifetime, and is instead replaced by the exemplarity of his actions that points back to the network of other historical exemplars. But if the river has gone dry, what is left unanswered is how such virtue is transmitted after don Rodrigo's death, the very occasion that prompts the writing of the poem by his son.

Jorge Manrique's poem thus creates a tension impossible to resolve. On the one hand, Manrique seems to recognize social realities that require the caballero nobleman to look beyond lineage and to the stories and deeds of classical history. Yet rather than acknowledge that such history is universally available to all capable of accessing it (i.e. reading it), Manrique cordons off the bounds of history by locating historical exemplarity within the personal and private space of his own father. The repositories of the virtuous exemplars are not books of history but rather individual caballero noblemen like don Rodrigo himself. But as a repository of such exemplarity, does don Rodrigo pass his virtues on in a filiative manner? – is the Hispano-Roman exemplar now something like homunculi (the historical and national located within the personal and biological) that can be transmitted through blood from father to son? Or has the decline of Visigothic blood-lineage finally made inevitable the cultivation of virtue through culture itself, through the activities of study and reading, the study of national history and the reading of classical historiographies? [147] The tension brings us back to the very motivations behind the

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[147] Though Domínguez does not exactly identity the same tension of acquiring virtue through family bloodlines vs. the cultural of reading, he does somewhat and implicitly acknowledge that here the poem bears contradictions that must be answered by going beyond its verses. Indeed, he turns to Alonso de Cartagena's discourse on moral virtue which he sees as a parallel to Manrique's own poetic presentation: "When talking about moral virtues (the virtues summarized in stanzas XXXVII-XXXVIII of the poem), Alonso de Cartagena says that they are acquired through active participation in the life of the family, the city, and the state. The outward signs of these virtues are nobility, antiquity of lineage, and virtuous activity" (136). Clearly, I too see a discussion between Cartagena and Manrique, yet one not so easy to resolve. Though my analysis of virtue and the *Coplas* has focused on bloodlines vs. culture, I would also questions whether Manrique has so clearly endorsed the, also civic humanist, emphasis on "active participation" that Domínguez attributes to Cartagena.

*Coplas*. Is Manrique's poem a private and familial act written by a son to remember his dead father? Or are the *Coplas* more like the very classical historiographies it purports to have abandoned, a written document designed to be read by many and that elevates historical and national figures in order to instruct its readers on how to live a virtuous life?

Whether or not Manrique's *Coplas* were meant to endorse the cultivation of virtue through the activities of reading and study, via literature and histories, such cultural projects seem to have had little effect on the caballero ethos. Writing some decades later in 1533 another Jorge Manrique, and likely of the same family, wrote the following to the Judeoconverso humanist, Valencian-born though self-exiled to northern Europe, Juan Luis Vives:

> Clearly it is true what you say about our country's envy and pride, but you should add barbarism. For today it is clear that no man can be held among those with even a modicum of devotion to fine letters without being accused of heresy, error and Judaizing.
>
> Plane verum est quod dicis invidam atque superbam illam nostrum patriam; adde & barbaram. Nam iam pro certo habetur apud illos neminem bonarum literarum mediocritur excultum, quin heresibus, erroribus, Judaismis sit refertus. (*Monvmenta Hvmanistica Lovaniensia* 1934: 435)

Yet if the correspondence of this Rodrigo Manrique speaks to the failure of a caballero project of self-cultivation through study, it conversely advertises how this cultural project of Renaissance humanism would by extension then be monopolized by Judeoconverso letrados. If through the pursuits of humanism, Castile's caballero aristocrats risked exiling themselves from their own heritage, then such a notion presents letters as not only the professional domain of the letrrado class but that learning itself had become the exclusive patrimony of those of Jewish descent.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## NEBRIJA AND THE CREATION OF "NUESTRA ESPAÑA"
### *Hispania and the Rise of a Letrado Nation*

Like any good celebrity, Renaissance Spain's most renowned humanist took on a name other than that of his birth. Antonio Martínez de Cala would become Elio Antonio de Nebrija, best known today for having authored the first grammar of a modern vernacular, the 1492 *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. But during his own lifetime, Nebrija's renown rested far less on his vernacular *Gramática* than on his Latin grammar, the *Introductiones Latinae* (*Introductions to Latin*), a work that saw itself reprinted and re-issued many times over, and which experienced popularity in both Spain and her New World territories as well as throughout Europe. [148] To each new edition of his *Introductiones*, Nebrija would add material yet also substitute out old for new, creating a text that not only expanded but that changed form and tone with each successive version. Thus, the 1488 edition included a dedicatory prologue in the vernacular to Isabel of Castile (material we shall discuss in time), while the 1495 edition doubled down the humanist's more esoteric scholarly impulses and included several Latin glosses to its own front matter, including an explanation of the author's very name, that is the new name he had chosen for himself.

While the additions of "Elio" and "Nebrija" may seem harmless enough to contemporary ears, their meaning bore the potential for controversy within the humanist circles to the extent that Nebrija's gloss took the form of a defense against imagined detractors:

> Many often ask the reason why I adopted the praenomen of "Aelius," given that praenomens should be gentilic, that being what is typical of every person's family. […] the motivation for assuming this praenomen was that in Lebrija and in the field of Nebrissa there exist numerous monuments from Antiquity where on marble engravings one can read about the about the family of the Aelius and Aelianus. Because of this I granted myself, as a legacy of my ancestors, the rightful adoption of this praenomen, because in all of Baetica the family of the Elios was especially of much renown. From them proceeded Aelius Trajanus and Aelius Hadrianus, the most prominent Caesars, about whom it can almost be certainly said that they were my countrymen.[149]

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[148] For a discussion of the *Gramática's* print and reception history that takes a nuanced approach to its more immediate relevance see Miguel Martínez's "Language, nation and empire in early modern Iberia" (2015: 44-60). That I spend far more time with Nebrija's works beyond the *Gramática*, including his little-studied Neo-Latin poetry, certainly aligns with Martínez's notion that Nebrija's influence did not rest squarely on the *Gramática*.

[149] Solent multi a me quarere cur Aelii praenomen mihi adoptauerim, cum praenomina gentilicia esse debeant, hoc est familiae cuiusque propria. [...] illam videlicet fuisse mihi causam praenomen hoc assumendi, quod Nebrisse atque in agro Nebrisensi complura sunt angiquitatis monumenta in quibus Aeliorum atque Aelianorum familia mamrobius incisa leguntur. Licuit

Like many exercises in humanist rhetoric from Petrarch's *Epistolas Familares* to Castiglione's *Courtier*, Nebrija's gloss seems at once to nod to historical realities yet also be a work of the imagination.

Nebrija's gloss seeks to question the very limits of historical genealogies and proposes how one can construct modes of legitimation that push against received historical attitudes. In the first question, Nebrija responds to the objection that he has assumed a name that his family lineage cannot attest to or legitimately claim according to its genealogical history. For such imagined detractors, legitimation is a function of family genealogy; the two operate side-by-side. Yet in his response Nebrija broadens the terms and looks past family lineage to archeology, to the presence of ancient ruins near his hometown. Ancestry and how one identifies, Nebrija suggests, is not about familial bloodlines but a product of one's *patria* and its history. Though the Aelii and Aeliani might not be his blood relatives they are his countrymen (conterranei); and who would not want countrymen like the first non-Italian born emperors Trajan and Hadrian who still today are recognized among of Rome's "Five Good Emperors"?

Yet such explanation leads to even more questions concerning legitimation and genealogy, this time related to the genealogy of an entire people. Given the historical ruptures that have taken place within the Iberian Peninsula – particularly with the post-Roman arrival of the Goths and the Moors – how can one, so asks Nebrija's imagined detractor, ascribe to oneself Roman, or Hispano-Roman, ancestry? Nebrija continues with further detractions that increasingly take on a distinctly legalistic terminology and a vocabulary of legitimacy, framing the question as one of inheritance vs. usurpation, right vs. injustice (iure/inuria):

> But someone might say: the Aelii and Aeliani, whom you say inhabited your Lebrija – baselessly advancing this idea that they were your ancestors, since they carried this name for themselves – were certainly Roman. […] By what right or injustice do you usurp for yourself an inherited name from those whose genealogy was so many times broken? …
>
> To these I can respond that even if the fortune of that city [Nebrija] did on occasion change, as is the case with all things, that this right has nonetheless been granted to me by the Romans, the ancient settles of my homeland (patria) whose values I admire, if not by nature than at least by adoption or by the 'palingenesia' of Pythagoras (that is regeneration) or even more rightly by the 'homoeomeria' of Anaxagoras (that is the similitude of all members and parts).[150]

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ergo mihi tamquam a maioribus meis hereditario quodam iure praenomen hoc adoptare, cum praesertim in tota Bethica Aeliorum familiar fuerit clarissima, ex qua sunt Ael. Traianus, Ael. Hadrianus Caesarum praestantissimi, qui mihi fuerunt prope dixerim conterranei. (Lozana and González Vega edition; 2011: 219-221). Unless otherwise noted all of Nebrija's prose writings, in both Latin and Spanish, are from this edition, and all translations are my own.

[150] Dicet vero quispiam: Aelii atque Aeliani quos tu diis Nebrissam tuam coluisse, quosque falso maiores tuos fuisse iactitas, quod ipsa nomina prae se ferunt, Romanos fuisse constat [...] Quo igitur iure quaue iniuria tibi inde hereditarium nomen usurpas, cuius stemma totiens interruptum est? His ego possum illud adhuc respondere, etsi fortuna illius oppidi quemadmodum et aliarum rerum saepe mutata est, licuisse mihi tamen a Romanis patriae quondam meae colonis,

The nature of this continued questioning forces Nebrija to become even more creative as he juxtaposes to this language of legal legitimacy with an assortment of concepts from classical philosophy. If his association with the Roman settlers of Iberia is not defined by blood and nature, it is at least one of adoption (adoptionem).[151] This adoption, moreover, is strengthened by several factors, firstly and most straightforwardly his admiration of Roman values, what essentially defines his standing as a Renaissance humanist.

This humanist learning is put on display as he goes on to reference Anaxagoras and Pythagoras. Both provide him with a different element that defines his relationship to the Hispano-Romans of Iberia. Most directly building off of his humanist devotion to the Classics, he sees himself as existing within their shared likeness (homoeomeria) that spurs his re-birth in their image (palingenesia). More than just a likeness or similitude, he envisions himself to be a sort of reincarnation, a regenerated form of not only what values they stood for but even perhaps who they were, a slippage not atypical within Renaissance understandings of ethics and character.

Nebrija's specific focus on Anaxagoras' homoeomeria as a similitude of "members and parts" prompts the discussion to turn from philosophy to poetry as Nebrija posits that a widely recognizable literary image of this phenomenon can be found in Vergil, in the iconic scene of Book Four when Dido, immolating herself upon a pyre, cursing Aeneas with the prophecy that a someone will emerge from her bones to pursue the Aeneas' Trojan-turned-Roman descendants with fire and iron. This prophesied figure has long been interpreted to be none other than Hannibal who launched the Second Punic War in Iberia by crossing the Ebro river and attaching Saguntum, not to mention whose wife Imilce was the daughter of a Celtiberian chieftain. As Nebrija writes:

> Dido wished and prayed for someone to emerge from her ashes who would take on the task of avenging her for the affront that Aeneas committed, which it is believed that Hannibal achieved some time later. For this same reason I too can declare myself to be one who descends from Romans, of whose ashes I no less originate than did Hannibal from the bones of Elisa Dido.[152]

This most famous moment from Latin literature is rife with images and tropes that pervade Classical poetics: fate and prophecy, metonymy, and malediction – elements that become all the more heightened with Nebrija's desire to apply its rubrics to his own historical

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quorumque virtutis sum admirator, si non per naturam, saltem per adoptionem aut per Pythagorae 'palingensiam', hoc est regenerationem, aut per Anaxagorae potius 'homoeomeriam,' (ibid)

[151] And it is perhaps worth remembering that adoption was the most frequent mode of succession among the Roman Emperors, including how Hadrian succeeded Trajan – though in this specific case there is some controversy as the adoption was signed by Trajan's wife not Trajan himself.

[152] Dido optat atque preatur, ut ex cineribus suis aliquando oriatur, qui iniuriae sibi ab Aenea illatae sit ultor, quod Hannibal postea fecisse putatur, eadam quoque ratione possum ego dicere me unum ex posteritate Romanorum esse, ex quorum cineribus non minus ego sum ortus quam Hannibal fuit ex ossibus Elissae. (221)

situation. And unlike the earlier references to Pythagorian or Anaxagorian philosophy, here Nebrija does more than cite Vergil; he rewrites the scene. The analogue that Nebrija establishes – he is to the Aelii and Aeliani what Hannibla is to Dido – is also reversed. Where Dido looked forward, projecting into the future with her pleas and curses an imagined avenger in the form of the unmentioned Hannibal, Nebrija looks backward, imagining not a future but re-imagining origins. And yet by turning to this moment of the Dido story, Nebrija casts his position within the early modern present as a sort of destiny. He is the long-awaited phoenix rising from the bones of the long dead Hispano-Romans; it is not he who depends on them to justify his name-change, but rather they who call on him. The grandiosity of this suggestion is only compounded by the obvious fact that the parallels he makes for himself are now with the characters of classical literature. Having already appropriated the lineage of Roman emperors, the humanist now turns himself into a hero of epic proportions.

Yet Nebrija's heroic point of reference is not the one we'd most readily expect from a Renaissance humanist. He likens himself not to Vergil's protagonist Aeneas but rather to the poem's prophesied (and of course also historical) antagonist of the Romans in Hannibal of Carthage. And such processes of identification are themselves revealing of what underlies Nebrija's project of Hispania and what it implies. Beyond and behind the more overt citation of Vergil is another epic: the *Punica* of Silius Italicus that recounts in verse the Second Punic War that Hannibal waged against the Romans. For Nebrija and other Renaissance humanists (and indeed for classicists into the twentieth century) the moniker of 'Italicus' was believed to be a cognomen that identified the poet as a native of Italica in Hispania Baetica, the same southern city from which emperors Trajan and Hadrian hailed. Indeed, Silius is himself implicated within Nebrija's self-naming, it is to his *Punica* that Nebrija turns when proposing classical origins for his patria of Nebrija, citing (and as we shall see, later adapting into his own Neo-Latin verse) a mention of the locality of 'Nebrissa' which supposedly derives its name from the "sacra nebride" (sacred fawn-skin) worn by the Maenad companions of Bacchus who followed the wine god during his westward travels to Iberia.

Silius' *Punica* has been regularly dismissed by readers from the Renaissance till today who see the poem either as a bloated (it is the longest surviving Latin epic) and superficial imitation of Vergil and a weak versification of Livy's historiographic account of the Second Punic War.[153] However scholars have also argued that the *Punica* presents a more complex image of Roman history that situates itself between the triumphalism of Vergil's *Aenead* and the bleak pessimism of Lucan's *Pharsalia.*[154] Silius achieves such balance in large part by adopting a bifurcated perspective where the poem's narrative portrays its two rival protagonists in Hannibal and Scipio Africanus as two waring antagonists yet also as epic heroes each competing for their own epic poem. Indeed it is with Hannibal that the poem begins, primarily with his

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[153] Tasso himself thought this, and believed the poetry managed to be "more arid and less ornate" than Livy's prose (*Discourses on the Heroic Poem*, 55)

[154] See the discussion "Silius Italicus" (1986) collectively authored by Frederick Ahl, Martha Davis and Arthur Pomeroy.

early military campaigns in Iberia. [155] But before Hannibal arrives in Iberia,[156] we are provided with a glimpse of his childhood and upbringing at the hands of his father Hamilcar who had fought and suffered defeat against Rome in the First Punic War. Reminding hispanist readers of Don Quixote's battles against the giants in his library, Silius writes how Hamilcar's obsessive desire to one day defeat Rome becomes a sort of fantasy-ridden madness as his fierce cries in the night awaken the household servants who find their master "dripping with sweat, while he fought battles still to come and waged imaginary warfare."[157]

To his son Hannibal such fantasies of vengeance against Rome are handed down, and Silius' poem jumps to an oath that Hamilcar has his son make before a statue of Dido in Carthage's sacred temple. Like the father's night visions, the son's oath-taking becomes a scene of haunting as Carthaginian ritual is described as a necromancy that uses "magic incantations to call forth dead spirits which fly through the emptiness."[158] Further mirroring Hamilcar's fantasies and the physical effects of his delusions, the very statue of Dido seemly comes to life as "her marble face sweats."[159]

As classicists are often quick to point out, the Latin language creates an intrinsic link between the magical and the literary; the very word 'cantu' (from 'cantus') that calls for the dead, is also the word for song and poetry. Indeed, the oath of the young Hannibal takes the form poetic verse by citing the very lines of Vergil that Nebrija would turn to nearly a millennium and a half later; Hannibal promises the he "shall pursue the Romans with fire and sword."[160] By echoing the specific wording of Dido's original curse against Aeneas, Silius makes evident that his Hannibal is a fulfillment of the Carthaginian queen's dying wishes and prophecy. The oath is thus itself a 'cantus' that like the necromantic incantations brings forth the shade of Dido not only as founding queen of the Carthaginian empire but as poetic figuration of Vergil.

From there, the metapoetic resonances of Hannibal's oath only increase. After citing Vergil's *Aeneid*, Hannibal states a desire to "enact again the fate of Troy."[161] The vocabulary of this Trojan evocation once again produce a confluence of multiple temporalities. Where Dido had cursed Aeneas by targeting his future Roman descendants, who by Hannibal's time are of course no longer a fated line but historical contemporaries and imperial competitors, the second formulation looks to Aeneas' past, to his status as a fugitive prince of Troy and survivor of the Trojan War that preceded his wanderings. Such temporal reorientation also has implications for

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[155] This is also something of a historical necessity since Scipio was only an adolescent and not yet a Roman soldier when the Second Punic War began.
[156] Before Hannibal arrives in Iberia both his father and uncle battle the Celtiberian natives there but are killed, his father Hamilcar in a battle and his uncle Hasdrubal by the blade of an assassin set out to avenge the torture of his master, an aptly named Tagus.
[157] largo sudore virum invenere futuras / miscentem pugnas et inania bella gerentem (J.D. edition and translation; 1934: I.65-68, p. 8-9).
[158] tum magico volitant cantu per inania manes / exciti" (I. 96-7, p. 10-11). Notice how the same word 'inania' refers to both the illusory fantasies of Hamilcar fighting Rome as well as the spaces through which these ghostly shades move.
[159] vultusque in marmore sudat Eissae (ibid).
[160] Romanos … ferro ignique sequar (I.114-15, p. 12-13).
[161] Rhoeteaque fata revolvam (ibid)

Hannibal's self-construction. Where his earlier repetition of and promise to fulfill Dido's curse pronounced and produced a continuity of Carthaginian identity that linked the founding queen to the later general, with the second part of his oath Hannibal positions himself less as a Carthaginian than as one of the Homeric Greek hero who stormed the walls of Troy. He is a second Achilles, Ajax and/or Odysseus. And like the simultaneously necromantic and poetic connotations of the earlier 'cantus' that called for the shades, the specific terminology of Hannibal's oath underscores its metapoetic resonances. The 'revolvam' through which he articulates his desire to reenact the Trojan War evokes the action of turning, of returning to historical events that cycle from past to present, yet also the readerly act of turning through a scroll, of unrolling and rolling through its pages. Silius' Hannibal is thus a reader; his heroic task of fulfilling Dido's curse is a textual process.

When Nebrija likens himself to Hannibal, the allusion produces its own literary and cultural unravelling. Broader conceptions of Renaissance classical revival by humanist hands are insufficient since Nebrija is doing more than citing Vergil's *Aeneid*; his citation had already been cited by a poet who was, or was thought to be, of Hispano-Roman origins who placed such words in the mouth of a Carthaginian general with bonds to Hispania both martial and marital. And lest we forget, Nebrija's very reasons for turning to Hannibal as fulfillment of Dido's prophecy was to explain his own felt connection to the Aelii and Aeliani of Hispania Baetica. As Nebrija emphasizes, Vergil's Dido conjures up an image of material regeneration where her prophesied avenger shall be reconstituted from her ashes and bones. With his own material focus on Hispano-Roman archeological ruins, the marble inscriptions of Lebrija serve as the bones through which Nebrija fashions his own regeneration. Yet as we saw through the second intervening intertext of Silius' *Punica*, Nebrija's regeneration is also intrinsically text based. Becoming the very Hannibal of Silius that he evokes, Nebrija likewise revives a past through textual unraveling, by turning through the storied literary canon of Hispano-Roman authors as well as by unfurling his own textual corpus in the fields of rhetoric, philology, poetry and history.

There is yet one more way in which Nebrija's self-likening to Hannibal speaks to the broader contours of his Hispano-Roman cultural project. If by appropriating cognomen from the gens Aelii and Aeliani Nebrija was claiming a portion of Rome's classical heritage for himself and his Spanish nation, the turn to the Carthaginian Hannibal illustrates how Hispania could likewise call forth contrary purposes, that Hispania could also be an anti-Roman or rather anti-Italian project. Though Nebrija's turn to Hispania is in historical terms an incontrovertible byproduct of the Italian Renaissance and Nebrija's many years studying in Bologna, in its rhetoric and ideals the Hispano-Roman project is also a claim that Spain does not need the Italian Renaissance as a mediator to access classical culture and the legacy of Rome.[162] The foregrounding of a Hispano-Roman Spanish Renaissance thus pivots from a notion of cultural

[162] This too is a lesson already present in Silius' Italicus *Punica* as much of the poem's antiquarian interest underscores the confluence and sharing of the same set of gods and heroes across the Mediterranean. Silius' especially exploits the tangled legacy of Hercules with his Tyrian/Phoenician origins; during the siege of Saguntum the Roman-allied city prays to Hercules as their founder, yet after Carthaginian victory Hannibal pays homage to the hero-god at Gades' famed temple to Hercules (III.14 ff.) and afterward, while crossing the Pyrenes celebrates that he and his army are following a path first cut during Hercules' westward travels (III.496 ff.)

belatedness and Italian borrowings to one of an indigenous Iberian cultural heritage. As a regenerated Hannibal, Nebrija thus presents himself as a challenger to any claims of exclusivity that Italian city-states might make on Roman patrimony. The figures of Roman Hispania become their own exemplars and poetic alternatives to the Roman and Italian born: Trajan rather than Augustus, Martial over Catullus, Seneca and Quintilian before Cicero.

Of course, our previous two chapters are themselves evidence that an image of Roman Hispania was already in existence well before Nebrija left for or returned from Bologna. What Spain's leading humanist provided was not then the inception of a new cultural project but rather the infusion of new intellectual and institutional methodologies to one already underway. Nebrija's Hispania would thus continue to respond to the particulars of Spain's ethno-racial and socio-economic situation, for as such national circumstances shifted so too would the image of Hispania have to adapt if it was to persist within the cultural imagination. And more than merely persist, under Nebrija's stewardship Hispania would be become a full-fledged image of Spanish nationhood and national identity.

**Nebrija's Hispania as National Project**

Nebrija's intellectual labor was not always as self-referential as the glossing of his own name. Quite frequently he was more involved in the textual minutiae of the humanist scholar who provided etymological explanations and philological emendations, yet here too his attention would often turn to Roman Hispania. Indeed, it is hard to find a work by Nebrija that does not in some way or another refer to Iberia's history under Roman rule.[163] Even his most scientific and mathematical *Cosmografía* (or *In cosmographiae libros introductorium*, 1498) that attempts to measure the Earth's circumference takes the Roman ruins of Extremadura as points of reference, such as the amphitheater or circus of Mérida and the road of the Via de la Plata that connects various Roman mining centers from Mérida to Astorga in northewestern León. Again reflecting Nebrija's capacious tendency to revisit and reedit material, he would more thoroughly return to the task of measuring and calculating Mérida's Roman ruins in his 1510 *De mensuris* (*On Measures*). And indeed, his *Muestra dela istoria dela antiguedades de España*, published in 1499 right on the heels of the *Cosmografía*, presents something of a counterpart to these scientific texts by outlining Iberia's geography through a treatment - at once etymological, historiographic and antiquarian – of its various localities and natural landmarks.

Sadly, Nebrija's *Muestra* does not seem to have been completed, and, on top of that, comes to us incomplete. The *Muestra* was not even the first early modern text to present a geographic overview of the Iberian Peninsula; that honor must go to the *Compendiolum* of the judeoconverso scholar Alfonso de Palencia. Indeed it was Palencia who first proposed that the place-name of Lebrixa etymological descends from Nebrissa.[164] Though much of the *Compendiolum's* publication and reception history remains unknown, such echoes between the two authors occur not only within their geographic texts but across various works to the extent that it seems likely that beyond a possessing a familiarity with Palencia's writings, Nebrija had

[163] An exception to this is a place where we might easily expect to see such Hispano-Roman imagery invoked, Nebrija's Latin-Spanish dictionary.
[164] Nebrissa quoque parum ab ipso nominee declinauit, quum hac nostra tempestate Lebrixa uulgo dicatur (Tate and Mundo edition; 1974: 274).

perhaps even looked to Palencia as a scholarly model to emulate and build his own career on. And because much of Palencia's education took place at the household of fellow judeoconverso Pablo de Burgos, where he came into contact with Alonso de Cartagena, Palencia's possible influence on Nebrija likewise functions as a historical bridge that would by extension connect Nebrija's cultural project and the intellectual contributions of the earlier judeoconverso letrados that we discussed in our previous two chapters. As a conceptual bridge, Palencia builds on previous treatments but anticipates Nebrija in more fully appreciating that through a unified view of history, territory and culture, the image of Hispania could serve as a broader image of Spanish nationhood.

As a work of national geography, Palencia's *Compendiolum* begins with a discussion of Rome's administrative territories as they shifted from the Roman Republic's bipartite division of Hispania Citerior and Ulterior to the empire's tripartite Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconensis. In what remains of his *Muestra*, we likewise know that Nebrija wrote (or planned to write) three full chapters that would each be dedicated to one of the Roman regions (González-Llubera edition; 1926: 28). Naturally both authors turned to classical sources for their geographic information: Pliny, Strabo and most especially the Iberian-born geographer Pomponius Mela. Though not as verbose as Martial, Mela was one of the few Hispano-Roman authors who overtly identified as such having paused in his overview of the Iberian Peninsula to advertise his place of birth in the southern coastal town of Tingentera. Both Palencia and Nebrija make sure to relay Mela's Hispano-Roman provenance in their geographies and likewise go a step further by suggesting where exactly Tingentera might be: Palencia proposing that the cognomen Mela perhaps derives from the town Mellaria near Gades (265) with Nebrija instead dubbing Mela a "uaron natural de aquella tierra" in his account of Sanlúcar de Barrameda (221).[165] Palencia likewise anticipates what we shall soon enough see is a favorite topic of Nebrija's, that being to connect the geography of Hispania with its cultural output. Thus Quintilian's rhetorical skill adds to the glory of Calagurris while Bilbilis and nearby Calatayud gain esteem through the poetry of Martial.[166]

Though we have repeatedly and increasingly seen Hispania emerge as an explicit alternative to Gothicism, Palencia says little about the Visigothic but, but what he does say is revealing. Still within his *Compendiolum*, Palencia describes the post-Roman period of Goths, Sueves and Vandals as a cause for mourning ("lugendus") and a downfall ("casus"), their rule as a "long occupation" ("diuturnal occupatione") of an oppressive nature ("opprimetibus"). Reflecting such historical decline, the geography itself falls into a state of confusion as the influx of barbarian tongues leads to a corruption of place-names ("corruptionem appellationi"). By extension and implication, Palencia's task has then become one of expurgating such corruption, where his (proto-)humanist methods of geography and philology are not only used to recover lost information from classical sources but also to undue and erase the corrosive patina of Visigothic influence.

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[165] Mela's Tingentera was more likely closer to Algeciras on the Mediterranean, whereas Sanlúcar is on the Atlantic.

[166] Calagurris proxima est, nomen antiquum aduc seruans, et glorię incrementum a peritia Quintiliani oratoris sibi assumens … Sed Bilbilis, quę patria fuit Martialis poetę existimatur secundum ipsius viri descriptionem esse Calatubium. (271)

Palencia likely offered a complete image of his comparative sentiments toward the Romans and Goths in a text that is unfortunately lost to us, his historiographic *Antigüedades de España*. However, within the preface to his 1490 Spanish-Latin lexicon the *Universal vocabulario*, Palencia describes the works as providing

> en diez libros la antigüedad de la gente española, con propósito de explicar en otros diez el imperio de los romanos en España et desdende la feroçidad de los godos fasta la rabia morisca. (quoted in Tate 1975: p. 193)
>
> in ten books, the antiquity of the Spanish people, with the aim of explaining in another ten the empire of the Romans in Spain and from there the ferocity of the Goths to the rage of Moors. (translation my own)

While it's not impossible that "feroçidad" was to be taken as a compliment to Gothic military valor, the rhetorical setup of Palencia's overview suggests a certain parallelism between this Gothic "feroçidad" and Moorish "rabia," implying that these two historical enemies were actually rather alike in the violent chaos they brought to post-Roman Iberia. And though a less immediately reflection of Palencia's attitudes regarding the peoples and history of Iberia, his *Universal vocabulario* is itself another example of how Palencia's corpus provided a likely model for Nebrija whose own *Diccionario latino-español* came out only five years after.[167]

If such textual echoes and resonances help us connect Nebrija to the prior generations of judeoconverso letrados who converted after 1391 and allow us to see in Palencia's corpus a likely model on which Nebrija fashioned his own humanist career, so too can the various contexts help throw into relief the ways in which Nebrija took these shared concerns further to not only earn himself the renown and reputation he did but to also develop the image of Hispania into a more fully formed cultural and national project. A first major difference we detect is Nebrija's exploitation of the printing press to produce and disseminate his texts. Despite all the ways in which the *Compendiolum* anticipates not only Nebrija's own geographic treatise and other writings beyond, Palencia's work comes down to us almost by the sheer luck of preservation in the form of a single Latin manuscript discovered in Montserrat, Catalunya.[168] In a likewise telling reflection of Palencia's humanist network, the geographic text is accompanied by a series of letters between Palencia and the Florentine bookdealer Vespasiano da Bisticci, a highly regarded Italian intellectual but one also known for having bemoaned the advent of the printing press and its damaging effect on the demand for beautifully crafted manuscripts, opting for a frustrated earlier retirement over technological adaptation. Nebrija's *Muestra*, by contrast was printed in the print house of Fadrique de Basilea who that very same year printed what

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[167] For a discussion of this work and its importance see Byron Ellsworth Haman's *The Translations of Nebrija: Language, Culture, and Circulation in the Early Modern World* (2015)

[168] It should also be noted that Palencia did publish many of his works in print, including the aforementioned Latin-Spanish dictionary. And though Palencia almost always first wrote a work in Latin, Spanish translations where often completed during his lifetime. At times Palencia would undertake these vernacular translations himself, and toward the very end of his career and life, he even took up the task of translating into Spanish both Plutarch's *Lives* and Josephus' *Jewish War*.

would go on to be both a domestic and international bestseller, the *Celestina* of Fernando de Rojas.

The printing of his *Muestra* at the printshop of Fadrique de Basilea is but one of many examples as to how Nebrija recognized the transformative power of the printing press over the course of his career. Nebrija was in fact the instrumental force in bringing the printing press to the university town of Salamanca, establishing a publishing house that he would oversee and which would go on to be managed by his son and nephew.[169] Such combination of the modern with the ancient, the harnessing of new print technologies to disseminate classical culture, was by no means unique to Nebrija. Many of the major printers throughout Europe were themselves humanists whose scholarly focuses rested on Greco-Roman texts: such as Aldus Manutius in Venice and Henri Estienne in Paris. But Nebrija's print humanism is distinctive for its national resonances, its presentation of Hispania as an image of national culture and history. Here we do well to remember that one of the key theorists of nationhood Benedict Anderson emphasized, not only the colonial imaginary as a genealogy for national identity but also the role of print as foundational for national communities.[170]

Anderson was of course analyzing postcolonial nationhood on the heels of imperial disintegration, typically situations in which a war of independence liberates a colonized people and transforms said colony into a nation-state. Such circumstances are obviously quite different from that of Roman Hispania and Nebrija's early modern Spain, separated as these two communal forms are by practically a millennium of intervening cultural change and political reorganization. But could the counters of a colonial territory – cultural, historical and geographic – prove powerful enough to persist over such a span of time, or at least to prove attractive enough to prompt efforts at excavation and recovery so far down the line? Essentially my entire discussion of Hispania becomes España is a case study in the affirmative, but we should also be aware of how the circumstances had to be right. Renaissance humanism clearly privileged

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[169] Nebrija's press would publish many of the most important achievements of Spanish humanism, works produced not only contemporaneously but which before had circulated only in manuscript to a more exclusive audience. One such title is the very 1401 Spanish translation of Livy by Pero López de Ayala, but in a move that telling reveals how the ideological implications of the work's preface were not lost on Nebrija, his print shop excided the preface and printed only the translation itself.

[170] We'll remember from our introduction that within the revised and expanded edition of his Imagined Communities, Anderson re-emphasizes this idea of a post-colonial national identity with the claim that the nation's "immediate genealogy should be traced to the imaginings of the colonial state" (163). To illustrate this enduring legacy of the colonial community, Anderson points to the "striking fact" that the South American republics of the nineteenth century all conformed to the administrative units that imperial Spain had demarcated centuries earlier. Bolivarian experiments to unite various nations as one all failed, with the result that each nation-states defaulted back to its older imperial constituent (52-53).This example and discussion of Latin American republics is thus already present in the first draft of Imagined Communities, suggesting that Anderson was engaged more in a back-and-forth that by the second edition favored the Latin American model over an idea of modular nationhood where Europe's dynastic states were recreated elsewhere. Indeed, the revised edition specifies Asia and Africa, further suggesting that he had already determined this was the case of the Spanish Americas.

classical pasts in such a way that made the recovery of Roman Hispania, with its authors, culture and history, an especially appealing task. But how does such a project transcend the narrow confines of the scholarly elite, or avoid being coopted by a political elite, to truly constitute an imagined national community? Here too Anderson comes to our aid.

As we also saw in our introduction, though Anderson's primary focus is that of the nineteenth century national identity, the nation-state that arises after the French Revolution and with the emergence of industrial capitalism, we also find him looking back to the early modern period, to the disintegration of Christendom, the rise of literary vernaculars, and the birth of the printing press. Thus, while Anderson dedicates much of his attention to the industrial printing projects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the novel and the newspaper, he also recognizes the revolutionary quality of the early modern printing that came before, and in particular its symbiotic relationship to the rise national vernaculars.[171]

By acknowledging the early modern "cultural roots" that were necessary for the development of the nation-state, Anderson likewise opens up further possibilities by which we might tie Nebrija's image of Spain as Hispania to the later rhetoric of nineteenth-century nationalism. We will, for instance, see in Nebrija the continuing divisions that marked our previous chapter, that between the aristocratic caballero and the (proto-)bourgeois letrado, frequently of Judeoconverso origins. Ineed, though probably not born Jewish himself, Nebrija was of Judeoconverso descent on both the paternal and maternal sides, with his mother likely Jewish by birth. Of course, we came to see in the last chapter how the ethno-religious definition of the Judeoconverso letrado was already beginning to give way to a rising class-based, even proto-bourgeois notion of the letrado as middle class. As we shall see in this discussion, Nebrija will himself proudly assume such a label when he autobiographically describes his own humble origins.

Beyond his own rhetoric, Nebrija's life and career point to the intersection of humble socio-economic beginnings and the letrado's reliance on education to advance in the world.[172] In his analysis of the early modern Spanish university, historian Richard Kagan discusses how the colegios mayores of Spanish universities such as Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares were, among other things, "charitable institutions" whose founders "had initially intended to aid poor students lacking the means to pursue the higher university degrees, and to implement this program they imposed restrictions on the personal income members of the college would be allowed" (110 & 129).[173] With such effective prohibitions on the nobility, the colegios mayores of Spain served a contrary social function to the Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangra, as the latter excluded not only judeoconversos and moriscos but also, as we discussed in our previous chapter, the "descendientes de villanos." The Spanish university and colegio mayor thus became something

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[171] Anderson's early modern focus was influenced of Lucien Febvre and Jean-Henri Martin's *Coming of the Book* (1958, English edition 1976).

[172] In his *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain*, Richard Kagan writes "the colleges quickly became schools for officialdom ... a scholarship or *beca* in one of the colegios was in fact tantamount to an office, with only time separating the two" (1974: 110). Though Kagan sees this as something of an evolution away from the original chartable purpose, I would argue that we can see such administrative professionalization as an extension of the class ethos.

[173] For the complex overlaps and differences between the colegios mayores and universities, see Kagan's seventh chapter (109-58).

of a beacon for letrado class-identity and even antagonism against the nobility; as Kagan likewise discusses, these colleges frequently feuded with the pedagogical institutions of the aristocratic military orders (Alcantará, Calatrava, Santiago).[174] Correspondingly, the sons of the Spanish aristocracy rarely enrolled in or attended universities even when possible, opting instead for an education at home and "by means of private tutors in Latin, in modern languages and in martial and chivalric arts, so that they might pursue the ideal of the gentleman, who was meant to be educated and literature, but, above all, adept in military matters."[175]

Nebrija's university education was made possible through one such charitable endeavor and scholarship, at an institution beyond Spain's borders though founded by the Spanish Cardinal Gil Álvarez de Albornoz, who established this Collegium Hispanicum (or Real Colegio de España) in Bologna, Italy. It was at the Collegium Hispanicum and in Bologna that Nebrija was first introduced to Italian Humanism and where his pursuit of the Classics truly began. Bologna's Real Colegio de España would likewise go on to serve as the model for Spanish universities that later sought ways to embrace new modes of humanist education.[176]

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[174] Kagan (154).

[175] See Rosa di Simone's discussion of "The social origin of students" in *Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (1996: 315). Simone goes on to discuss how aristocratic disdain for universities persisted despite royal efforts to the contrary: "In an attempt to persuade the great families of Spain to abandon this tradition, Philip II founded a court academy in 1583. It offered the possibility of study in many technical subjects of military interest, such as architecture, artillery and hydraulics, but the initiative was not as successful as had been hoped" (ibid). And such failure was arose again decades later: "in 1629, Philip IV and the Count-Duke Olivares helped to found a noble academy by the name of the Colegio Imperial or Real Estudios de San Isidro ... but the institutions was not as successful as had been hoped, registrations were so few that the Council of Castile argued that its funding should be suspended. The failure of this venture may in part be explained by the Spanish aristocracy's traditional attitude of disdain toward educational institutions" (318).

Within the arena of written discourse, the caballero author Diego Hurtado de Mendoza attacks the letrado in an extended digression in his *Guerra de Granada* (1610), where he situates the letrado's rise to 1492, which as we've seen aligns with Nebrija's cultural production. Mendoza writes how "The Catholic Kings placed the governing of justice and public affairs in the hands of the letrados" (Pusieron los Reyes Católicos el gobierno de la justicia y cosas públicas en manos de letrados; Blanco-Gonzlález edition 1970: 105, translation my own). Mendoza, moreover, goes on to relate their character in rather neutral terms as a "gente media entre los grandes y pequeños … vida llana y si corrupción de costumbres .. ni vestir, ni gastar suntuosamante" (ibid) (a people in the middle, between the great and the small … of a plain life without corrupt manners … neither dressing or spending sumptuously). Thus we clearly see an emphasis on social position and the the letrados as a new middle class. But while such description might be neutral, if not complementary, Mendoza does go on to relate what he sees a central sin of the letrado, "their ambition for offices of others and positions not theirs" (ambiciosos de oficios ajenos y profesión que no es suya; 106), by which he primarily means that heart of caballero power, the military.

[176] For Bologna as model for Spanish universities, see Hammerstein's "Universities within the Iberian peninsula" within *Universities in Early Modern Europe* (129).

Through his prominent appointments at the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares, Nebrija was one of the prime forces within this movement to reform Spanish education. At the University of Salamanca, Nebrija formed a friendship with fellow professor Pedro Martír de Anglería (otherwise and most famous for his historiographies of the new world), and the two professors penned a pair of poems that figuratively dramatize Nebrija's efforts at educational reform. Classical imagery associated with Hispania abounds. Indeed, the poetic exchange begins with Pedro Martír greeting and addressing Nebrija as "light of both Hispanias" (Utriusque Hispaniae lumen),[177] a reference to the bi-partite division of Hispania Ulterior and Citerior under the Roman Republic. Nebrija responds with his own poem that begins with a classical invocation of the Muses, yet one where Apollo's Mount Parnassus has been substituted with the harmonious currents of the Betis and Tajo, the latter river's gold-speckled banks – a trope that, as we see in our introduction, is present in not only Spanish but also earlier in Latin poetry– rendering Nebrija's verses just as golden.

Across the two poems Nebrija's efforts at educational reform are likewise couched in terms of warfare, with Nebrija as both a mythological hero (the son of Mercury and the nymph Nebride, whom we shall encounter again) and a Roman general who by battle's end is crowned with laurel and ivy, as Romans did to celebrate an especially noteworthy victory. Nebrija's enemy, by contrast, is Barbarism incarnate, who from the safety of its stronghold in Salamanca has subjugated all of Spain. The conceit of Salamanca as enemy territory is due to the intellectual predominance Scholasticism at this university, a source of great frustration for humanists such as Martír and Nebrija that would go on to inform one of the seminal works of modern Nebrijan scholarship, Francisco Rico's *Nebrija frente a los bárbaros* (1978). Rico emphasizes how the philological concerns of Spanish humanists like Nebrija resulted in negative depictions of Scholasticism as not only medieval but by extension also barbarous. But Rico is rather silent about that other recurrent association with medieval barbarism that we have seen emerge time and time again. For Nebrija, there were barbarisms beyond Scholasticism, and Gothicism was such barbarism.

Within his proud assumption of (proto-)bourgeois middle-class identity, Nebrija steps into a culture war that has been building over the course of the fifteenth century (and our previous chapters), that between Gothicism and Roman Hispania. Like the Judeoconverso letrados of earlier generations, Nebrija sees Gothicism as prevalent in contemporary Spanish society. But with Nebrija the debate also takes on slightly different inflections. More removed from the Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre, as well as his family's own converso origins, Nebrija's attack on the Gothic is less centered on caballero militarism and ethno-racial categories blood purity than on Gothicism as a socially backward force pernicious to the cultural flourishing of the Spanish nation, which for Nebrija required the intellectual embrace of the classicizing forms of Renaissance learning.

On the one hand, the parameters are decidedly of their time and place, produced at the intersection of Spain's particular socio-historical composition and of the cultural movement of the European Renaissance humanism. But here too, and in ways both broad and specific, Nebrija's cultural project anticipates the imagined communities of nineteenth-century bourgeois nationalism. Some three centuries later another reformer of his nation's educational system,

[177] Pedro Mártir's poem to Nebrija is included in Bonmatí Sánchez edition of Nebriija's Latin verse (2013: 178-185).

Matthew Arnold, would write in his then and now widely-read treatise *Culture and Anarchy* that "men of culture are the true apostles of equality" (79).[178] And who, according to Arnold, were culture's enemies? Indeed, like the letrado Nebrija, Arnold identified an anti-cultural 'barbarism' rooted within the very aristocracy of his English nation, a class he readily designates and denigrates with "the name of *the Barbarians*" (105).[179] For Arnold, such class of people is not naturally disposed to the cultural priorities he holds so dear; over cultivation of the mind and spirit, the barbarism of the aristocracy seeks the chivalric care of the body through a "passion for field-sports" and "manly exercises" (105-6). Arnold's barbarian aristocrats thus become a striking echo of those previously discussed Spanish noblemen who shunned university education and instead preferred a private tutelage that could emphasize "martial and chivalric arts."

As reformers of their respective nation's system of education, Nebrija and Arnold are more immediately concerned with culture than with class, yet each share an understanding that culture has a history, one that goes back to an ancient division between the Roman and Visigothic (or Barbarian) and that therefore is intimately connected to the formation of social-classes across Europe. The echoes between Arnold and Nebrija further confirm our ability, via Anderson, to see resonances of industrial era nationalism within the formation of early modern national identity. Greater still, we once again detect the reemergence of Foucault's "national dualism" where across both the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Nebrija and Arnold formulate cultural projects not to unite through rhetoric and discourse various social classes under one national label, but instead to claim the nation as rightful legacy of the non-aristocratic intellectual class.

And yet, the echoes between national identity during the Spanish Renaissance and the later industrial-age nationalism that so motivates the scholarship of Anderson and others, should not lead us to ignore crucial differences – differences that, far from disavowing the reality of such modes of nationhood, allow us to appreciate the unique contours of such national thinking as it relates to both the early modern era more broadly and the situation of Spain in particular. Alongside the "vernacularizing thrust" of the early modern marketplace for printed books is, as Anderson himself acknowledges, a renewed interest in the Latin language as a Classical and literary language (39). Indeed, despite the historical importance of Nebrija's 1492 *Gramática de la lengua española* as the first grammar of a modern vernacular, his *Introductiones Latinae* that inaugurated our own discussion witnessed far more printings, re-printings, and re-editions, due to its far greater readership across not only Europe but also the New World, where it was used to

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[178] Some of Arnold's contemporaries would by contrast embrace this label of Gothic barbarism, as we see in John Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (1851), particularly his chapter entitled "The Nature of the Gothic" where the first quality of Gothic architecture is "Savageness" defined as a relationship to the natural world.

[179] Admittedly, Arnold is not quite as hard on these aristocratic Germanic barbarians as some of the earlier Sephardic and Judeoconverso authors we have considered; Arnold writes that the English "have never had the prejudice against them [the aristocratic barbarians] which prevails among the races of Latin origin" (105). Arnold, moreover, remains silent about the destruction of Rome, and instead credits these barbarians with the historical achievement of having "reinvigorated and renewed our worn-out Europe" (ibid) Onto their descendants who formed the aristocratic classes of Europe and England, these barbarians, moreover, passed on the virtues of "individualism," "personal liberty" and "the passion for doing as one likes" (ibid).

teach Latin to the indigenous.[180] And within the broader trajectory of our discussion, we can likewise detect something of a linguistic back-and-forth: the multilingual character of our second chapter, split between Hebrew and Castilian, gave way to an intellectual culture almost exclusively dominated by the vernacular (the brief exceptions being a few of Cartagena's treatises), but here we shall see that Nebrija's cultural project relies just as much, if not more, on Neo-Latin as it does on Castilian.

The issue, moreover, is not simply what languages Nebrija wrote in but also the subject matters and literary genres that encompassed Nebrija's Neo-Latin/vernacular split. According to Anderson, the rise of Renaissance Neo-Latin nonetheless conforms to his argument about the disintegration of sacred languages because this new Latin was not only pre-Christian in nature but with this Classicizing form also "esoteric" and "arcane" (ibid). Thus somewhat counterintuitively, Anderson manages to argue that the Renaissance revival of Latin ultimately helped spell the end of the language. But while thought provoking, such understanding leaves little room for Neo-Latin literature having any real place within the writing of these new modes of national thinking.[181]

Building on Anderson, but with a theoretical approach that likewise draws on Kant and Freud, Kōjin Karatani in his *Nation and Aesthetics* goes a step further to argue that the core of the nation is language itself, but as such, this national language must be a commonly shared vernacular, not a dead learned tongue. Here turning to German philosophers Herder and Fichte, Karatani quotes a length passage from the latter to discuss how "language—or literature—aestheticizes mountains and rivers as scenes of the nation" (20-21). Karatani's reliance on these nineteenth-century German philosophers leaves even less room for the role of Latin in shaping national consciousness than we saw in Anderson. And while Karatani wants to emphasize the role of language over ethnic group (*Volk*) within their philosophies, we are nonetheless brought back to our introductory discussion where a national imaginary could either be mediated by an idea of the Roman patria and patriotism (as we saw in Arendt's discussion of nation vs. race) or could set itself against an inimical image of Rome and typically identify its origins an anti-Roman tribal group. Indeed Fichte's disregard for dead languages is aimed squarely at Latin and based on a proposed incomparability between Germanic and Latin modes of thinking and feeling.[182]

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[180] Mignolo (49-58).

[181] Anderson's analysis of the Latin/vernacular divide also touches on how "administrative vernaculars" predated print and its vernacularizing thrust, thus standing as "an independent factor in the erosion of sacred imagined community" (41). And though Anderson's analysis focuses on England and the turn from "state-Latin" to Norman-French from about 1200-1350, this period of time likewise coincides with the adoption of Castilian for official court writings, most exemplified by Alfonso X El Sabio's use of the vernacular for his royal historiographies (including the *Estoria de Espanna* we considered in our introduction) and perhaps even more importantly to codify his legal codes, not only the well-known *Siete Partidas* but also earlier versions, one of which we shall briefly address later in this chapter.

[182] Fichte states that Latin as "a dead language cannot have poetry" and likewise argued that Latin term introduced into the German vocabulary was done so "artificially" as an "alien Roman sense-image" (see Karatani 53 & 61). In the second half of this chapter we will see how Nebrija's Neo Latin-lyric poetry likewise produces the sense-images of his national project.

Just as Nebrija found within the Hispano-Roman ruins around his hometown the potential for an new personal identity for himself, so too – and long before Fichte, Karatani or their German romantic poets – he came to see the Spanish landscape as a reservoir of communal memory that when aestheticized in poetry could serve (quoting Karatani) as "scenes of the nation" and even construct (quoting Fichte) both "invisible bonds" and an "inner frontier" for this national community (158). Nebrija, no stranger to vernaculars and their cultural value for national communities, thus sensed that Latin too had an ability to express the scenes and landscapes of the Spanish nation, to construct the inner frontiers of its people. Nebrija is thus simultaneously an example of and challenge to the primacy of vernacular languages within the early modern construction of nationhood. And yet by demonstrating such linguistic flexibility that navigates both Spanish and Neo-Latin, Nebrija requires us to ultimately look beyond the theoretical paradigms of Anderson, Fichte and Karatani. Here we can again return to the image of national community articulated by Hannah Arendt.

For Arendt, the importance of a national landscape was less the bonds it formed for a present community than its ability to articulate historical ties between a national community's past and present. Landscape and national territory become a poetic space where "history had left its visible traces, whose cultivation was the product of the common labor of their ancestors" (299). Arendt's national landscape is thus a product not of nature but of history and of history through culture, where national community is formed not by the mere act of existing within a national space but by the participating in such space though activities of shared labor. We can understand this mode of national belonging as a form of cultural citizenship in which culture, history, and territory are mutually constructive categories.[183] By writing in Latin, Nebrija thus asserts a bond with his fellow "countrymen" of Hispano-Roman antiquity, as he dubbed Trajan and Hadrian. As shall also see when we delve more fully into Nebrija's poetry, the choice of Latin likewise allows Nebrija to more easily turn his poetry into a collaborative and transhistorical form of cultural production where the words of Iberian-born poets such a Martial are interwoven into his own poetic scenes of Spanish nationhood and landscape. First, however, let us turn to yet another preface from his *Introductiones Latinas* to better understand how Nebrija connects culture to territory, poetry and literature to the contours of the Spanish nation, and what implications such synthesis bears.

**Creating a "Nuestra España"**

Much like his better-known *Grámatica sobre la lengua castellana*, Antonio de Nebrija's Latin grammar, the *Introduciones Latinas* (1488), begins with a dedicatory address to Isabel of Castile. In both dedications Nebrija exhorts his queen to make language study a priority in Spain by emphasizing the social and political benefits accrued by philology. But while the *Gramática* famously begins, and continually returns to, the image of language intertwined with empire – "siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio" (3) (language has always been a handmaiden to

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[183] Such idea of a national landscape produced via history should not, moreover, be separated from her socio-political understanding that the very category of the nation is hostile to the biological and race-centered imaginaries of aristocracies, a mode of thinking she in fact traces back to the Germanic nobility of post-classical Europe.

empire) – within his *Introducciones*, Nebrija creates a broader constellation where language and politics are likewise mediated by history and geography.

After humbly introducing himself as but one of the many learned minds of Spain, he goes on to attribute Spain's good fortune to its geography and climate. Yet before he arrives at ascribing Spanish happiness and talent to Spain's singular "templança i frescura del ayre" (200) (temperate calm and freshness of its air), he digresses by describing the natural borders of the Iberian Peninsula. As Nebrija sees it, the Atlantic Ocean, the Mediterranean and Cantabrian Seas, and the Pyrenees all come together to form a "fortaleza natural de nuestra España – la qual, como dize Lucio Floro, nunca los romanos pudieran subiuzgar, si los moradores della conocieran sus fuerças" (ibid) (a natural stronghold of our Spain, which as Lucius Florus says, the Romans would never have been able to subjugate if her inhabitants had known their strength).

Perhaps because the language of study is now Latin rather than Spanish, it is not Spain but Rome who now sits on the imperial throne, with the result that Spain is in now in the position of being one of Rome's conquered colonies. As if the mere reference point of the Latin language were enough to bring forth a host of historical anxieties, Nebrija deviates from his stated aim of relating the peninsula's geographic and climatological benefits, and instead digresses into Spain's colonial past as the Roman province of Hispania. And yet, however unexpected and digressive this foray into Spain's colonial past under Rome may strike the reader, it is a discursive move continually repeated throughout Nebrija's preface. Indeed a pattern emerges where the praise of Spain's bounteous natural gifts – its precious metals, cereals, livestock, etc. – seemingly cannot but lead Nebrija back to remembering Spain's ancient status as the Roman province of Hispania.

After moving through this catalogue of natural resources and the associated historical memories of a colonial Roman past, Nebrija proudly describes a far different type of production that emerged from the Iberian Peninsula; though still situated within the context of the Roman Empire, the output is this time literary and cultural, rather than natural and material:

> Da testimonio i señal desto que, dentro de un siglo en que las letras latinas más florecieron, dio nuestra España a los primeros a lo menos los segundos: en el verso heroico, por consentimiento de todos, a Lucano el segundo, i no mucho lexos dél a Silio Itálico; en la tragedia, a Séneca, no solamente el primero, más el que de todos los trágicos latinos mereció durar hasta nuestros tiempos; en los epigramas, a Valerio Marcial el primero, salva paz de los que mucho aman a Valerio Catulo; en el oratoria, si ninguno puede igualar con la fertilidad i copia de Marco Tullio, tenemos sin ninguna contención a Marco Fabio Quintiliano en la segunda orden, i a Séneca Gallión el tercero. Pues en su género ¿quién pudo ser más diliente que Columela en el agricultura, que Pomponio en la cosmographía, que Trogo en la historia? (201)
>
> It provides testament and proof that within the century when Latin letters flourished most, our Spain offered either the very best of at least the second best: in heroic verse, by agreement of all, Lucan stands second, and not far from him is Silius Italicus; in tragedy, there is Seneca, who is not only the first but even more so the only one of all Latin tragedies that merited surviving up to our times; in epigrams there Valerius Martial who stands first, although some do love Valerius

> Catulus; in oratory none can equal the fecundity and copia of Marcus Tullius, but we have without contest Marcus Fabius Quintilian in second place, and Seneca Gallio in third. And lastly who in their genre could be more worthy than Columela in agriculture, than Pomponius in cosmography, than Trogus in history?

As a point of departure for my dissertation project, the preface of Nebrija's *Introducciones* presents several key concepts. I began by contrasting this preface to that of the *Gramática*, a comparison to which I would like to return. In the *Gramática*, the interplay between *lengua* and *imperio* produces a historical narrative that, like empire itself, involves movement. Nebrija describes an interconnected process of *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* that includes the Classical narrative of movement from Troy to Greece to Rome, as well as a proceeding Biblically-inflected narrative of *translatio imperii et studii* that moves from Abraham to the Egypt of Moses to the Judea of King Solomon.[184] However, with the contemporaneous *imperio* that Spain has inherited, the movement imagined is not of translation but rather expansion. Though certain populations, both within and beyond the Iberian Peninsula, are alluded to with varying levels of specificity (the Basque, the Navarrese, the "enemigos de nuestra fe" – most likely referring to the recently conquered Moors; as well as the French and Italians), Nebrija also speaks more vaguely of "pueblos barbaros i naciones de peregrinas lenguas" (10-11) (barbarian populations and nations of foreign languages) that will one day be conquered by Spain and with her yoke also require instruction in her language. And of course, with the *Gramática's* timely publication date of 1492, this image of limitless, uncharted expansion would prove truer than Nebrija had likely ever imagined.

But where the *Gramática* delights in an imaginary of imperial movement and expansion, the preface of the *Introducciones* does quite the opposite. If the *Gramática* is a work of empire, the *Introductiones Latinae* is one of a nation.[185] As we saw, the very first image that Nebrija presents is one of boundedness, of Spain demarcated by her natural frontiers in the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean and Cantabrian Seas, and the Atlantic. And more than boundaries, they are fortifications; they not only demarcate, they protect. Where we see movement, it is not movement within the broad brushstrokes of history where imperial power moves from one civilization to another, but a more specific and mechanical type of movement where resources are extracted and exported. The natural resources of Spain/Hispania as colonial province are sent to the imperial center of Rome. And indeed, as a narrative of extraction, such movement is less important than the concept of autochthonous production, that is, the fact that these resources

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[184] Capítulo Segundo "Dela primera invención delas letras, i de donde vinieron primero a nuestra España (18-20). We will return to this chapter later in our analysis.

[185] Even in his rather critical account of Nebrijan philology in *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*, Walter Mignolo recognizes key distinctions between Nebrija's vernacular vs. classical legacy. Though Castilian *encomenderos* enacted a program of requiring the natives to learn Spanish, Jesuits followed an alternative more tolerant path where their missionaries would learn and write grammars of Amerinidian languages while natives would pursue the *studia humanitatis* and study Latin. These Spanish Jesuits unsurprisingly turned to Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae* as a standard textbook and would train many *Indios latinistas* at the College of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (2003: 53-58).

– gold, wheat, livestock, and even poets – are of the selfsame earth.  The land, the Iberian Peninsula, is at once bounded and defined, productive and fertile.

At the intersection of culture and territory, as a bounded land that cultivates not only natural resources but also poets and authors, Nebrija writes Spanish nationhood by reimagining the possibilities of Renaissance nationhood.  As discussed above, the Hispania/España of the *Introductiones* not only eschews standard conceptions of the *translatio imperii* and *studii* but throws such narratives into reverse.  Culture moves not east to west, from Greece to Rome to Iberia, but from west to east as Hispania exports to Rome not only wheat and precious metals but also Seneca, Martial and other Hispano-Roman authors, as well as (though unmentioned here) those favorite emperors of Nebrija's, the Iberian-born Trajan and Hadrian.  Such rewritten account of the history of civilization abounds with implications for Nebrija's own intellectual moment.  When classical culture no longer moves westward from Greece and Rome, why then must Renaissance learning necessarily originate in Italy and arrive to Iberia only belatedly and afterward?

As we already glimpsed with Nebrija's self-likening to the Carthaginian Hannibal, there is a strain of his Hispano-Roman humanism that is somewhat Italophobic in its desire to reject Italy's claim to exclusivity on Rome's legacy and its Renaissance revival.  Though the above passage of the *Introductiones* will at times concede a second-place status for its authors (Lucan to Vergil in epic, Quintilian to Cicero in rhetoric), a first-place prize is more frequently awarded (for Seneca, Marital, Pomponius Mela, Columella and Trogus Pompeius), with the obvious implication that Hispania, not Rome or elsewhere in Italy, should be seen as the true center of Latin letters.  Some years latter Nebrija would again weaponize this Hispano-Roman canon of authors against Italian humanists whom he accuses of coveting Spanish glory and trying "to sully Quintillian, the second light of the Latin language, and at Silius Italicus, and many others whom are said to be Spanish, doing so without fear of the Fanian law against plagiarism."[186]  As the passage goes on, Nebrija provides a genealogy for such Italian arrogance in the very condescension shown by their ancient counterparts, positing that he will not allow himself to be "out of tune with the inspiration of the Muses and at odds with Columela, Canius, Silius, Haena, the two Senecas, and the only Lucan, and other Cordovan poets, simply because Cicero writes that they sound rather dull and foreign."[187]

And yet ultimately Nebrija's excavation of Hispano-Roman history and culture is less about defining his Spain in relation to other national communities, than it is about navigating Spain's own communal composition and organization.  Nebrija's calls his Hispania "nuestra España", and in so doing underscores that he is concerned not only about the historical image of this community but also about its members, past and present.  Like the more personal bonds Nebrija articulated toward the Aelii and Aeliani of ancient Hispano-Roman Nebrissa, Nebrija's

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[186] An qui Latinae linguae alterum lumen Quintilianum, qui Silium Italicum, quos Hispanos fuesse constat, qui alios complures non verity legem Fanniam de plagiariis (in *Obras historicas de Nebrija*, Hinojo Andrés edition; 1991: 126-128)

[187] Neque adeo a Musarum fonte abhorremus, ut no simus corrivales Columellae, Canio, Silio, Haenae, duobus Senecis, unicoque Lucano, aliisque poetis Codubensibus, quamvis scribat Cicero pingue quiddam illos et peregrinum sonare (130).  This comment is based on the passage from Cicero's *Pro Archia Poeta* we saw in our first chapter, though anachronizes the accusation by aiming it the poets listed since they came after Cicero.

national "nuestra España" is a transhistorical national community that includes not only Queen Isabel and her contemporaneous subjects (including Nebrija) but also Hispano-Roman authors when Nebrija catalogues, Seneca, Lucan, Martial, Quintilian and beyond.

Yet have we not already seen the expression of such sentiments well before Nebrija self-adopted into the line of Hispano-Roman emperors? When Alonso de Cartagena presented his monarch Juan II with a translation of Seneca, the Hispano-Roman philosopher was enlisted as a subject to the Castilian king. Beyond rhetorical precedent, Cartagena's formulation is also a reminder that such modes of appropriating antiquity quite often carry messages, implicit or explicit, of socio-political hierarchy. Cartegana's Seneca serves Juan II, while the humble-born Nebrija joins an imperial line. We likewise do well to remember that where Nebrija speaks of a "nuestra", Cartagena had presented Seneca to his king as "vuestro súbdito", and Castilian as "vuestra súbdita lengua." Such juxtaposition (or evolution) between Cartagena's "vuestra" and Nebrija's "nuestra" further underscores that as pronoun "nuestra" communicates both inclusivity and possession. To ask who belongs within Nebrija's "nuestra España" is thus intimately connected to the question of to whom does "nuestra España" belong?

Not unlike the Spanish pronoun "nuestra" the term and conceptual category of "belong/belonging" can itself state a either a claim of affiliation or ownership. As a political concept, we even, somewhat amusingly, see such dual meanings respectively interrogated within the same family of scholars. Both in our introduction and earlier within this chapter we considered how Benedict Anderson theorized modes of imaginary belonging to national community. With respect to assertions of political possession and control, Benedict's brother Perry Anderson argues in his seminal *Lineages of the Absolutist State* that concepts of collective and territorial nationhood were indeed secondary and subordinate to the claims of the monarch: "The ideological conceptions of 'nationalism' as such were foreign to the inmost nature of Absolutism. […] the ultimate instance of legitimacy was the *dynasty*, not the territory. The state was conceived as the patrimony of the monarch" (2013: 38-39). Anderson goes on to discuss how this paradigm of dynastic patrimony over territorial nationhood was likewise a hallmark of Spanish politics well through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[188] And while the realities of absolutist rule should not be discounted, the political practices of absolutism should likewise not lead us to ignore other existent discourses surrounding the nation-state and their ability to present (explicitly or subtly) alternative visions of nationhood. It is a well-worn thesis that early modern Europe's centralized and absolutists monarchs made common cause with their nation's emergent educated middle classes so as to fill their state bureaucracies, but such truism does not discount the possibility that this new rising class would have conversely looked for ways to exploit monarchical power to their own benefit and advantage. Indeed they sought to realize their political power so as to gain much vaunted cultural capital within society. And once we concede the two-way process of such a negotiation, it shouldn't be too surprising to imagine moments where certain particularly ambitious figures would have pressed and pushed the limits of what could be articulated from the vantage point of bourgeois, or letrado, class consciousness.

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[188] Here Anderson relies primarily on the Spanish historian Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and argues that it was not until the eighteenth century under the Bourbons that "a cohesive *España* – as opposed to the semi-universal *monarquía española* of the Habsburgs – finally and gradually emerged" (83).

In Nebrija's demarcation of a nuestra España through the Iberian Peninsula's natural boundaries as well as his easy movement between the Peninsula's natural resources and its cultural heritage, we already see the nation imagined through the delineation of territorial boundaries and what this territory produces in both nature and culture. Indeed, within the archive of Spain's discourse of nationhood, Perry Anderson's emphasis on the nation-state as the dynastic patrimony of the royal line is more markedly found within the Castilian Middle Ages. Here we can turn once again turn to the literary production of the court of Alfonso X el Sabio, and compare this Alfonsine national vision to Nebrija's. [189] When we previously came across Alfonso X el Sabio in our introduction, we examined that while the *Estoria de Espanna* framed itself as a national history, its historical protagonist was more rightly the ethno-tribal group of the Goths. By looking back to the Alfonsine *Estoria* and juxtaposing the Spain it imagines with Nebrija's cultural project, we can see that Nebrija offers nothing less than a profound revolution with the Spanish national imaginary.

There are indeed two key moments where the *Estoria* describes the terrirtory of Spain. The first we briefly considered in chapter on; it is a description which comes at something of a middle and turning point in the historiography: the 711 invasion of the Moors and end of the Visigoth's unified rule of the peninsula.[190] Visigothic military defeat at Moorish hands becomes an opportunity for the *Estoria* to describe the lost territory through the familiar trope of the Laus Hispaniae, with the chapter itself entitled "Del loor de Espanna como ex complida de todos bienes" (311) (Of the praise of Spain and how it is filled with every good; translation my own). The historiography deploys all the familiar attributes that run from the Classical geographers through the Middle Ages to, as we have seen, humanists such as Nebrija himself: "Espanna es abondada de miesses, deleytosa de fructas, viciosa de pescados … rica de metales, de plomo … de plata, de oro, de piedras preciosas, de toda manera de piedra marmol, de sales de mar et de salinas de tierra" (95) (Spain abounds in grains, delicious fruits, rank with fish … rich in metals, in lead … in silver, in gold, in precious stones, and in all manner of marble, in salts of the see and of the earth).

But if the rhetorical trope with its enumeration of riches and resources is by now well known to us, the territory in question is less so. At first the *Estoria* seems to anticipate the very geographic delineation of Spain we see with Nebrija; the España of the Alfonsine *Estoria* "es cerrada toda en derredro: dell un cabo de los montes Pireneos que llegan fasta la mar, de la otra parte del mar Occeano, de la otra del mar Tirreno" (ibid) (is closed all around: on one end by the mountains of the Pyrenes the span to the sea, on the other part by the Ocean [i.e. Atlantic], and by the Tyrrhenian Sea [of the Mediterranean]) . But just after emphasizing such territorial boundaries, the passage gives us a more expansive Spain: "Demas es en esta Espanna la Gallia Gothica que es la prouincia de Narbona dessouno con las cibdades Rodes, Albia et Beders, que en el tiempo de los godos pertenescien a esta misma prounincia" (ibid) (Within this Spain is also Gothic Gaul which is the province of Narbonne comprisded with the cities of Rodez, Albia and Beziers, which in the time of the Goths belonged to this very province). The two imagined

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[189] For a discussion of Alfonsine political and legal theory as negotiating territorially administrative rather that feudal, see Maravall's "Del régimen feudal al regimen corporativo en el pensamiento de Alfonso X" (1965)

[190] The complete modern edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal and updated by Diego Catalán, titled *Primera crónica general de España* (1977), indeed divides its two volumes at this point.

territories are at odds with one another as the initial emphasis on barriers is violated by the ensuing list of non-Iberian localities. Indeed, something like two Españas seems to exist within the pages of the *Estoria*, as the demarcated peninsular territory must be qualified by the arrival of a second "esta Espanna" that includes "Gallia Gothica" and other portions of what was even at the time of the *Estoria*'s composition part of the kingdom of France. The territorial paradox of the Alfonsine *Estoria* is thus an attempt to reconcile a bounded España, as it was for the Romans, with the kingdom of the Goths, a territory that included a region known as Septimania that extend into French lands.

For Nebrija, this expanded Gothic territory was little less than an affront to the nation he imagined. Complementing what is implied by his territorial outline in the prologue to the 1488 *Introductiones*, Nebrija begins his own historiographic text on the Navarrese war with a "Preface on the Antiquity, Name and Location of this Kingdom" (Praefatio de Antiquitate, Nomine, et Situ huius Regni; translation my own of the López de Toro edition; 1953: 23). Here Nebrija proposes that Nature herself (natura), well aware of the war-like dispositions of both the French and the Spanish (Gallos Hispanosque gentes belligerandi cupidas), set the Pyrenes in order to maintain a separation between the two peoples. Any violation of this natural boundary is for Nebrija an example of man's "impertinent ambition" (ambitiosa temeritas; ibid). And, indeed, the first example of such "impertinent ambition" that Nebrija presents is Visigothic annexation of Gallic territory with Narbonne.[191]

As Nebrija describes it, the territory of Spain is defined "as Nature desired" (cum natura voluerit; 24). But history also plays a role. Reminding us of his geographic *Muestra de la antigüedades de España,* Nebrija constructs his nation through classical sources, as we especially see when he describes the very territory being contested in his military history, Navarre. The

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[191] "Behold, the Goths binding Gallic Narbonne to Spain" (Ecce Gothi Narbonensem Galliam Hispaniae annectunt; 22). And yet, Nebrija also understands that the history of the Pyrenes as a boundary is not so simple, and in this he anticipates how in later centuries both the Spanish and French nations-states would define themselves according to their shared Pyrene frontier (treatises that took place between 1659 and 1868, and that are the focus of Peter Sahlins' *Boundaries* (1991). Though he singled out the Goths as an example of "impertinent ambition" he likewise recognizes that "Not only was Gallic Narbonne part of Spain under the Goths but even before, and even under the Romans, and before the era of the Romans when all this territory was called Hispania" (24) (Neque enim Gallia Narbonensis sub Gothis tantum principibus Hispaniae portio fuirt, verum etiam sub Romanis, atque ante Romanorum tempora totus ille tractus Hispaniae annumeratus est).

But while it is undoubtedly important that Nebrija implicates the Romans in violating the supposed natural boundaries of Spain, the territorial history is actually more in-line with his guiding sentiments since Narbonne was not part of Hispania but rather Roman Gaul. Of course, it is also certainly the case that Gothic Septimania extended well passed both the Pyrenes, and for a time Narbonne even served as the capital of the Visigothic kingdom, illustrating that Iberia was not in itself privileged territory. By comparison, any instances of Roman Hispania extending beyond Nebrija's ideal Iberian boundaries are rather more in line with Sahlins' point that the Pyrenees, and perhaps any mountain range, presents an inherently ambiguous territorial border as it is never clear on which side of such range the boundary should be drawn or what to do with any valleys in between.

precedent of classical geography thus works both ways: to limit national boundaries from overweening ambition, such as that of the Goths, yet also to legitimize national claims of the present day over what had been part of Hispania in the past. Thus when Nebrija discusses the central Navarrese city of Pamplona, he goes back to Strabo who had called the town "Pompeiopolis" because, as Nebrija posits, it was founded by Pompey the Great during his war against the insurgent Roman general Sertorius. The surrounding region, moreover, includes some of the most prized Spanish localities, a renown achieved by ties to Hispano-Roman culture; Calagurris (today Calahorra on the border with Navarre but actually in La Rioja) was the "patria of the orator Quintilian" (Quintiliani oratoris patria Calagurris; 28). Since everyone knows that Quintilian was Spanish, how could his place of birth be anywhere except within Spain?

Beyond outlining a different territorial expanse from that of the *Estoria de Espanna*, Nebrija's very method of demarcating Spain through classical precedent and cultural legacy is strikingly at odds with how the historiography legitimizes and imagines the Spanish nation. Indeed, if any vision of Spain conforms to Perry Anderson's notion of political territory defined through dynastic patrimony it is the medieval Alfonsine *Estoria*. And we once again find ourself at a rather programmatic moment in the text, jumping from the crucial midpoint of the 711 Moorish invasion and the Visigothic loss of Spain to the work's conclusion and arrival at a present-day. The *Estoria's* very 'authorial' patron enters the scene as the yet-to-be-crowned Alfonso attends the bedside of his dying father, king Fernando III 'el Santo' de Castilla. Fernando has not only summoned his heir apparent Alfonso but also his wife and queen-consort Beatriz de Suabia, as well as all his other children and the various "ricos hombres" of his kingdom. With all members of the royal family and key nobility present as witnesses, Fernando issues a royal decree stating that Alfonso will inherit his kingdom, and thus the kingdom is described:

> « fijo, rico fincas de tierra et de muchos buenos vasallos, mas que rey que en la cristiandat ssea … te dexo de toda la tierra de la mar a aca, que los moros del rey Rodrigo de Espanna ganado ovieron; et en tu sennorio finca toda: la una conquerida, la otra tributada. Sy la en este estado en que te la yo dexo la sopieres guardar, eres tan buen rey commo yo; et si ganares por ti mas, eres meior que yo; et si desto menguas, non eres tan bueno commo yo». (772-3)
>
> "Son, rich estates of land and many good vassals, more than any other king in Christendom … I leave you, from all the land from the Sea to here, which the Moors won from King Roderic of Spain; and your patrimony includes it all: one part conquered, another part in tribute. And if you maintain it in this state which I pass on to you, you will be a king as good as me; and if you win for yourself more, you will be a better king than I; but if you diminish it, you will not be as good a king as I.

In this scene of patrimonial bequest, feudal registers abound. To his primogenitor Alfonso, Fernando will pass on both landed estates (fincas de tierra) and his loyal vassals (buenos vasallos). The national territory enters in only after, and in such a way that it becomes difficult to determine whether this 'Espanna' is in fact a different territorial entity or merely the summation of Fernando's estates. Patrimony and political territory are thus elided as the legal

rhetoric comes to take on a rhythmic quality; the '*fincas* de tierra' are soon echoed by the verb '*finca* [fincar]' that articulates and delineates the expanse of Alfonso's soon-to-be 'sennorio' in Espanna.

In keeping with the Castilian feudal imaginary we have thus far uncovered, Alfonso's territorial inheritance is likewise given a history, one that goes back to the land of the Visigoths and the Spain that Rodrigo lost to the Moors (que los moros del rey Rodrigo de Espanna ganado ovieron). By employing such historical terms to describe the land Alfonso shall inherit, the *Estoria* connects for its readers both moments we are discussing here. Alfonso's future kingdom will be the past kingdom of the last Visigothic king Rodrigo, and the filial bonds between father and son are thus one link within a broader chain of Gothic genealogy, here imagined not as the passing down of pure and clean blood but instead the bequeathing of inherited land.[192]
A national territory passed down by patrilineal inheritance could not be more at odds with Nebrija's "nuestra España" that in its most basic semantics includes both him and Isabel, ruling queen and subject of humble (not to mention judeoconverso) origins, and that is more broadly constructed through transhistorical cultural and intellectual participation, demarcated by those lands and localities that lay claim to Latin authors and letrado humanists.

Yet by turning back to the Alfonsine *Estoria*, we are also reminded that the Gothicism of Castile's caballeros and kings was long at odds with the Hispano-Roman imaginary that Nebrija has become champion of. Given that national belonging is oft thought to transcend class divides, perhaps it is tempting to conclude that Nebrija's "nuestra España" has found a way to bridge such divide and erase the ideological baggage we have thus far examined.[193] If only it were so easy. Previous articulations of national unity were nonetheless grounded in hierarchical relationships as well as an understanding of ingrained differences between the national legacies of Hispania and Gothicism. Perhaps the Hispano-Roman could serve the Visigothic race, as we saw with Cartagena and his national "vuestra", or at most the cultured civility of the former could balance the latter's violent militarism, but what then happens when, as in Nebrija's "nuestra España", the Hispano-Roman nation sees itself on top?

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[192] With such a declaration, the current passage thus nods to the previous 'Loor' that praises the wealth and expanse of Rodrigo's kingdom right at the moment of its loss. But at this point Of course, as we also see, Fernando must qualify that only part of Rodrigo's lost kingdom is already 'conquerida'; another part is only 'tributada,' by which he means under Moorish rule while nonetheless paying tribute to Castile to ward off further attack. Yet such concession of territorial limits also becomes a challenge set by father to son. The bequest ends with something of a provocation wherein Alfonso is warned that he will be compared to his father and measured as a monarch according to the territory he keeps, conquers or loses. As a scene that already broadened its historical scope by looking to Gothic genealogy, this filial exchange between Fernando and Rodrigo finds further historical projection by inscribing itself into the ideology of Reconquista expansion.

[193] Here it should be conceded that there are occasional moments in his history of the Navarrese War when Nebrija praising the Catholic Kings by pointing to their Gothic ancestry. Though I am not arguing such moments should be ignored, they certainly do not constitute the sustained cultural project that Hispania did, nor are they even prevalent enough to suggest the sort of syncretism between the Gothic and Hispano-Roman we see with Cartagena.

Though our present chapter's discussion has frequently turned to Benedict Anderson's rather more inclusive imagined national community, we do well to remember that our larger theoretical paradigms were never so harmonious. Arendt's nation of citizens had no room for a race of aristocrats, and within Foucault's national dualism the nation was constructed not in an act of unity but to serve as a stage where grievances of class, race and history could be played out, fought and won. It is worth remembering that both Arendt and Foucault constructed their national paradigms with an eye toward the French Revolution that was at times imagined as a conflict between Frankish aristocrats and a Gallo-Roman bourgeoisie. Nebrija's ambition certainly does not go so far as to seek to banish or behead any of Spain's Visigothic caballeros and monarchs. But given that his aims were less political than cultural, as we turn to our next set of texts, we should nonetheless ask to what extent Nebrija was waging a revolution if not through violence and upheaval than through rhetoric and imagery, and what changes such a cultural revolution might have sought to effect on Spanish society.

**Rewriting the Nation**

Having focused on various editions of Nebrija's *Introductiones Latinae*, let us now turn to his famous *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, to the second chapter where Nebrija looks to resolve a question he claims many others have asked before him but never answered adequately: "¿quién traẋo primero las letras a nuestra España, o de donde las pudieron recebir los ombres de nuestra nación?" (19) (Who first brought letters to our Spain? From where might they have been received by the men of our nation?). With its by now familiar and repeated "nuestras" for "nuestra España" and "nuestra nación", Nebrija's formulation of the question takes us back to the earlier national discourse. And so too does the answer provided; after entertaining the Greeks and Carthaginians as possible origins for writing in Iberia, Nebrija concludes that it was in fact the Romans:

> Muchos podrían venir en esta duda: ¿quién traẋo primero las letras a nuestra España, o de dónde las pudieron recebir los ombres de nuestra nación? […] io creería que de ninguna otra nación las recibimos primero delos romanos, quando se hizieron señores della quasi dosientos años antes del nacimiento de nuestro Salvador; por que, si alguno delos que arriba diẋimos traẋera las letras a España, oi se hallarían algunos momos alo menos de oro i de plata, o piedras cavadas de letras greigas i púnicas, como agora las vemos de letras romanas, en que se contienen las memorias de muċhos varones illustres que la regieron i gobernaron desde aquel tiempo hasta quinientos i setenta años después nacimiento de nuestro Salvador, cuando la ocuparon los godos. (19 & 21-22)
>
> But I believe that we did not receive letters from any other nation before the Romans, when they made themselves rulers of Spain almost two hundred years before the birth of our Savior. Because, if any of those whom I mentioned above had brought letters to Spain, today we would find at least some trinkets of gold, silver or stone engraved with Greek or Punic letters, as now we find Roman letters in which in which the memories of many esteemed men are preserved, men who ruled and governed from that time until five hundred and

> seventy years after the birth of our Savior, at which point the Goths came to occupy Spain.

As evidence for his claim that it was Rome who first introduced a system of writing to Iberia, Nebrija points to the ubiquity of Roman letters over the lack of any Greek or Punic/Carthaginian written remains. His evidence is archeological, the material remains of trinkets, coins and stone engravings, which likewise remind us of the very Hispano-Roman inscriptions of Nebrissa and Baetica from which he took his name. The individual identity he has assumed thus intersects with the linguistic history of his nation. And like those imperial Aelii and Aeliani, these memorialized figures are "varones illustres" who left their own impression on the land that they "regieron i gobernaron" for over seven centuries.

But such rule comes to an end as Roman governance of Hispania leads to Visigothic occupation (la ocuparon los godos). Nebrija's narrative then passes from story of origins to one of decline as our familiar "esteemed" Roman heroes are followed by equally familiar villains:

> Los cuales no solamente acabaron de corromper el latín i lengua romana, que ia con las muchas guerras avía començado a desfallecer; mas aun torcieron las figuras i traços de las letras antiguas introduciendo i mezclando las suias, (ibid)

> Those people [the Goths] not only completed the corruption of Latin and the Roman language – which already on account of many wars had begun to decline – but moreover distorted the shape and design of the ancient letters by introducing and intermingling their own,

Though Nebrija does admit that the Latin language was already in decline due to Rome's wars, the Gothic occupation of the Iberian Peninsula introduces an even more pernicious element that thoroughly completes this linguistic decay. To help his readers visualize the corrosive effects of Gothic cultural forms, Nebrija describes how the introduction and intermingling of the latter "distorted the shape and design of the ancient letters." Written aesthetic form thus becomes a mirror of a people who themselves are twisted and debased.

Thus Nebrija's cultural project of Hispania took an already existent national image to new levels with by insulting and attacking Gothic culture with a full-throatedness yet unseen among his letrado predecessors. Nor, moreover, does Nebrija relegate his Visigoths to a distant past of Late Antiquity as he takes the next step of explicitly connecting them to his own present-day Castile, including to its rulers. Their twisted letters, so he writes,

> las vemos escriptas en los libros que se escribieron en aquellos ciento i veinte años que España estuvo debaẋo de los reies godos. La cual forma de letras duró después en tiempos delos juezes i reies de Castilla i de León (ibid)

> we see written in the books that they wrote in those one hundred and twenty years during which Spain was under the Gothic kings. This form of writing lasted afterward into the era of the judges and kings of Castile and Leon

Emphasis on the aesthetic form or writing shifts to what is written as well as its socio-political import as Nebrija specifically and disparagingly identifies the written codices of Castilian juridical and political authority as the textual manifestations of Gothicism's debased legacy.

But what Nebrija is saying is also strikingly familiar in various ways. To a certain extent he has endorsed the central tenant of the Visigothic myth – present for us in the Alfonsine *Estoria de Espanna* and in Pero López de Ayala's presentation of Alaric as ancestor to Juan II – that there truly exists an unbroken genealogical line from the Goths to the Castilian noblemen and kings. But Nebrija has replaced genealogy with cultural aesthetics, albeit one he most obviously denigrates. Gothic and Castilian power is manifested not through blood but in ink, and now through the distorted and twisted cultural forms that mark the written word in a post-Roman Iberia. In a sense, this too is familiar territory as Nebrija builds on the efforts previously undertaken by both father Pablo and son Alonso Santa María to transform the civilizing arts and intellectual labor of Judeoconverso letrados into patriotic acts that serve the Spanish nation. But while earlier generations sought to carve out a separate sphere of letrado activity, Nebrija brings the Goths into this realm of conflict. By recasting into cultural terms a Visigothic legacy that had earlier been legitimized through genealogy, Nebrija transforms this battle of national dualism into one that his fellow letrados can wage and win, indeed that they have essentially already won.

At the same time, however, Nebrija has cleverly appropriated and reworked imagery prevalent within the very texts of Gothicism, both those from Gothic rule and later Castilian reimaginings. Though his insult of debased corruption reflects the aesthetic priorities of a Renaissance humanist; his examples of written authority both political (reies) and juridical (juezes), is a vocabulary nether imposed nor alien. When Visigoths and Castilian caballeros were not legitimizing their power through narratives of genealogy and blood lineage (and later, more specifically, blood purity), a fallback was to evoke of their legal codes and juridical statutes. Such narratives indeed go back to the first history of the Goths in Spain, that of Isidore who writes how Euric, in 471 CE, codified into written law (legum statuta in scriptis) what had previously been followed according to "tradition and custom" (moribus et consuetudine; 96).[194] A little over a century later, King Leovigild, father of the first Catholic Visigothic king Reccared, likewise receives praise from Isidore as a lawgiver who emended Euric's earlier code, "adding many laws that had been left out and removing many superfluous ones" (plurimas leges praetermissas adjiciens, plerasque superfluas auferens; 103).[195]

Nor was the importance of such legal codes merely a product of Isidore's version of Visigiothic history. A few decades after Isidore's death, king Chindiasuinth promulgated the Forum Iudicum, which several centuries later was revived as a legal code for Castile and was translated into Castilian in the year 1241 as the Fuero Juzgo by Fernando III, the same monarch whom we earlier saw bequeath the Gothic kingdom of Rodrigo to his son Alfonso (later El Sabio). Indeed, if there is any sense in which Gothicism' dream of continuity between Visigothic and Castilian politics was a social reality, it was not in the genealogy of kings but through the Fuero Juzgo and its legal legacy.

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[194] In reality Roman law also influenced the Code of Euric. One of the code's primary authors was a Roman lawyer named Leo who served as counselor to Euric.

[195] This is referred to as the Code of Leovigild or, because of its revised status, as the Codex Revisus.

Regardless of whether or not we accept the Alfonsine *Estoria's* account of Fernando formulating his territorial bequest as the passing on of Visigothic patrimony, Alfonso does seem to have inherited his father's preoccupation with legal codes. Though the *Siete Partidas* remains well known to us, Alfonso in fact commissioned a total of four legal codes during his reign.[196] And though the *Siete Partidas* references neither Visigothic legal codes nor the Goths themselves, Alfonso's earlier code of the *Espéculo* does with a descriptive image that recalls Benedict Anderson's own theoretical proposition that the national imagined community is unified as a textual community:

> *Ley Primera. Come el ffuero dEspana antiguamjente ffue todo vno en tienpo de los godos, et por qual rrazon vino el departimjento de los ffueros en las tierras*
> Fuero dEspana antiguamjente en tienpo de los godos ffue todo vno; mas, quando moros ganaron la tierra, perdieron sse aquellos libros en que eran escriptos los ffueros. Et despues que los cristianos la ffueron cobrando, assi como la yuan conquiriendo, tomauan los vnos de vna guisa et los otros (MacDonald edition; 1990: 200)
>
> *First Law. How the law of Spain was previously all one in the time of the Goths, and by what reason the discipline of laws came about in the land.*
> The law of Spain was previously in the time of the Goths all one; but when the Moors conquered the land, we lost the books in which the laws were written. Though afterward, when the Christians reclaimed it, as they conquered, they took certain laws from the judgement of some and others from elsewhere.

Obviously both the *Espéculo* itself and the lost Visigothic code it recounts well predate the early modern print revolution that is so central to Anderson's thesis of nationhood and which we have applied to Nebrija's own exploitation of printing. Yet likewise anticipating Anderson's thesis of a nation constructed through textual imaginaries, the *Espéculo* imagines how Spain might realize its national unity by recovering and recompiling the texts of a legal code that "was previously in the time of the Goths all one" but which was subsequently been fragmented and dispersed. Of course as we also see, both the textual loss of this legal code and wish for its editorial recompilation are set within Reconquista ideology; it is the Moorish invasion of 711 that leads to the legal code's fragmentation, yet conversely through the Christian reconquest of Moorish lands that the law code's pieces will be recovered and reunified. Where the Alfonsine *Estoria* had thus used the Laus Hispaniae to mourn the territorial loss of Visigothic Spain, the *Espéculo* laments a not so different loss in the disappearance of a Visigothic legal code, and moreover does so through language that is itself legal and textual.

And yet with its ties to a Reconquista imaginary, the *Espéculo* also exposes its own fissures and lack of confidence in a project of national-textual reunification. Its very own wish of recovering and recompiling this lost Visigothic legal code comes across as less realizable than the parallel project of reclaiming land through military conquest. The Christian repossession of Moorish lands leads only to the piecemeal recovery of this fragmented legal code, and as the

[196] Perry Anderson moreover provides some relevant commentary in his claim that "just was the *central* modality of power" (152-54).

passage goes on, the *Espéculo* concedes that the intervening centuries of history have likely obscured the legal knowledge necessary to revive the code's original usage: "los omnes non podrian sser çiertos de como lo vsaron antiguamjente" (ibid) (men cannot be sure as to how it was used in the past). For all its desire to imagine a connection to imagine Spain through the textual unification of legal codes, the *Espéculo* cannot but escape the Gothic championing of military violence over intellectual pursuits. Perhaps then both Isidore and Nebrija were correct when they each in their own way characterized Visigothic legal codes, as well as their continued legacy in medieval Castile, as the textual embodiments of Gothic customs and culture.[197]

But where the *Espéculo* equivocates as to whether the nation is unified through textual scholarship of military conquest, Nebrija does not hesitate:

> hasta que después poco a poco se començaron a concertar nuestras letras con las romanas i antiguas, lo cual en nuestros días i por nuestra industria en gran parte se ha hecho.
>
> finally little-by-little our letters have begun to be harmonized with those of the Romans and the ancients, what has in large part been completed in our day and by our efforts.

What on its own reads as little more than a scholar's account of editorial and typographic labor should within the context we have laid out come across as so much more. Having tied the twisted form of Gothic letters to authority both legal and political, the erasure of such writing becomes the undoing of that authority, the reinscription of Roman lettering the reconstitution of new cultural values and social order. Intentional or not, the account reveals something of a pun that underlies Nebrija's cultural project; the power of *letrados* lies in *letras*, even in their very shape and form. Thus where the *Espéculo* imagined textual recovery alongside military reconquest (ultimately siding with the later), for Nebrija textual processes are themselves a form of conquest. Letter-by-letter and word-by-word, Nebrija and his fellow letrados shall by their humanist "industria", in both handwritten script and printed type, overwrite the Gothic legacy and restore harmony "with the Romans and the ancients," all the while looking for cultural inspiration in the very sources where Nebrija found his own name, the archeological residue of Roman Hispania.[198] Nebrija's cultural project of Hispania does not just imagine the Spanish

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[197] This would likewise be in keeping with Foucault's broader argument in *"Society Must be Defended"* that, reversing Clausewitz' famous dictum, politics is war by other means.

[198] By relating to both the history of language and developments in printed typeface, Nebrija's critique of Gothicism as a debased aesthetic and cultural form fittingly emerges from his broader career project as a humanist philologist and early printer within the literary society of Renaissance Spain. Other likeminded humanists would echo his sentiments, as we see when the rhetorician Alonso García Matamoros who, in his work on the history of learning and educational institutions in the Iberian Peninsula, *De adserenda Hispanorum eruditione, sive De viris Hispaniae doctis narratio apologetica* (1553), complains of a "Gothic plague" that infected the Iberian Peninsula after the fall of Roman Hispania. But as Nebrija's legacy unfolds over the ensuing decades we also begin to see his ideas expand beyond the more traditional disciplinary parameters of humanism as an interest in Classical philology, rhetoric and/or historiography.

nation differently from the *Espéculo*, the Alfonsine *Estoria* and the texts of medieval Castile; it imagines a different Spanish nation.

**Neo-Latin Lyric and the Affects of Patria**

Though divided across Renaissance Neo-Latin and the Spanish vernacular, the texts we have thus far considered share two distinct yet interrelated qualities: they are written in prose and either preface or are within a philological treatise, and we see in them how Nebrija advertises and outlines his cultural project of Hispano-Roman revival, be it to fashion his own persona as a humanist and letrado or to imagine anew a communal identity for the Spanish nation. We shall now turn to more literary endeavors with Nebrija's forays into poetry, which were always Neo-Latin verse. The vocabulary of self-promotion does not wholly disappear, as verse too becomes a vehicle by which Nebrija constructs his identity in conversations with Iberia's past under Rome. Yet such poetry also shows us the more affective underpinnings of Nebrija's project, how in verse Nebrija's Hispania could activate a range of emotions from feelings of nostalgia and loss to sensations of wonder and admiration.

A fitting entry point into Nebrija's Neo-Latin verse is his poem "Salutatio ad Patriam" (Salutation to his Patria), not only because the theme of homeland is made explicitly clear even from the its title, but because it is among the earliest, if not the earliest of his surviving Latin poems, likely written or at least begun while Nebrija was a student in Bologna. And the world depicted within the poem takes us further back yet, to Nebrija's childhood. The poem's opening lines welcome its readers into the space of Nebrija's childhood home, just as Nebrija is welcomed into the world: "Greetings, small home; greetings to both Penates and Lares, crowded to learn of my birth" (Slave parva domus, pariter salvete Penates / Atque Lares, ortus consocia turba mei; my own translation of the Bonmatí Sánchez edition; 2013: I.1-2, p. 116). These verses essentially ventriloquize Nebrija's first thoughts, greeting the world he is born into, a world immediately classicized with the inclusion of the traditional household gods of Rome, the Lares and Penates. From this moment of birth, the poem goes on to organize itself around various childhood moments located within the domestic space. Of the poem's fifty-one lines, twelve begin with "Hic…" (Here…) localizing everything from his mother's nursery rhymes to Nebrija's first steps to the games he played as he grew in years.

Like most exercises in Neo-Latin Renaissance poetry, the poem imitates and interweaves portions of Classical Latin verse into its own poetic composition. At about halfway through we're are taken to Nebrija's time as a student in Italy, where he becomes something of a Spanish Aeneas who has "abandoned" Spain and suffered "dangers" along the way. Yet far from his homeland, Nebrija beseeches his patria for a kind return and welcome reception after so much time away.[199] Such Virgilian connotations indeed remind us of the very objects that opened the

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And yet, given how Nebrija's attack on Gothicism is one of aesthetic form, it is perhaps not all that surprising that such denunciation also finds itself echoed in the visual arts, such in the architectural treatise *Medidas del Roman* (1526) of Diego de Sagredo and the hand book for painters *Comentarios de Pintura* (1560) by Felipe de Guevara.

[199] Accipe me recducem per tanta pericula vectum / Postquam annos multos accipe me reducem / Accipe me reducem dedigneris alumnum / Qui tibi magnus honos gloria magan fui / Nec mihi succense pietas patriaque patrisque (I.19-22, p. 118) (Receive me as I return after so many of

poem, the household Lares and Penates, which are themselves often associated with Aeneas whose heroic piety was demonstrated in his willingness to transport the household gods of Troy to their new homeland in Italy. And yet if Nebrija has used Vergil to classicize his own status as poetic protagonist, such echoes are also exploited to underscore differences in the imagining of homeland. The Lares and Penates of Nebrija's home in Andalucía remain despite his absence and time away. This patria is not mobile but fixed, and anyone who has been absent from its safety seemingly feels the need to plea for its embrace upon homecoming.

Nebrija further ties his poetry to his Spanish home and homeland by moving from Virgilian models to a poet whose very biography is rife patriotic implications: the Iberian-born Martial, whom Nebrija had of course placed within his cannon of Hispano-Roman authors, first among the Latin epigrammists. Indeed Nebrija's account of his own childhood reworks Martial's verse-imagining of how the emperor Domition spent his days of infancy, as we see in the following couplets from the ninth book of Martial's *Epigrams*.

> This piece of earth, that lies all open and is being covered with marble and gold, knew our master in infancy. O happy ground, with what mighty wailings it echoed, what crawling hands it saw and sustained!
>
> Haec, quae tota patet tegiturque et marmore et auro,
> infantis domini conoscia terra fuit.
> felix o quantis sonuit vagitibus et quas
> vidit reptantis sustinuitque manus! (9.20.1-4, p. 242-3)[200]

More than a panegyric to the emperor, the lines are an ode to the palatial space he inhabited as a child. Such emphasis on space locates the emotional nostalgia for one's childhood within a material world. The land (terra) bears a spatial relationship to the infant; it knows (conoscia) the child even before the child is cognizant of its own self. And yet in his adaptation of Martial, Nebrija also communicates that such emotional privileging of domestic space need not be reserved for the imperial household of the Palatine. Domitian's imperial gold and marble are spaces and materials no more poetically privileged than the "small house" (parva domus) of Nebrija's humble infancy in Andalucía.

The use of Martial to thematize emotional connections to material objects continues as Nebrija adapts the epigrammist's witty verse couplets on gift objects, collections known as the *Xenia* and *Apopherta*, to transform festive gift-exchange into a catalogue of affective experience; the rattle of Nebrija's infancy as well as the hoop games of his childhood are all adaptations of Martial.[201] But eventually such affective materiality turns from joy to mourning as Nebrija eventually buries his mother and then his father: "Here where my virtuous mother lies buried, along with my sisters … Here where my father buries himself with his grandfather and

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travel's dangers / After so many years, receive me as I return / Receive me as your returning student, who abandoned you / but who is your greatest honor and greatest glory).

[200] The Latin refers to the 1990 edition of Shackleton Bailey, whose English translation I am also using though with some modifications of my own.

[201] Bonmatí Sánchez points out that Nebrija's words for rattle (crepitacula; I.14) and hoop (trochiscus; I.18) likely come from Martial (*Epigramms* XIV.54 and XIV.168)

ancestors" (Hic ubi casta iacet mater, pariterque sorores … Hic ubi cum proavis et avis pater ipse iacebit; I.43 & 48, p. 120). [202] And more than simply evoking such places of familial burial, Nebrija goes on to describe a house populated with the funerary ashes of his ancestors: "Here where all their ashes are mixed throughout the house" (Hic ubi permixto pulvere tota domus; I.49, p. 120). Such mixing of funerary ashes is itself the desired destination of Nebrija, who presents this poetic wish to the land itself:

> That earth that begat me, which nursed me for so long, may it compile my ashes and receive them.
>
> Quae genuit tellus, quae me tulit ubere largo,
> Componet cineres, excipietque meos.

The constructions within these lines contain no known allusion to Classical Latin sources and are of Nebrija's own design. The imagery of course continues the emphasis on materiality found not only throughout this poem but also elsewhere his writings. As we remember, the image of Dido's funerary ashes provided their own analogue for the Hispano-Roman ruins of Nebrissa. With the ashes of this poem, material and people of the household become one inseparable unit of a union that happens in death. But the image of burial also becomes one of life and infancy, the end of the poem taking us back to its beginning; the land in which Nebrija and his ancestors are buried is also a birthmother who earlier begat life (genuit) and even nursed (ubere) the infant Nebrija.

Just as the poem's imagery of funerary ash remind us of Nebrija's earlier self-naming among the ruins, so does the metaphor between biological motherhood and patria activate, indeed anticipate, a similar understanding of identity formation. Though "Salutatio ad Patriam" displays a clear concern with domestic space as family space, it also imagines how such familial relations can be subsumed by the land itself, in a sense become more territorially affiliative than biologically filiative. Yet unlike the prosaic meditation on ruins that grounds itself in the legalism of adoption or the philosophic notion of similitude, the verse poetry realizes a point from our introductory discussion: Edward Said's warning that affiliative categories can become almost envious of the filiative. In coveting the strength of its bonds, the affiliative will appropriate an imagery and terminology of filiation for its own ends and purposes; a patriotic homeland thus becomes both a mother's womb and breast. And yet, Nebrija does not wholly reject the loser bonds of culture.

We notice in Nebrija's request for burial that he no longer uses the "Accipe" that had earlier marked his please to be welcomed back by his patria. The verb instead is "Componet" which can carry a sense of compiling a mound of funerary ashes, but also an idea of

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[202] Given that Nebrija's mother was born Jewish, it is curious that he chooses to describe her with the word 'casta.' Though the word does not then have the explicit religious-Semitic connotation that Castro would give it, and the Latin, moreover, connotes not heritage but rather a sense of chaste virtue, in his *Tesoro de la lengua castellana*, Juan de Covarrubias does define the term as "línea e decendencia … de buena casta y mala casta" (473). And Covarrubias even goes on to tie the Latin meaning to the Spanish: "Díjose casta, de *castus, a, m,* porque para la generación y procreación de los hijos, conviene no ser de los hombres viciosos" (ibid).

composition, such as the composition of a poem. Burial in one's ancestral home thus becomes a poetic act, just as the poetic imitation and interweaving of a fellow countryman's verse is itself both an act of cultural patriotism and the participation in the transhistorical cultural activity of a nation. Like poetry, ashes are composed; and like ashes, one's own verses can be intermixed with those of an ancestor, if not necessarily biological than cultural, who came before.

"Salutatio ad Patriam" inaugurates various themes that Nebrija will continue to explore in his Neo-Latin poetry. Yet where this poem began and circled back to images of childhood and infancy, later poems expand on Nebrija's intellectual formation as well as the stated ambition of what such learning can achieve. Indeed beyond its account of Nebrija's studies at the Collegium Hispanicum in Bologna, the "Salutatio ad Patriam" inaugurates a recurrent theme, that Nebrija's humanist learning enables a bond of mutual dependency, that through with his writings Nebrija bestows fame on his homeland: "By my letters, truly both of us persistent / and our fame endures for many ages" (Litterulis vero nostris nunc vivit uterque, / Et famam nobis saecula multa dabunt; I.31-32, p. 120).

With the next poem, we are brought essentially to Nebrija's homecoming from Italy after his studies, to his position as a tutor within the household of Juan de Zúñiga y Pimental in Extremadura. While in Extremadura Nebrija wrote a series of poems, all dated to approximately 1487, that versified the Hispano-Roman localities of Extremadura, the city of Mérida, then Augusta Emerita, and the Roman road that connected various silver mines, aptly named the Vía de la Plata. Indeed, we might also remember that Nebrija's engagement with Hispano-Roman Extremadura was not only poetic, that in his *Cosmografia* he discussed using both the theater and circus of Mérida as well as the distance-marking stones of the Vía de la Plata to calculate various measurements.

The poetry of these years likewise focuses on archeological ruins. In two shorter poems Nebrija versifies specific landmarks. One poem describes a bridge in Alcántara believed to have been built under Trajan ("De Traiani Caesari ponte") that crosses the Tajo river. By juxtaposing the man-made bridge with river and its natural currant, turns to another Hispano-Roman poet as a model, this time Lucan's own description of an Iberian river and town, the Sicoris outside of Ilerda/Lleida that was cut by "a gigantic stone bridge" with a "prodigious arch" (Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu; IV.15). The second poem functions as an inscriptional epigram for a statue of Amaltea, a nymph often represented as a goat that suckled Jupiter when he was an infant. Though more triumphal in tone than "Salutatio ad Patriam," the poem continues to imagine the interconnections between maternity and land and ventriloquizes Amalthea's beneficence as a mother-goddess of agricultural fertility.

But it is in a poem on the city of the city of Augusta Emerita (Mérida) that Nebrija offers the most sustained poetic engagement with archeological ruins. Nebrija's "De Emerita Restituta" (On Emertia Restored) is at once an "ubi sunt" meditation on a time past and passed (which we earlier saw applied to the Middle Ages with Manrique's *Coplas*) yet also a poetic imagining that through its verse description seeks to revive the city. In such sense the theme of brith and burial in the "Salutatio" turns more markedly in this poem into one of rebirth. Yet the poem also begins by reflecting on the inevitability of loss, asking:

> What does length of time not change and old age not alter? What of man's achievement can survive?

> Quid non longa dies vertit mutatque vetustas?
> Rebus in humanis quid superesse potest? (IX.1-2, p. 140)

To answer such questions, Nebrija martials his humanist learning and displays its various disciplinary registers. Philology comes first as Nebrija versifies a treatment of linguistic corruption: "Here, where now is Merida, corrupted in name, once was Emerita Augusta of Caesar" (Hic ubi nunc Merida est corrupto nomine, quondam / Emerita augustua Caesaris illa fuit; IX.3-4, p. 140). Nebrija then couples philology with history as he informs his readers of Mérida's origins as a colony for Rome's military veterans, to whom the city was given as a "prize" (praemia).[203]

From here, the interplay between past and present, between Spanish Emerita and Roman Mérida, becomes a poetic experience of visual sight and imagination. The ruins seen by a contemporary onlooker are contrasted to the Classical civilization that Nebrija imagines to have been:

> Here, where you see dilapidated mounds and scattered limestone, was nonetheless the cylindrical foundations of an amphitheater, where together the people and the senate watched games and innumerable beasts. Here, where now there is a podium reduced to half circle, you see, elevated steps and seats where a stage once was, known for its tragedies and comedies and to exhibit theatrical shows. Here, a portico stood tall and columns lofty, worn down by much age and long winters, but where once there was a great assembly where the people, together with the senate, received laws and carried forth decrees. Here, where now a circus shows small signs of its structure's art, as you see, a stadium doubled as an arena for naval battles, the circus alongside ships and chariots, and games were provided to citizens by this place.

> Hic ubi disiectas moles et calce solute
> Fundamenta vides orbiculata tamen,
> Amphitheatrales populus pariterque senatus
> Spectabat ludos innumerasque feras.
> Hic ubi nunc podium est et in orbes semi reductos
> Surgentesque gradus atque anabathra vides.
> Scaena fuit quondam tragedis atque comedis
> Nota theatrales exhibuitque iocos.
> Hic ubi alta porticus et sublimibus columnis
> Sed quam multa aetas longaque trivit hiems,
> Curia magna fuit ubi plebs cogente senatu
> Accepit leges iussaque manga tulit.
> Hic ubi nunc circus signina structilis arte est,
> Atque duplex stadium naumachiamque vides
> Circenses simul et navales atque curules

[203] The full line is as follows: "Quam dedit eeritis habitandam, cuius et agros / Donatavia dedid preamia militibus" (IX.5-6, p. 140).

Prebebat ludos civibus ille locus. (IX.7-22, p. 140-42)

As with the earlier "Salutatio," Nebrija dots his "Emerita Restituta" with a series of lines that begin with "Hic… [Here…]" this time locating the reader not within a domestic space of childhood nostalgia but one urban and archeological. The temporality of "Emerita Restituta" moreover, is concerned not with an individual's biological life-cycle that moves from birth to burial but rather with the broader passage of time experienced by a city and even civilization. The poem's walkthrough of various classical landmarks – amphitheater, circus, theater, senate – evokes the panoramic experience that Aeneas achieved when from a hilltop he saw Dido's Carthage being built. Such poetic imitatio reminds us of Nebrija's earlier self-likening to Vergil's Aeneas, yet also the broader connotation of ancient Hispania as potentially anti-Roman, even Carthaginian.

Alongside his rewriting of Vergil, Nebrija's treatment of ruins likewise incorporates aspects of the "ubi sunt" the recurrent "Hic" often followed by an "ubi". Yet as we explicitly see in lines 11 and 19, Nebrija's "ubi sunt" becomes an "ubi nunc" a reflection not on how things were but as they are now. The poem focuses on ruination, on the half circles and other portions of past structures that remain, traces that hint at what stood before. Yet in a display of his archeological knowledge, Nebrija is able to reconstruct Hispano-Roman Emerita August out of even the smallest vestiges. But here we see more than just a versified treatise of humanist antiquarian pedantry.[204] Time slips as present-day ruins activate scenes of ancient urban life and communal activity. Just as Nebrija points out what is there in the moment "Hic ubi nunc" so does he ask his readers to see "vides" (lines 12 & 20) the citizens of Emerita attending circus games and comedies, gathering to debate and decree laws. Indeed this poetic experience of site reconciles the poem's temporal divide; the reader is both antiquarian traveler among Mérida's present-day ruins yet also transported back to the daily hustle-and-bustle of the Hispano-Roman city as one of its ancient citizens. Indeed, the poem renders equally vivid the world of ruins and that of ancient Iberia, Nebrija's words asking readers to imagine both scenes separate and side-by-side.

The activity of seeing, moreover, is emphasized by the very nature of the ruins; two of the three images described above are theatrical in nature, one a dramatic stage for comedies and tragedies and the other an amphitheater for circus shows. In both descriptions, Nebrija makes sure to populate Mérida's structures with citizens engaged in the act of spectating. The first description of the stage especially underscores how spectatorship is an activity shared between the classes; playing off of the famous SPQR construction, Mérida's circus joins "the people and senate together as they watch" (populus pariterque senatus / Spectabat). Community is once again constructed though a cultural participation that spans socio-political and temporal divides; just as both pleb and senator watch the same circus games together, so too do present-day readers join their Hispano-Roman ancestors in the act spectating. And Nebrija's transhistorical poetic

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[204] For a foundational account of the role of ruins within the Renaissance imaginary see Thomas Greene's *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (1982), particularly his chapters "Petrarch and the Humanist Hermeneutic" and "Du Bellay and the Disinterment of Rome." And for a more recent discussion Andrew Hui's *The Poetics of Ruins in Renaissance Literature* (2016).

participation is not far behind, as such scenes of circus and theater going are themselves writings of Martial's *Book of Spectacles* that commemorates the opening of the Coliseum.[205]

Community in Nebrija's "Emerita Restituta" is, moreover, thoroughly collective. Unlike the shorter poems on Trajan's bridge and the statue of Amaltea, this poem contains no names, only abstract nouns that refer to the people (populus or plebs), to the senate (senatus), or to the even more general body of citizens (civibus). Grounded in the vocabulary of Roman politics, the terminology furthers the image of Mérida/Emerita as a classical patria, not simply in the sense of a homeland but as a locus of patriotic sentiments and activity where the civic community always comes before the individual. In its closing lines "Emerita Restituta" presents its readers with the poem's only individual, yet one who comes to us only in anonymity:

> Towering, here, is an arch which you can gaze up on in the middle of the city, one which poorly educated plebeians call a triumphal arch: it was once a monument for a great citizen, but the years have erased his name, his roots and his patria.

> Arduus hic fornix media quem conscipis urbe
> Quemque triunmphalem plebs male docta vocat:
> Civis errant mangi quondam monumenta, sed anni
> Nomina delerunt et genus et patriam. (IX.23-26, p. 142)

Like the ruins themselves, the identity and fame of this nameless citizen has been erased by the passing of time. Though he received a monument, it is now too worn down to recall who had been so deserving of this commemoration. Indeed, even the monument itself is misidentified, mistakenly believed, as Nebrija points with humanist condescension, to be a triumphal arch by those less educated. Though nameless, this citizen was not a general or military leader.

But while Nebrija's humanist learning can correct the antiquarian error of misidentifying the type of monument, it cannot go so far as to recuperate the great citizen's own name, let alone his roots (genus) or patria. This is a monument without memory. Yet what history has taken away from this citizen it has offered as a gift to Nebrija and his readers. The monument becomes a cipher for whatever communal values the reader wishes to imagine. And by telling us that it is not a triumphal arch, Nebrija has, moreover, not only further displayed his knowledge of archeology, he has also distanced the monument from the realm of military conquest. Just as he offered the humble parva domus of his childhood the emotional privilege of an imperial palace, so too does he democratize the monument by emphasizing the anonymity of its origins. The great citizen whose name, roots and patria are lost to history shares, perhaps, something in common with the citizen whose humble origins betray an undistinguished pedigree. Descended from converso commoners, Nebrija would of course fall into such ranks himself, and as we continue to exam his poetry we will come to see how his verses construct a monument of his own achievements.

The poem with which Nebrija creates this monument brings us back to the vibrant paratextual world of the *Introductiones Latinae*, as it was published as part of the second 1487 edition of the work. With its lengthy title, Nebrija's "Elegy on the Antiquity and Fertility of the

[205] Some of the imagery and vocabulary of the circus comes from Martial's *Book of Spectacles* written for the inauguration of the Coliseum.

Author's Patria and His Parents" (Elegia de patriae antiquitate fertilitateque eius et parentibus actoris), also recalls his earlier "Salutatio ad Patriam" with its joint treatment of the author's patria and parentage. Yet where the verses of "Salutatio" primarily aim to convey nostalgia and express the emotional experience of one's early years, the "Elegia patriae antiquitate" more rightly exhibits the antiquarian learning of "De Emerita Restituta" But where "De Emerita Restituta" is fascinated with Mérida's archeological ruins as the material symbols of a lost Classical culture, the "Elegia de patria antiquitate" takes a more mythographic approach to the origins the Iberian civilization.

This poem likewise takes us back to Nebrija's classicizing of his own hometown as he works to explain how the name "Lebrija/Nebrissa" etymologically derives from the female companions of Bacchus, the Maenads, who were said to don fawn-skins known as 'nebrides.'[206] Though Bacchus is best known for his eastward journey to India (a route later poeticized in Camões' *Lusíadas*), the god of wine, like Hercules, was also said to have traveled west, giving the land of Lusitania the name of his companion Lusus (just as Hercules' companion Zacynthos supposedly founded Saguntum and was buried nearby). And Nebrija's poem begins by locating its readers within the landscape of this journey:

> There is a place in Hesperia where the Baetis, surrounded by reeds, embraces and flows into the fields on its left bank. It is said that this pool, formed by the river, is ancient, and rightly our age calls it 'the Albina.' Here various species of birds and fish and marsh animals give birth to offspring, and seek rest and protection. Not far from this place dwells the town of Nebrissa with its ancient walls, which Bacchus set up along the shores of the sea. For it is passed down that the child of Semele, having conquered the tribes of the Ganges, invaded the wild people of Hesperia. And having been separated from his companion [Lusu], who it is said gave his name to Lusitania, Bacchus diverted his path to the shores of Calpe [i.e. Gades/Cádiz].

Est locus Hesperiae qua Baetis arundine cinctus
  In levam campos influit atque tenet.
Dixerat hunc aestus fluvio stagnante vetustas
  At vero albinam saecula nostra vocant.
Hic varium genus et volucrum maris atque paludis
  Excludit fœtus incubat et refovet.
Haud procul hinc colitur mouro Nebrissa vetusto,

[206] As we remember, Nebrija argues for this etymological origin for his patria in more than one place (both the *Muestra* and Gramática) and this explanation is itself derived from an etymological connection suggested by Silius Italicus when he catalogues the Iberian troops that join Hannibal's forces across the Pyrenes (*Punica*, III.392-95). Indeed, with its mythographic approach to Spanish history, Nebrija's "Elegia de patria antiquitate" evokes Silius Italicus poetic tendency to inscribe a mythic past onto Iberia's landscape, such as with the hilltop and coastal city of Saguntum, founded by Heracles and near which Hercules' companion Zacynthus is buried: "the Argive hero lies dead on Iberian soil" (Inachium virum terris prostravit Hiberis; *Punica* I.287).

Quam Bacchus posuit littus ad oceani.
Namque ferunt Semele genitum gangitide victa
Invasisse feros Hesperiae populous.
Et socio amisso, a quo Lusitania nomen
Duxerat, in calpes litorra vertit iter.
(VIII.1-12, p. 134)

The journey of Bacchus and his companions imprints itself on the landscape, but the landscape also serves to guide the heroes; the Bacchus of Nebrija's poem is especially drawn to the shores, first those of Nebrissa and then those of Calpe/Gades. In this way, Bacchus' journey echoes the path of the Betis river that had opened the poem's very first lines. And just as Bacchus becomes the mythic founder of Nebrissa by laying down its walls, so too does the Baetis become a civilizational founder of sorts. The marshy pools outside of Nebrissa (known later as Las Marismas) created by the waters of the Baetis are home to its own variety of races (varium genus) made up of birds, fish and marsh animals. The creaturely imagery forms something of a local rural Andalusian analogy to Virgil's famous depiction of Dido's Carthage as behive.[207]

As before, when Nebrija looks to Virgil, the Hispano-Roman Martial and his epigrams cannot be far behind. The idyllic landscape of Nebrissa echoes Martial's more picturesque treatments of Iberia, both of which also center on the Betis – which we should also remember was rather distant from Martial's hometown of Bilbilis in northeastern Hispania Tarraconensis. Martial describes the land of Tartessus, "where wealthy Cordoba loves the tranquil Baetis" (qua dives placidum Cordoba Baetin amat; IX.61.2, p. 280-81).[208] And in the very last epigram of his twelve books collection, Martial writes a virtual ode to the "Baetis, her hair is encircled with a crown of olive groves" (Baetis olivifera crinem redimite corona; XII.98.1, p. 168).

Martial's inclusion of olive groves (olivifera), which in the Latin is place immediately next to Baetis, is but one instance of many that display Martial's poetic interest in versifying the agriculture of Iberia. As discussed earlier, this literary fascination with Iberia's agricultural abundance was influenced by geographic descriptions of Iberia, including and perhaps especially that of fellow Hispano-Roman Pomponius Mela, and it would go on to inform the rhetorical tradition of the Laus Hispaniae that arose in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

Abounding with life, Nebrija's marshlands are themselves evocative of the Laus Hispaniae, and of course the very title emphasizes the fertility of the area. But Nebrija has also quite meaningfully replaced Martial's olive groves with an enclosure of reeds (arundine cinctus). Beyond contributing to the marshy imagery of the passage, the reeds serve as a poetic symbol. The shepherd-poets of pastoral, like those of Virgils' *Eclogues*, frequently made their pipes from such reeds (also known in Classical Latin as 'harundino'), though we also remember Martial's claim to write his poetry with the "read fishy Tagus" (piscosi calamo Tagi; X.78.12, p. 388). Like the "composed" funerary ashes of Nebrija's childhood home from "Slautatio ad Patriam," the landscape of Nebrissa fuses earthy matter with notions of poetic composition. And as with

[207] We remember that "De Emerita Restituta" also evoked this Virgilian moment in its combination of political and cultural activities.
[208] Bonmatí Sánchez has likewise proposed that the construction itself comes from Virgil (I.531) though it should be noted that here Virgil's Hesperia is Italy, not Iberia.

the earlier poem, here too the landscape has been poetically assembled from the verses of various Classical both Italian (Virgil) and Iberian (both Martial and Silius Italicus).

As the poem continues, the landscape as poetic assemblage becomes landscape as historical palimpsest. Bacchus and his companions reach a hilltop that we are told "the natives call Fontinalia, and that now hosts a hermitage of divine Benedict" (quae fontinalia dicunt / Indigenae, divus nunc Benedictus habet; VIII.17-18, p. 136). Atop Bacchus' mythical Iberia is Christian Spain. But while the historical introduction of Christianity to Spain is acknowledged, it is not presented as a teleological destiny of the nation. Indeed, Nebrija's seems especially intent on reminding readers of the decidedly pagan aspects to Bacchus legacy in Iberia, first and foremost being the pagan bond to land and worship of earth divinities. After mentioning the Benedictine monastery, we learn that Bacchus and his companions "fall in love with the place" (Captus amore loci; VIII.24, p. 136), replete as it is with "cool springs and pleasant spots of thick vegetation … sacred fonts …[and] dancing streams" (gelidos latices et amoenam frondibus umbram … fontes sacros … undis salientibus; VIII.21-23, p. 136). At this idyllic spot, Bacchus addresses his company with the following words:

> 'Hear me, oh companions, and turn toward me your happy minds. Here, this hill shall be made sacred for my worship. For more than either Nysa where I was born or sacred Citheron, does this field called Nebrissa pleases me. It holds back neither my vines nor the olive tree, and is fat with the golden crop of Ceres. Hence go, oh Satyrs, and claim your sacred nocturnal rites, and you, Bassarids, commemorate this place.'[209]

> «Accipite, o comites, laetasquae advertite mentes,
> Hic mihi collis erit relligione sacer,
> Nec tam Nysa mihi natusque ad sacra Citheron.
> Gratus erit quantum a nebride dictus ager,
> Nec qui plus Baccho qui plus iactet olivo
> Et Cereris flavae messibus atque favis;
> Quare agite, o Satyri, nocturna reposcite sacra
> Et vos, Bassarides, hunc celebrate locum».
> (VIII.27-34, p. 136-38)

From its start, Bacchus' address displays the techniques of Classical oratory. He begins by calling his company with their "happy minds" to attention. The Satyrs and Bacchants who are typically (and soon enough in this poem) associated with wild frenzy are now a receptive and attuned audience. Indeed, as they gather to hear the speech, they are even described in terms reminiscent of political society, as having "come together in assembly" (Concilioque habito; VIII.25, p. 136). Yet here too, Bacchus' political rhetoric is only a reflection of the landscape. Before he calls the "happy minds" of his "companions" (comites) to attention, the murmurs of the water and the landscape had been said to "arouse the ears" (arrigit aures; VIII.19, p. 136) of the group. Moving from ears (aures) to minds (mentes), the Iberian landscape has served to

[209] Bassarids, like Bacchae, is a synonym for the female Maenad companions of Bacchus.

prepare and condition the Satyrs and Bacchants for the ensuing political rhetoric. And as we see, the very content of Bacchus' speech takes us back to the land as well.

Further underscoring the poem's pagan intonations, Bacchus states his strong wishes to consecrate the hill as "religiously sacred" (religione sacer). Indeed, he sees this "field called Nebrissa" (nebride dictus ager) as more meaningful to him than those other localities tied to his divinity; Nebrissa is superor to both Citheron in Greece and Nysa in the east because – to return to the familiar focus of the Laus Hispania – it is so fertile with its "olives, golden crops of Ceres, and honeycombs" (olivo / Et Cereris flavae messibus atque favis; VIII.31-32, p. 136). But as the rhetorical address concludes, Nebrija's Bacchus reminds us that such love of the land and its fertility is inextricably linked to the primordial rites of pagan celebration. Having first appealed his companions' intellect, their minds, Bacchus concludes by urging them to preform the "sacred nocturnal rituals" that will "commemorate this place" (nocturna … sacra … celebrate locum; VIII.33-34, p. 138).

Immediately after closing off this address, Nebrija has the land itself come alive. A Titan descends to "Tartessian waters" (Tartesica… undasa; VIII.35, p.138) and the "fields sing out with howls" (resonant ululatibus agri; VII.37, p. 138). The Satyrs and Bacchants respond in kind: "And calling out 'Oh, Bacchus!' and singing their sacred song, the innocent Bacchants carry out their orgies" (Et te Bacchae vocant et tua sacra canunt. Insontesque trahunt Bacchantes orgia; VIII.38-39, p. 138). These orgies last till daybreak (orta dies), at which point the travelers continue their journey southward, to the high mountains and to what lies beyond (monticulos…austros … reliqua…latus; VIII.40-43, p. 138).

Such sense of spatial motion becomes temporal as the poem concludes. We are taken back to the poem's opening as Bacchus now articulates his promise to establish the city's walls and formally "name it Nebrissa, for the auspices of the Nebrides" (promissa … fundavit moenia / Nebrissamque vocat, nebridis ausipicio; VIII.43, p. 138). The speech act not only places Nebrija's etymology within the mouth of the Greek god, but further underscores how such etymological origins are specifically rooted in the auspicial rites of Bacchus' orgiastic Maenads. The paganism cannot be forgotten even if history moves on. And move on it does. The town of Nebrissa, we are told, thrives (polleret) for centuries, through the reign of Don Rodrigo and up until it is devastated by the 'furor' of the Lybians (i.e. Moors).[210]

Such devastation, however, is followed by a renewal that occurring during Nebrija's present-day (nunc renovate viget; VIII.46, p. 138). And with this renewal, Nebrija take us back to a familiar poetic space, his own childhood home:

> Here is my home, here is my patria, here my parents raised me, parents at once free and of median status: my father Juan and mother Catalina. I owe a debt to my patria, but more so she to me. She gave me the honor of mortal life, but through my studies she becomes eternal.
>
> Hic domus, haec patria est, hic me genuere parentes,
> Ingenui et media conditione pares:
> Nam mihi Ioannes pater est Caterinaque mater.
> Debemus patriae, plus tamen illa mihi.

[210] furores Diruerant libyci (VIII.45-46; p. 138).

Illa mihi dedit hunc vitae mortalis honorem,
Sed studiis nostris illa perennis erit.
(VIII. 47-52, p. 138)

Having shifted from the fertility rites of the Bacchic orgy to the broad strokes of history, Nebrija reminds that he too shares a bond to this land. And such spatial relocation presents the reader with a teleology that functions at (at least) two levels. Though up till now the poem's focus had been a mythological narrative of Nebrissa, the concluding lines allow Nebrija himself o re-enter the picture as its hero. The spatial relocation is thus also a re-articulation of Nebrija's own poetic project. In taking us back to his childhood home at the end of this poem, we are also taken back to his earlier "Salutatio ad Patriam" and its opening declaration of homecoming. Though less explicit than "Salutatio," "Est locus Hesperiae" continues the image of Nebrija as a quasi-epic hero – a Ulysses or Aeneas – undertaking a homecoming, a *nostos*. But if the declaratory "Hic domus, haec patria est…" evoke the triumphalism of epic, the ensuing description also reminds us of the etymological connections between *nostos* and nostalgia. As was also the case in "Salutatio," the domestic space that concludes "Est locus Hesperiae" is a space of fond childhood memories. Yet as with "Emerita Restituta" this poem also provides us with a vision of history.

As the poem speeds through the history of the territory – Don Rodrigo and his Visigoths, then the Moorish invasion – it concludes with snapshot of Nebrija's life and career. The poem thus presents its reader with the standard paradigm of the humanist historical imaginary that distinguishes between the ancient, the medieval, and the Renaissance. Bacchus stands in for the ancient; Rodrigo and the Moors for the Spanish Middle Ages. The Renaissance is thus equated with Nebrija himself. Of course, this too is a statement of epic proportions that renders Nebrija a protagonist of history. And yet the concluding lines juxtapose such epic self-depiction with reminders that Nebrija's biography was far removed that of an epic hero's.

Where in "Salutatio ad Patriam" Nebrija used Martial describe his affective bonds to the material objects of childhood (his first steps and cries, the lullabies he heard), within "Est locus Hesperiae" Nebrija delves into his parents' background and status within society. Both parents, we are explicitly told, are "ingenui" a Latin term that connotes freeborn citizens, yet which is also connection to a sense of indigeneity and to use of one's mind/ingenium. But Nebrija's parents are also proudly advertised as "media conditione"; they are certainly not of the aristocracy. Though we already saw Diego de Burgos bestow praise on the intellectual contributions from men of "menor condiçion", Nebrija's pride in assuming the label of "media conditione" is a marked step in the letrados' self-identification as a proto-bourgeois class. And such mode of class-identification cannot be separated from the cultural project itself.

With these final lines the poems meditation on patria as locus of nostalgia and memory shifts into a treatment of patria as unit to which one dedicates cultural and political efforts. But Nebrija's patriotism is also a relationship of mutual dependency. Nebrija owes a debt to his patria (Debemus patriae), "but more so she to [him]" (plus tamen illa mihi). Nebrija's debt arises from the life his patria bestowed on him (Illa mihi dedit hunc vitae mortalis honorem), but Nebrija has more than repaid such debt through his studies (Sed studiis nostris illa perennis erit).

While the life given to Nebrija is only mortal (vitae mortalis), what Nebrija has granted his patria through his studies, ostensibly fame/fama, is eternal (perennis).[211]

Once again Nebrija has cast himself as both epic and anti-epic. His patriotic endeavors have achieved the epic goal of fama, but such is the result not of arms, but letters and study. Such new means of achieving fama should be understood not only as connected to his humble origins but as an outgrowth. As a hero of the "media conditione," Nebrija's instruments will take on different form. But within Nebrija's poetic there is also something familiar about such sentiments. Having also chronicled the history of a place, Nebrija's "De Emerita Restituta" likewise concludes by focusing on the accomplishments of an individual citizen. The humble origins of Nebrija's "media conditione" family are not so unlike the anonymity of the citizen of Emerita whose "name, roots and patria" are erased by the years, hidden beneath the years of historical sediment. Though the deeds of such individual merited a monument akin to a triumphal arch, both Nebrija and his readers are left guessing as to the nature of these deeds and the identity of the citizen. By contrast, Nebrija's lyric poetry *is* the monument that ensures the lastingness of his legacy. Indeed, the very markers of identity and belonging that, lost to history, render anonymous the citizen of Emerita, are what Nebrija puts front and center in his poetic self-definition. Images of patria have of course run throughout his Neo-Latin verse, and with the conclusion of "Est locus Hesperiae" we are privy to his (humble) roots/genus and the particular deeds by which he came to deserve of such monumental fame. Thus, where history forgot the anonymous citizen of Emerita, neither the years nor social prejudice will erase Nebrija's legacy.

**A Legacy of Success or Failure?**

None might be more surprised to learn of the lastingness of Nebrija's cultural project than Nebrija himself. For all the confidence with which he expressed and advertised his cultural project, Nebrija became rather pessimistic later in his life. When he looked around at Spain's situation, he saw battles lost. Though letrado learning was gaining an impact through the growth and spread of Spanish universities, such learning was also becoming less orientated toward the classics, with its quasi-secularizing impulses, and more toward the doctrinaire orthodoxy of Spanish Catholicism. And nowhere is such combination better illustrated than in what was the most ambitious scholarly project of the early sixteenth-century, the Complutense Polyglot Bible.

The honor of overseeing the printing and edition of this quatro-lingual theological document went to Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. And though Nebrija was invited to edit the Latin portion, he would eventually find himself in strong disagreement with the scholarly methodologies implemented and required of him, and thus did not remain to see the Bible's completion.[212] In what essentially amounts to a humanist resignation letter – perhaps the only example of the genre – Nebrija wrote to Cardinal Cisneros stating his grievances. Nebrija's letter begins by unreservedly stating that all biblical texts bear philological corruption. For

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[211] Similar sentiments had in fact been mentioned in "Salutatio." The poem itself is framed by a prose header that refers to separation from his home counted in "years for his profession" (suae professionis annos; p.116), and includes a justification for such absence as contributing to his patriotic duty.

[212] See the chapter on the Complutense Polyglot Bible in Jerry Bentley's *Humanists and Holy Writ* (1983: 70-111).

Nebrija the only tenable solution for this situation is exactly what Cisneros forbade, the sort of scholarly "modification … that is commonly found with ancient texts" (mudança … que común mente se halla enlos libros antiguos; 311). Nebrija thus made no distinction between texts of a secular and those of a religious nature; he would approach philological emendations to the Bible just as a humanist would approach the "libros antiguos" of Classical authors.

In his own later works, Nebrija came to practice this very method of applying humanist standards to religious texts. In addition to biblical commentaries such as his *Tertia Quinquagena* (1516), he also edited the works of the Hispano-Roman Christian poet Prudentius. As we remember from our first chapter, Prudentius himself took a patriotic approach to his religious poetry by emphasizing the various martyrs of Hispania's early church. Nebrija adopts such patriotism in the prefatory Latin epigram to his 1512 edition of Prudentius's hymns. Under the impression that Prudentius was exiled to Roman Briton at the end of his life, Nebrija rhetorically asks Prudentius what it was like to live among the "Britons removed from the whole world" or to look upon the "monstrous seas of Caledonia" (toto diviso orbe Britannos … Caledonii visere monstra maris; González Vega edition; 2002: 216-17). As he continues to pose such questions, Nebrija also presents an answer by ventriloquizing Prudentius' nostalgia for Hispania. But such words are unmistakably Nebrija's as in them he incorporates two poetic topoi by now familiar to us, the Laus Hispaniae and the ancestral Lares of ones patria. Imagining a direct address to Prudentius, Nebrija writes:

> Had you been able to remain among Celts and Iberians, would it not have been better? Never having had to abandon your patria's Lares? Lands named for Caesar Augustus [Caesaraugusta / Zaragoza]. Here where the Liber and the spirit of Ceres pour out their riches. Here where the cornucopia gives its fruits, and in return, Pomona hers, and Minerva hers.
>
> Nonne fuit melius Celtas non liquere Iberos
> Et numquam patrios deseruisse lares?
> Caesaris Augsuti dictas de nomine terras,
> Hic ubi fundit opes Liber et alma Ceres,
> Hic ubi dat fruges inverso copia cornu
> Et Pomona suas atque Minerva suas. (ibid)

Just as it was with Nebrija's Hispano-Roman canon of pagan authors, Prudentius represents a Hispania of both natural and artistic fertility, where the fruits not only of Liber, Ceres and Pomona flourish, but those of Minerva do as well.

As the poem goes on, the imagery shifts to another familiar conceit as the fertility of the Laus Hispaniae is overrun by the destrctuve force of a barbarian invasion. Eliding exile with death and the passage of time, Nebrija warns that in Prudentius' absence his "goods are now laid waste and seized" (nunc lacerant deripiunt bona; ibid). Who is the culprit?, he has Prudentius ask: "They are Barbarians and Solecism. It is their offspring and numerous forces" (Sunt Barbaros atque Soloecos, / Est horum proles et numerosa manus; ibid). Nebrija beseeches Prudentius to return to his "home in decline" (domui …labanti; line 19), but also warns that he may need assistance in this homecoming:

If by chance your fellow citizens are unable to understand you, as your speech may be foreign to them, I will come as your interpreter. If they have routed your home, I will be your protector and bring you aid.

> Si te forte tui nequeunt agnoscere cives,
> Illis sermo tuuis si peregrinus erit,
> Interpres veniam, si tentant pellere tectis,
> Assertor veniam suppetiasque feram. (ibid)

When Nebrija finally inserts himself into the epigram's narrative he literally comes forth (veniam) in a role that is jointly philological and protective. Having elided literary production with the land itself, Nebrija's scholarly act of editing and interpreting Prudentius because a defense that can win back the patria from barbarians and their grammatical blunder (solecism, soloecos). Within the metaphor of scholarly editing as homecoming, Nebrija's task is both to enable Prudentius' return and to restore his home, his patria, back to the former flourishing state he knew during his lifetime. If we lift the veil of metaphor and Nebrija's rhetorical conceits, we can clearly see how the two processes are in fact one; editing Prudentius brings his writing to an audience of Spanish readers, which therein contributes to educating this readership and transforming it into a more learned populace.

Such interest in Prudentius indeed takes us back to Nebrija's letter of resignation and complaint to Cardinal Cisneros, where the Hispano-Roman poet of Christian hymns appears in an anecdote that Nebrija uses to illustrate the ignorance of the Spanish people. In the Cisneros letter, Nebrija also turns to Prudentius in order to illustrate the inverse, the making ignorant of the Spanish people from the result of a misinformation, specifically the sermon of a misinformed priest, a certain frai Grabiel:

> frai Grabiel, predicador y professo de Guadalupe, el qual predicando un día de mediado el mes de abril en que se celebrava la fiesta de Santa Engracia, que fue mártyr natural del çibdad de Çaragoça la de Aragón, dixo muchas cosas delas gracias de aquella sancta mártir, de done quería dar a entender que se llamó Engracia porque siempre andubo enla gracia de Dios. Y que fue hija del rei de Portugal y otras cosas que suelen fingir los que componen algunas novelas. Después del sermón preguntéle io que dónde avía vido o leído aquellas revelaciones i demostróme un libro impresso en Çaragoça done estaba todo lo más de aqeullo que avía dicho enel sermon. Y çierto todo lo más era sacado del Prudentio, el qual escrebió la vida de aquella mártyr estendiendo la pluma en fabor commo de su cibdadana … Infinitas cosas cada día pasan desta manera por los que vuelven algo de una lengua en otra por ignorancia de entrambas lenguas! (316)

> fray Grabiel, a preacher and monk of Guadalupe, who when preaching one day in the middle of the month of April, during which we celebrate the Feast Day of Santa Engracia, who was a martyr and native of the city of Zaragoza in Aragon, he [Grabiel] said many things about the graces of this holy martyr from which we might understand that she is named 'Engracia' because she always walked in the

> Grace of God. And that she was the daughter of a king of Portugal y other such things that are usually made up by those who compose novels. After the sermon I asked him from where he had seen and read such revelations, and he showed me a book printed in Zaragoza where the was everything and more of what he had said in the sermon. And truly much was taken from Prudentius, who wrote about the life of this martyr so as to extend his pen in favor of his fellow citizen… An infinite number of things of this manner occur every day because of those who take something from one language to another with an ignorance of both languages!

The anecdotal complaint stands out as much for what Nebrija condemns as for whom he spares. Though he begins by recounting frai Grabiel's error-ridden sermon, Nebrija narrates how when approaching Grabiel, he did so not to admonish him but for purposes of fact-finding, to see where Grabiel derived his (mis-)information. The culprit is what Nebrija expected and only confirmed his preexisting suspicions. It was from a printed volume, an adaptation of Prudentius, that frai Grabiel came to believe that Engracia was a Portuguese princess and "other such things that are frequently made up by those who write such novels." Such novelistic fictions have not only misinformed Grabiel's congregation of listeners but also distorted Prudentius' original patriotic act, which Nebirja describes as "extending his pen with favor as her fellow countryman." The printed tome from Saragossa has thus brought about the very opposite of Nebrija's own editorial scholarship on Prudentius. Where Nebrija gave his wayward countryman a homecoming and in doing so educated Spanish readership, the Saragossa volume creates an ignorant populace deceived by fanciful fictions that blind them to the patriotic virtues of Prudentius' distinctly Hispano-Roman Catholicism.

Nebrija's anecdote about frai Grabiel also illustrates one of the broader points of his letter to Cisneros, that ignorance is contagious, one that risks being exacerbated by the very same forces that, put to proper use, could enable the spread of learning. Print and publishing are especially identified for their potential to carry either harm or benefit.

> Y desta manera es lo que agora se lee entre nos otros. Y delos libros passa alas esceulas. Y delas escuelas alos púlpitos donde suben los maestros. Y cuando los oís y veis con sus sobrepelizes y insignias doctorales y alos frailes con sus capillos echado el sobreçejo, no gritáis de risa y dais carcajadas, *immo* no lloráis, ni plañis, ni lamentáis la desventura delos tiempos a que somos venidos, que de todo quanto tenemos enla sacra scriptura vamos como por gruta oscura que no tiene luz syno de trecho en trecho. Y todo lo otro está embuelto en tinieblas (314-315)

> And this is the manner in which we now read. And from books it is passed into the schools, and from the schools to the pulpits where the instructors stand. And when you see these men with their surplices and doctoral insignia, and the friars with their caps worn at the brim, don't shout with laughter and chuckles, but instead cry and wail, lament the misfortune of these times in which we live. Despite all we have in the Holy Scripture it is as if we are walking through a dark

cave where there is only light here and there, and everything is covered with shadows.

Beyond one faulty edition of Prudentius and a singe misinformed priest, Nebrija now describes a widespread process of spreading ignorance. But if in his earlier anecdote Nebrija seemed to anticipate Cervantes with his condemnation of make-believe (fingir) and novels or romances (novelas), here he makes clear that the problem cannot be simply reduced solely to the individual act of reading a book. Various other mediating factors bring ignorance to the masses. Schools legitimize what is printed, however wrong the contents might be. The pulpit transmits these misinformed ideas to an impressionable populace, one enamored and fooled by outward signs of erudition, not only the surplice of the priest but also the doctoral insignia and caps of the scholar.

With his turn to Prudentius later in life, Nebrija illustrates how forms of Christianity can likewise be found within the cultural reservoirs of Roman Hispania right alongside the classical poetry of Martial, Silius Italicus and other Iberian-born writers. Associations between Roman Hispania and the Church Fathers of Early Christianity were of course central to how Hispania first began to arise at the close of the Castilian Middle Ages; Alonso de Cartagena placed Isidore of Seville alongside Seneca as dual intellectual exemplars for judeoconverso letrados such as himself. As it so happens, Nebrija's letter to Cisneros also brings us back to this foundational bond to the judeoconverso community. After his anecdote about frai Grabiel's error-ridden and fanciful Prudentius, presents a thinly veiled account of descrimiation against judeoconversos within the Spanish academy:

> Mas veo que no me entienden y que si me entineden lo dissimulan y que no me quieren entender. Y agora quien me quitara amy, que no me aparte con carpinteros y herreros, con sastres y çapateros para reír conellos lo que acá passa entre los hombres quien tienen hábito y professión de letras y que todo aquello que leyen piensan en todo seso que es ansí como ellos lo entienden y dizen. (317)
>
> Moreover, I see that there are those who don't understand me, or if they do understand me they dissemble because they would rather not understand. And Because I do not distance myself from carpenters and blacksmiths, from tailors and shoemakers because I laugh with them about what takes place among those men who wear don habits and the profession of letters and who believe in all good sense that everything they read is the way it is and as they understand and declare it to be.

The curious list of artisans and craftsmen whom Nebrija not only associates but also laughs with (para reír conellos ) – the carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and cobblers – evoke, as Virginia Bonmatí Sánchez points out, trades largely held by Judeoconversos. The final inclusion of cobblers/çapateros is itself almost certainly a more specific reference to Alonso de Zamora, who with his father the rabbi Juan de Zamora, left during the 1492 expulsion only to return in 1508 to convert and gain a livelihood as cobblers. Though Zamora would eventually become the first chaired professor of Hebrew at Alcalá and work alongside Nebrija editing both the Hebrew and Chaldean/Aramaic portions of Cisnero's Polyglot Bible, his humble position as a cobbler and Jewish origins had resulted in his being passed over for the professorship of Hebrew at the

University of Salamanca.[213]

In his veiled allusion to Judeoconverso humanists as craftsmen and artisans, Nebrija reminds us of John Beverly's contention that categories of ethno-religious caste were interconnected with socio-economic class. Judeoconversos even, and perhaps especially, those who became humanist university professors would continue to be associated with positions of trade and manual labor. The veiled, though specific, allusion to Zamora and his having been denied a position at Salamanca, likewise presages a broader transformation of the Spanish university system. Though we earlier examined how the colegios mayores of Spain's leading universities were established to enable the professional training and social advancement of the impoverished, such charitable attitudes and aims would eventually fade away. The aristocratic body of the Council of Castile went on to revoke students' role in appointing faculty, and original stipulations of poverty as set by the constitutions gave way to the very opposite, demands to prove noble birth and blood purity.[214] The only mode of solace available, as Nebrija goes on to recount, is found in the mocking laughter that he and his follow craftsmen/judeoconversos/humanists can share as they watch Spain shut itself off to learning and march into ignorance and darkness.

**The Sephardic Afterlife of Nebrijan Humanism**

The Cisneros letter brings a bitter and pessimistic to Nebrija's career-long dedication to improving the intellectual culture of Spain. And yet, Nebrija's concluding image of solidarity with Judeoconversos also speaks rather presciently to one manifestation of Nebrija's broader legacy. Though Spanish universities would come to disregard the philological learning and methodologies of Nebrija and his circle of judeoconverso humanists, leaving them to their laughter, their scholarly methods eventually find a rather fitting home with the Sephardic brethren and their decedents who were expelled from Spain in 1492. Having lost their ancestral home in Iberian Sepharad, these diasporic Jews both extend and invert Nebrija's national image of a community where texts served not to engender the nation but to instead construct community after nationhood has been taken away and denied.

In 1553 the Sephardic scholar-printers Yom-Tob ben Levi Athias and Abraham ben Salomon Usque[215] published their translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, their *Biblia en Lengua Española Traducida Palabra por Palabra de la Verdad Hebrayca por Muy Excelentes Letrados* (*Bible in the Spanish Language Translated Word for Word from the True Hebrew by Much Esteemed Letrados,* also known as *The Ferrara Bible*). Unlike the Juedoconversos of our previous discussion whose conversions allowed them to climb the ranks of Church hierarchy, Athias and Usque, like Zacuto, eventually chose their Jewish faith over social advancement within Spain. They converted to Catholicism in 1492 only to convert back and leave the Iberian Peninsula for Ferrara, where they printed their Bible.

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[213] See her prefatory "Vida y Obra de Antonio de Nebrija" (88 ff.) that accompanies her edition of the *Poesías Latinas*.

[214] Beyond the earlier mentioned discussions of the university system, see Antonio Domínguez Ortiz's *El antiguo régimen* (1981)

[215] Upon conversion, Athias and Usque took the hispanized names of Jerónimo de Vargas and Duarte Pinhel, but later in life converted back to Judaism.

Like the *Sepher Yohassin* of Zacuto, Athias and Usque's *Biblia en Lengua Española* is a product of post-1492 diasporic mentalities, but it is also a decidedly humanist work resonant with Nebrijan overtones. As a religious text, it channels Nebrija's proposal to Cardinal Cisneros of applying the lessons humanist scholarship on regarding classical texts. Like good humanists, Athias and Usque begin their prologue by referring to Cicero's *De Officiis*. And like good Nebrijan humanists, they go on to present their project in decidedly patriotic terms. Their patriotic vocabulary markedly follows and echoes what we saw with Nebrija; they praise "nuestro Español" as they bemoan how all other European nations (which they refer to as "provincias") have biblical translations in their respective vernacular tongues, including Cataluña which they locate within "nuestra España." In spite of their status as expelled exiles, Athias and Usque's humanism thus keeps them tied to the patriotic legacy of Nebrija's intellectual contributions where philology and print culture played decisive roles. Indeed, as we saw in the full title of their *Biblia en Lengua Española*, the work is presented as a product of "Muy Excelentes Letrados," an attribution that is expanded upon in their preface when they describe the collective labor of "muy sabios y experimentados letrados en la misma lengua assi Hebrayca como Latina" (Lazar edition; 2016: 4) (very wise letrados experienced as much in the Hebrew language as Latin; translation my own)

As with Nebrija's construction of a "nuestra España" that revives Hispania, the imagined intellectual community that Athias and Usque present is one where philology and history are intimately interconnected. They warn their readers that their translation might, in both style and language, seem "barbo y estraño y muy diferente del polido que en nuestros tiempos se usa" (ibid) (barbarous and strange and very different from the polish used in our times). Of particular concern to them is aural roughness, and the likelihood that their choices as translators could "sonarian mal enlas orejas de los cortesanos" (5) (sound poorly to the ears of courtesans), thus echoing the familiar gesture where letrado-humanists elevate their intellectual accomplish at the expense of courtly aristocrats, presenting the latter as ignorant and uncultured.

The stylistic strangeness that Athias and Usque warn of is, moreover, a result of their sensitivity and attunement to philology and the history of language. If their translation seems "barbo y estraño" it is simply a result of their having followed "la propiedead del vocabulo Hebrayco: y… su grauedad que la antigüedad suele tener" (5) (the propriety of Hebrew wording … its gravity, which antiquity is accustomed to process). However, Spanish also plays a role, as Athias and Usque see it to be uniquely qualified to capture the ancient "grauedad" of Hebrew: "[la] lengua Española es la mas copiosa y tenida en mayor precio: assi procuree que esta nuestra Biblia por ser en lengua Castellana fuesse la mas llegaga a la verdad Hebrayca que ser pudiesse" (4) (the Spanish language is the most copious and held in the highest esteem: as such I ensured because our Bible is in Castilian language that arrive as close to the true Hebrew as is it can). Such proximity to the Hebrew is for Athias and Usque the defining quality of their translation, one they cast as a desire for word for word fidelity: "queriendo seguir verbo a verbo no declara un vocabulo por dos" (4) (in desiring to follow word for word, not propose one word for two)."[216]

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[216] Though Ladino/Judezmo typically refers to a dialect of Spanish written in Hebrew characters, the Ferrara Bible has often been dubbed a "Ladino" Bible because, as the translators are rather honest and accurate in stating, the Bible's prose syntax mirrors that of the Hebrew Old Testament nearly word-for word. Of course, as we see, the translators are themselves emphatic

Combined with their concerns over the unique workings of the Hebrew language (letra Hebrayca … vocabulo Hebrayco), Athias and Usque's desire for word-for-word fidelity would most seem to illustrate a scholarly disposition that takes Biblical Hebrew as its philological model and point of departure. And yet, amid all of this emphasis on literal translation and linguistic fidelity, Athias and Usque root their project not in the originary Biblical writings of ancient Judea but in the linguistic community of ancient Iberia and its Sephardic Jews. Their desire to "seguir verbo a verbo" (follow word for word) is equated with the desire to "seguir el lenguaje que los antiguos Hebreos Españoles usaron" (5) (follow the language that the ancient Hebrew-Spaniards used).

By presenting their translation project as a philological revival of "los antiguos Hebreos Españoles," Athias and Usque present their own ancient counterpart to Nebrija's Hispania. Just as Nebrija was able to embrace simultaneously a modern vernacular alongside an image of Hispano-Roman antiquity, so too do Athais and Usque see their use of Ladino as intimately connected to an ancient Hebrew past of Iberian Sepharad. Of course, in our first chapter we saw how various Sephardic authors envisioned Jewish Sepharad and Roman Hispania as interconnected communities of Iberian antiquity. Though Athias and Usque do not explicitly articulate such connection, their philological discussion represents something of a next step by illustrating how Nebrija's intellectual project could extend beyond the ideal of Hispania to that of Sepharad. But where Nebrija's "nuestra España" went hand-in-hand with a delineation of Hispania's borders, Athias and Usque's community of diasporic exiles has of course been denied a territorial homeland. Instead, their "nuestra España" is "nuestra Español," a post-exile diasporic community based in shared language rather than territory. Perhaps even more than Nebrija's intellectual output, Athias and Usque's Bible points to the construction and definition of community through shared readership. And yet as with Nebrija readership alone seems insufficient; Athias and Usque must also locate their community within the national territory's historical past; by rendering Castilian into Hebrew the linguistic hybridity of their project, so they propose, revives the equally hybrid identity of "los antiguos Hebreos Españoles" who as the inhabitants of ancient Sepharad were both Spanish/Iberian and Hebrew/Jewish. The post-1492 Sephardic descendants of these "antiguos Hebreos Españoles" experience hybridity not, or not only, in the form of overlapping communal identities but through their state of exile where both Spain and Sepharad are the lost homeland(s) of an irrecoverable past.

Of course, an irrecoverable past is not the same as a past forgotten or erased. And when pasts exist in memory alone, they tend to grow and take on new forms. Where the prologue to Athias and Usque's *Biblia en Lengua Española* articulates a philological project with distinctly Nebrijan resonances, another Sephardic text printed in Italy, the *Sefer ha-Yashar* (*Book of the Righteous*), imagines an episode out of Hispania's past worthy of what Nebrija crafted in his Neo-Latin verse. As the *Yashar*'s title makes clear, the work was written not in Ladino but Hebrew, illustrating that Nebrija's legacy of philological scholarship and print communities need not be confined to texts written in dialects and languages on the linguistic tree of Spanish.

As a text, the *Yashar* is rather shrouded in mystery. Though its title derives from a book mentioned in Joshua and 2 Samuel, the first edition that comes to us was printed in Venice in

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that this language is nothing other than Ladino. Their "Al lector" preface, moreover, does not follow the Hebrew syntax of the chapters and verses and conforms to standard Spanish of the time.

1625. But the work's prologue, as we shall see in greater detail, claims to be copied from an earlier Neapolitan edition that dates to 1552, which, if true would be an exact contemporary to Athias and Usque's *Biblia* of 1553. Our interest in the work lies exclusively with this prologue which presents an account of the book's supposed origins, origins that begin well before 1553 or even the Expulsion of 1492.[217] The *Yashar* takes its readers back to the sacking of Jerusalem and destruction of the Second Temple by the Roman Emperor Titus in 70 AD. This historical moment is also, we remember, when the twelfth-century Rabbi Abraham ibn Daud stated that Jews came to Iberia as Jerusalem's displaced noblemen who went on to start the silk industry of Mérida. The *Yashar* also presents an origin story, yet not so much of a population as of learning. The work's readers are told of one of Titus' Roman officers, a certain Sidrus (סידרוס) who, busy looting Jerusalem of its spoils, comes across a large house. Believing that he detects treasure, he tears down a false wall only to find "a cask full of various books, of the Law, the Prophets, the Hagiographica, and books of the kings of Israel, and of the kings of other nations" (3) (ספרים רבים תורה נביאים וכתיוים וגם ספרים ממלכי ישראל פממלכי העמים; 7).[218]

With the books is an old Rabbi, who explains to Sidrus that he had predicted this destruction of Jerusalem and built for himself this house in order to have a secure place to continue his studies. Echoing episodes of the Hebrew Bible, the *Yashar* writes that God caused Sidrus to admire the old Jew. Sidrus offers to serve as his guide, protector and companion, leading the Rabbi out of Jerusalem and taking him and his books to Hispania, to Seville where they go on to live and learn together:

> And God caused the old man to find favor in the eyes of the officer, who brought him forth with respect with all his books, and they went from city to city and from country to country until they reached Sevilia [Seville]. And the officer found that this old man was possessed of wisdom and understanding, and acquainted with various kinds of science, upon discovering which he raised and honored him, was constantly in his house and was taught by him all sorts of wisdom, and they built for themselves a lofty and capacious house in the suburbs of Sevilia and placed there all those books. This house is yet in Sevilia unto this day. (ibid)[219]

This friendship and tutelage between Sidrus and the Rabbi does nothing less than imagine an allegorical bond and union between Sepharad and Roman Hispania. As a metonym for the civilizational narrative of Judean destruction and Sephardi rebirth we discussed in our second chapter, the Rabbi's house in Jerusalem, destroyed and nearly-looted by Sidrus, comes to be

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[217] The body of the work is a midrash commentary, though one apocryphal to rabbinic literature, that retells episodes of the Hebrew Bible from Genesis to Judges.

[218] We also see this title of "kings of other nations" [פממלכי העמים] echoes that mentioned in Zacuto's *Yohassin*. My English translation is largely based, though with some modifications, on the anonymous translation that accompanies Moshe Lazar's 1989 edition and commentary of a Ladino translation, and the Hebrew refers to the 2002 edition.

[219] ויתן אלקים את הזקן ההוא לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיני ההגמון ההוא ויוציאו משם בכבוד עם צל ספריו וילכו משם מעיר לעיר וממדינה למדינה עד הגיעם למדינת אשביליא וימצא ההגמון את הזקן ההוא כי הוא יודע וצל חכמה ויבני להם בית גדול וקומתו מחוץ לשיביליא וימציאו שם עת צל הספרים ההם והבית ההוא עודנו בשיליא עד היום הזה. (ibid)

replaced by a new house outside of Seville – one we are told still remains – built and cohabitated by both Hispano-Roman and Jew, both Sidrus and the Rabbi. And where Sidrus had at first held an inimical position to the Rabbi's house in Jerusalem, the Sevillian house is of shared patrimony and belongs to both Sidrus and the Rabbi as much to Sepharad as to Hispania. With his newfound love of wisdom and learning, the soldier Sidrus is now a citizen of Nebrija's Hispania as a land of poets and orators, with the important and obvious difference that Sidrus has come to embrace not the classical but the Hebrew intellectual tradition.

When the *Yashar's* preface fast-forwards to the present day, the 1492 expulsion is described as a word-for-word reversal, we might even say as an undoing, of the journey undertaken by Sidrus and the Rabbi:

> And it came to pass that when God carried us away with a might captivity by the hands of the kings of Edom, from city to city and country to country in bitter anxiety, this book, called "the Generations of Adam" together with other books came into our hands, for they came from that house in Sevilia, and they came afterward to Napoli, which city is under the sway of the kings of Spain, whose glory may be exalted. (ibid)[220]

Just as Sidrus and the Rabbi travel "city to city and from country to country until they reached Sevilia" so do the Jews of 1492 leave Spain "city to city and country to country in bitter anxiety." And as if speaking about two different entities, the *Yashar* attributes the Expulsion to the "kings of Edom" (מלכי אדום)," while the protection found in Naples is attributed to the kings of Sepharad" (מלך ספרד) who should be praised.[221]

What continues in Naples is, moreover, humanist activity itself, the intellectual and philological labors of textual emendation, editing and printing:

> And when we saw these books, that they were books of great wisdom, we resolved in our minds to print them like all the books that came into our hands. Now this book is the best and most valuable of all, and of this book twelve copies have reached us, and we searched in them and found them all of one copy, there was no difference, nothing added and nothing deficient, nor any alteration in letters, words or events, for they were all alike as it were of one copy. Since, therefore, we saw in this book great merit urging us to this resolve, we are determined to print it. (3-5)[222]

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[220] ויהי כאשר טלטלנו השם טלטלה גבר אל ידי מלכי אדום מעיד לעיר וממדינה למדינה ברה ומר ויגיע לידינו הספר הזה הנקרא תולדות אדם עם ספרים רבים צי באו מהבית ההוא משביליא ויבואו אהד כך אל עירנו עיר נאפולי אשר תחת יד מלך ספרד יר״הויה. (ibid)

[221] We might remember that certain Sephardic authors equated Edom not with Rome (as was typical outside of Sepharad) but with the Visigoths.

[222] ויהי כאשר ראינו הספרים האלו כי הם מלאים מכל חכמה שמנו מגמת נפשנו בהם להדפיסם בעט ברזל ועופרת ככל הספרים הבאים לידינו והנה הספר הזה הוא המשובח וגדול המעילה מכלם והנה הגיע לידינו מהספר הזה י״ב נוסחאות ונחקור בהם והנה כלם נוסחא אחת ואין ביניהם שינוי ולא תוספת ולא מגרעת ולא אותיות ולא תיבות בשונות או דברים שונים כע כלם בשוה ובנוסחא אחת יבעבור שראינו בספר הזה תועליות רבות הטינו לבנו אל התצלית על צן שמנו בגמת נפשינו להדפיסו. (8)

Where Athias and Usque's had emphasized in the "Al lector" of their *Biblia en Lengua Española* their meticulous and methodological process of philological and linguistically accurate translation, the printers of the *Yashar* focus on the complementary task of collating editions to determine the original or oldest (and thus supposedly most accurate) textual source. But such philological expertise reveals itself to be unneeded. Though the editors collect and collate twelve copies so as to examine differences, additions, alterations in letters or words, they find no textual divergence ("nothing added and nothing deficient, nor any alteration in letters, words or events, for they were all alike as it were of one copy). The *Yashar* is thus something of a philological miracle, or rather a miracle through textual philology. God manifested as editorial practice.[223]

Divine protection had, as we remember, already manifested itself at the beginning of the text's history, when Sidrus' disposition was changed from that of a looting Roman soldier to the old Rabbi's protector and guide across the Mediterranean from Jerusalem to Seville. Indeed, perhaps even more than divine intervention, it is this genealogy of movement, conflict and contact that truly endows the text of the *Yashar* with cultural authority. Like Athias and Usque's declaration that their idiom of choice is but a revival of a past language spoken by "los antiguos Hebreos Españoles," the *Yashar* printers frame their scholarly labor as both the historical recovery and continuation of an ancient past. Such gesture to history would on its own echo the humanist drive that Nebrija brought to the world of Spanish letters, but the history has of course gone much further. As the origins of the Hebrew text go back to the nearly-sacked rabbinical house in Jerusalem, the *Yashar* printers who re-publish the work are heirs to the old Rabbi, but they are also heirs to Sidrus. While the rabbi might present the obvious figure of learning, it is Sidrus who, like the post-1492 exiles and Jews of Naples, navigates the Mediterranean with its spaces and populations both Jewish and Latin/Roman. And while Sidrus might not convey a sense of wisdom and learning as immediately or as strongly as the rabbi, he presents the other side of textual scholarship: the scholar's labor as caretaker and guardian. As Nebrija so often would, the *Yashar's* editors thus imagine themselves as participating in a transhistorical cultural production that includes the exiled Jews who transported their texts and spans all the way back to Sidrus' house in Hispano-Roman Seville.

The journey that Sidrus took was of course a homecoming, a return to Hispano-Roman Seville after military service in Judea. But Sidrus' homecoming stands opposite to the dual exiles of both the old Rabbi who leaves his home in Jerusalem as well as the earlier imagined owners of *Yashar* who carry their books with them as they leave Iberian Sepharad in 1492. Such juxtaposition of the first-century Judean diaspora with the 1492 Sephardic expulsion channels what David Wacks (2015) has identified as the mentality of a "double diaspora" wherein there exists a simultaneous nostalgia for two lost Jewish homelands in Israel and Sepharad. But as it was with so many of the Sephardic Jews whom we encountered in our opening discussion, it is not so easy here to untangle Jewish Sepharad from Roman Hispania. The *Yashar* printers

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[223] For a discussion of how Jewish translation practices intersect with religious belief and vernation, see Naomi Seidman's *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (2010) that provides a broad historical look that spans the Greek Septuagint to Holocaust literature and testimony, albeit one that says little about Sephardic translation projections either within medieval Iberia or in the wake of the post-1492 diaspora.

certainly follow in the intellectual footsteps of these Sephardic authors, and yet by aligning their scholarly and philological labor with the distinctly Hispano-Roman figure of Sidrus, they are undoubtedly Nebrijan humanists. Though Nebrija had imagined Hispania as a territorial demarcation of national community, Nebrija's project has, in the hands of post-1492 Sephardim, found itself spanning the early modern Mediterranean in new communities organized around printed text, philological practices and the historical pasts. Indeed, even Athias and Usque's first gesture of turning a national into a linguistic community, "nuestra España" to "nuestra Español," has through the *Yashar* discovered the ability to transcend linguistic boundaries, moving from Spanish to Hebrew. What comes to unite these projects is a trust that Hispania could provide a sense of place and belonging, as much for letrados of humble origins as for diasporic communities in exile. What Nebrija sought in the ruins and Latin inscriptions around his hometown of Lebrija/Nebrissa, the *Yashar* editors found in a Hispano-Roman soldier named Sidrus who opened up his home in Seville to an old Rabbi from Jerusalem, making it that much easier to construct their own imagined yet lost homeland.

CHAPTER FIVE

# FROM TRIUMPH TO TRAGEDY
## *Cervantes'* Numancia *and the Conquest of Images*

No discussion of Hispania's legacy would be complete without consideration of the drama by Miguel de Cervantes, *La Numancia*. Cervantes' early play recounts the second century BCE military confrontation between Roman forces led by Scipio Aemilianus and the Celtiberian population of Numantia, now known to be near Soria in Castilla y León.[224] Within the history of early modern Spanish drama, Cervantes' play predates Lope de Vega's comedia nueva. Unhindered by these not-yet-articulated and not-yet-dominant precepts of Lopescan tragicomedia, Cervantes' play more wholly embraced the genre of tragedy. But as a generic category 'tragedy' hardly settles the form and content of the play. Though I know of no scholar who denies the ingredient of tragedy, many see the label as on its own insufficient or incomplete, qualifying the play as classical or neo-Aristotelian tragedy or seeing in it a different sort of hybridity best characterized as epic-tragedy or dramatic epic.

For Michael Armstrong-Roche, such debates are themselves illustrative of a scholarly trend that "has retreated from or subordinated the play's politics to genre criticism" (2008: 207). In its place, Armstrong-Roche presents readings centered on the representation of national identity and ethno-cultural difference between the two warring sides, interrogating the role of political values both imperial and republican, and examining notions of patria, borders, and border-crossing. But must we choose? Is it really such an either/or choice?

My own reading here will argue for the inherent interconnectedness of the play's formal elements with its concerns over politics, culture and history. In this approach we will also come to see the play through something of a hybrid lens, as of an assemblage of theatrical modes. However, our reading will not seek to externally impose generic category for our own interpretive benefit. Instead we will look from within the play itself and consider its own treatment of theater and drama. Specifically we will examine how the play imagines the interrelation of dramatic theater with ritual performance. It is through the question of ritual that our reading will understand the aesthetic considerations of theatrical genre as necessarily embedded in issues of cultural representation.

Ritual has long been an ethnographic and anthropological window onto the understanding of cultures. The rituals of a culture generate the symbolic meaning through which societies understand themselves, tell their own stories to themselves, and rituals create a performative space where they can articulate (though can also enable the momentary disruption of) the social roles of a community.[225]

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[224] Here we can remember that throughout the Middle Ages and into the early Renaissance, from such figures such as the royal chronicler Juan Gil de Zamora to the Italian Humanist Giannozzo Manetti, it was believed that the Celtiberian town of Numancia was closest to Zamora rather than Soria, both in Castilla y León but at opposite ends of the region.

[225] Especially relevant are the works of Victor Turner, in particular *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors* (1974) and *From Ritual to Theatre* (1982). Foundational anthropological studies of ritual go back to James Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of*

Such concerns with culture are themselves a distinguishing characteristic of Cervantes' play. As Willard King recognized some decades ago, the humanists and historiographers whom Cervantes most likely read offer an outline of the military conflict, but unlike Cervantes, these authors display little interest in "social organization, government, religion, and daily life" (1979: 209).[226] In our reading we shall see how Cervantes' *Numancia* and related literary works present and narrative various ritual actions. These rituals will reflect the cultures of both the Romans and Celtiberians, and also the hybrid spaces that culturally bridge, or perhaps even transcend, the ethnographic borders that separate these two peoples. Of course Cervantes was not an anthropologist or even an ethnographer, and his play was not an ethnographic study. Cervantes' treatment of ritual in *La Numancia* will thus always be inflected by literary concerns, and will ultimately comment on the aesthetic, cultural and political power of theatrical performance. The internal enactment and treatment of ritual within *La Numancia* thus renders the play not only a hybridized index of such theatrical genres but also a meta-theatrical investigation into the power of theater itself.

Behind this meta-theatrical assemblage of theatrical modes is the very question of literary tradition. Though scholars, including King, typically look to contemporaneous Spanish texts as Cervantes' source material, we can also turn back to the *Numancia's* early twentieth-century editors Rudolph Schevill and Adolfo Bonilla who suggest that Cervantes may have turned to original Classical works, either instead of or alongside the early modern texts, given that contemporaneous historians would cite their sources in a way that facilitated comparative reading.[227] My own discussion here will not ignore the contributions of early modern Spanish humanists and historiographers, but it will also take special care to situate Cervantes' play within a network of classical texts, particularly Latin historiographies, that depict ancient Iberia more broadly and the Numantine Wars in particular.

And yet, classical historiographies are only part of the intertextual journey that underlies the creation of Cervantes' *Numancia*. The historiographic index is completed by an equally rich constellation of literary texts, both Spanish and Classical. In his 1998 monograph study of the play *Cervantes, Raphael and the Classics* (1998), Frederick de Armas expanded the intertextual possibilities for reading *La Numancia* by proposing an engagement on Cervantes' part with various Greek and Latin works, perhaps most controversially positing that Cervantes might have been familiar with the early Greek tragedy Aeschylus' *Persians.* Beyond the Greek tragedy, de Armas provides intertextual readings with Homer, Virgil, Lucan, Cicero and Macrobius.

Like de Armas' intertextual network of classical authors, my own reading will span the genres of tragedy, epic and philosophy. However, in contrast to de Armas' canon that broadly includes Greek and Roman authors, I will argue that Cervantes' play specifically engages with

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*Religious Life* (1912, English edition 1995), particularly the third and final book on "The Principal Modes of Ritual Conduct."

[226] King presents Ercilla's *Araucana* as a contrasting example of a poem that is likewise interested in more anthropologically oriented questions. These sources will be taken up later in our discussion.

[227] King is especially determined to limit Cervantes's use of historiographic sources to the *Crónica general* of Ambrosio de Morales (218 n. 9). For a comparative treatment of Morales, Cervantes and Antonio de Guevara, also see Rachel Schmidt's "The Development of Hispanitas in Spanish Sixteenth-Century Versions of the Fall of Numancia" (1995).

the literary tradition of Hispano-Roman authors. Lucan will remain, but instead of Homer we will encounter Silius Italicus. Rather than Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian. And instead of Macrobius, the Late Antique Christian authors of Hispania Prudentius and Paulus Orosius. As we have discussed, these authors were a veritable Hispano-Roman literary canon for early modern readers since at least the humanist writings of Antonio de Nebrija. But with Cervantes' we see something of a turning point and development where this canon of Hispano-Roman authors is not only to be exalted as evidence of proto-national Spanish culture but investigated as a literary tradition in its own right, worthy of aesthetic emulation and intertextual engagement.[228] Not only is Cervantes' play about historical events that occurred in ancient Iberia, it turns to a literary vocabulary from the authors of ancient Iberia for its telling. As a narrative of Rome's conquest of Iberia, it is a story about the becoming of Hispania, and in its reliance on Hispano-Roman authors it is an artistic outgrowth, indeed a self-conscious one, of the Hispano-Roman literary culture that came to be from such conquest and the ensuing process of Romanization.[229]

From the very first, and in many ways most predominant, ritual we come across in the *Numancia* we are able to see how these seemingly quite different concerns of theater, cultural difference, and a Hispano-Roman literary tradition all inform one another. Rather ironically, this ritual is not performed, and it never will be performed in the play's four acts. And as we'll come to see, the inability to perform this ritual is rather central to the play's treatment. It is only ever sought after, but it is sought after from the beginning to what is nearly the play's end. If the Romans have to fight a prolonged war in the Iberian hinterlands – what the newly appointed general Cipión (Scipio Aemilianus) refers to as a "Guerra de curso tan estraño y larga" (I.5) – then at least they, and especially Cipión, want to earn a triumph from their efforts. As Cipión's aide-de-camp Jugurta counsels him, such strange conditions and long hardship, such loss of Roman lives, will only lead to a more glorious triumph: "Quien tiene la ventura / y el valor nunca visto, que en ti encierras, / pues con ella y con él está sigura / la vitoria y el triunfo de estas guerras" (I.9-12).

The image of triumph goes on to remerge at some of the play's most crucial moments. When the allegorized figure of Enfermedad in Act III relates to the play's audience the Numantinos' decision for mass-suicide over surrender, the reasoning behind this collective self-destruction is centers on denying a triumph to the Romans: "y por quitar el triunfo a los romanos, ellos mismos se matan con sus manos" (3.2022-23). Indeed not only the same sentiments but the same rhetoric of triumph are echoed just lines later by the Numantino Teógenes when, addressing his fellow citizens of Numancia, he tries to lift their spirits by reminding them, "ni el romano poderío llevará de vosotros el triunfo o palma" (3.2077-78). And in a scene we shall analyze in depth at the conclusion of our discussion, when at the play's end, the Romans look upon this Numancia that has destroyed itself, they search desperately for one survivor since, according to Cipión himself, "eso bastaba / para triunfar en Roma de Numancia" (4.2328).

[228] Of course, we did also see Nebrija appropriate Martial into his own Neo-Latin poetry.
[229] By appreciating the *Numancia* as a work constructed through intertextual borrowing, we can see it anticipate the metaliterary pastiche of *Don Quixote*. Such reading thus allows us to see a Cervantine complexity of the early play that doesn't require the anti-heroic irony that characterizes the latter novel, the latter being a factor that has led scholars to see a breach in Cervantes career between the Numancia and the Quixote (see Graf 2013: 192).

All such evocations of triumph and triumphing refer of course not so much to the military victory itself as to the ritual performed that followed such victory, the triumphal procession that was awarded to a Roman general to acknowledge and celebrate their glory in battle. In Roman culture the triumph embodied the military and political values so central to their society, their desire for conquest and imperial expansion. In the Renaissance, the triumph was no less integral to the image of Rome that was being revived and reimagined. Petrarch allegorized the ritual with his poetic *Trionfi*, and in the visual arts Andrea Mantegna imagined in nine massive paintings what it would have been like to attend the triumphal parades celebrating Julius Caesar's victorious return from the Gallic Wars. We have of course already encountered the triumph in literature, with Diego de Burgos *Triunfo de Marqués*, and indeed Alonso de Palencia, whose geographic *Compendiolum* examined, also wrote a *De Perfectione Militaris Triumphi* that examines the Roman triumph through a lens at once allegorical and antiquarian.

In her volume-length trans-historical study of the Roman triumph and its afterlife, Classicist Mary Beard argues for a dynamic understanding of the ritual where "the very ceremony which glorified military victory and the values underpinning that victory also provided a context within which those values could be discussed and challenged" (2009: 4). Perhaps because of their own identities as provincial outsiders, Hispano-Roman authors are frequently among those who saw the cultural centrality of the triumph as a window for more subversive possibilities. Seneca returns to the triumph various times in his philosophical prose. His statement that "minor acts of temple robbery are punished; great ones are carried in a triumphal parade" renders the Roman Empire nothing more than thievery whose grand scale masks its wickedness (*Ep*. 87.23, p. 306). The triumph is at once a ceremony whose magnificent splendor participates in such masking, yet whose requirements of display can but expose the underlying truths. Elsewhere, Seneca uses the imagery of the triumph to characterize the inverse circumstances that the true Stoic sage should be able to endure: "victorious over all the world's nations [or] placed on a foreign litter to grace the public procession of some proud and savage conqueror; I shall be just as humble when I am driven before another man's chariot as when I stood erect on my own" (*De Vita Beata* 25, p. 107).

Seneca's image of the Stoic sage is a reminder that the triumph was a ritual participants beyond the general whose victory was being celebrated. As will become most important in Cervantes' *Numancia*, a triumph could not be granted or realized without the presence of live captives. Again suggestive of his own provincial background, Seneca believes the true sage can be found as easily in the general as in the foreign prisoners. Indeed, as Beard discusses, there is some evidence that some, if not most, of these paraded prisoners went on to enter Roman society at some form or another. Though some would remain slaves till the end of their days, others might go on to win their freedom, or perhaps even, like a certain prisoner of the Social War Ventidius Bassus, command troops themselves and celebrate a triumph for their own victories (141). From such perspective the triumph was less a celebration of Rome's imperial dominance over foreign lands and peoples than a "rite of passage … in the process by which the enemy became Roman" (Beard: 140). The relationship between conquering general and conquered foreigner was thus at once hierarchical and inverted, yet also fluid and interchangeable.

The inclusion of imprisoned victims also created a certain tensions at the level of spectacle and performance. As we shall see more in depth later, the triumph was a representation that housed many other representations. As Mantegna's very paintings display, those who marched in the parade carried not only the spoils of battle but also painted banners upon which

were depicted very battles and victories. From the center of the empire, the spectators of a triumph were thus privy to what was happening and what could be found at the imperial peripheries. Paraded alongside the spoils from their homeland, the foreign victims themselves also became objects within the spectacle, and were often selected for their appearance and beauty. [230] Such was not lost on Cervantes or his Numantinos, and indeed it is especially the women of Numancia who more than once declare that their lives will not be objectified as a "trofeo" within Rome's unjust and greedy triumphs (III.1321, IV.2102). And though scholars have characterized the Numantinos' choice for suicide over surrender as a mark of Stoic resilience, that they justify their actions as the refusal to be lowered to trophies on display reflects not Seneca's moral declaration that even the prisoner in a victory parade can be "mentally unconquered" (*Ep*. 71. 22, p. 219) but rather anxieties no less ethical than aesthetic over what it means to be rendered spectacle.

By objectifying the conquered, the triumph could even turn its captives into actors. Appian, who provides his own extensive account of the siege of Numantia, recounts a triumph where the paraded prisoners were bound "not in chains, but dressed in their native costumes," placing less emphasis on their submissive status before Rome than on their own exotic foreignness (quoted in Beard: 10).[231] What was thus true of the best-known foreign king and general could even apply to the anonymous prisoner: they might draw the gaze of the crowd, upstage the conquering general, and steal the show (Beard: 107-11).

Several centuries after Seneca, another Hispano-Roman author would likewise turn the triumph into an indictment of Roman society with his own discursive game of inverted imagery. But where Seneca looked to both victor and victim for moral edification, the Iberian Church Father Paulus Orosius exploits the triumph's theatrical qualities in his critique. Rome's happiness, as Orosius sees it, can be encapsulated in the very imagery of "continuous triumphs, famous victories, rich booty, celebrated processions, when great kings and conquered peoples were driven in a long line before the chariot" (*Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, V.I, p. 141).[232] But as an image of Roman happiness, such perpetual triumphs are also evidence that Rome's happiness comes at the expense of foreign peoples: "happily Rome conquers, to the extent that whatever is outside Rome is unhappily conquered … against how much weight do we weigh this one drop of happiness, to which the felicity of one city is ascribed in the midst of so

[230] Here Beard refers not only to the longest and most elaborate surviving description of the Roman triumph, that from Josephus's *Jewish War*, but also Appian's account of Numancia:

> [Josephus] refers to "the tallest and most beautiful" of the young prisoners being reserved for the triumph, while the others (after the hard core or the particularly villainous had been put to death) were sent to the mines and amphitheaters or sold into slavery. Scipio Aemilianus, too, according to Appian, picked out fifty of the survivors of the siege of Numantia for his triumph of 132 BCE (though these could hardly have been fine specimens, given the terrible conditions of the siege); the rest were sold. (119)

[231] This specific triumph was celebrated for Pompey's victory in the Mithridatic Wars over Greece,and for it Pompey wore a costume meant to evoke Alexander the Great (Beard: 12-14).

[232] quibus continui triumphi, celebres uictoriae, diuites praedae, nobiles pompae, magni ante currum reges et longo ordine uictae gentes agebantur.

great a mass of unhappiness?" (ibid).[233] As a Christian critique of Roman society and culture, Orosius's triumph is less a display of military victory than of suffering and sadness and the sheer pain that Roman values have brought to the rest of the globe. And yet, Orosius also recognizes the subversive potential of turning foreign peoples into spectacle.

As Orosius continues his account, he asks the conquered lands to speak for themselves. Orosius' foreign prisoners have not only stolen the show but are given speaking parts. He begins with Carthage, but afterwards comes to his own Hispania:

> Let Hispania present her own opinion: When for two hundred years everywhere it watered its fields with its own blood and was unable to drive back or to endure the troublesome enemy constantly attacking on every frontier, when with their cities and towns dislodged, crushed by the slaughter of wars, exhausted by the famine of sieges, with their wives and children killed, as a remedy for their miseries they killed one another by pitiful conflict and mutual slaughter, what did Hispania, then, think about its times? (V.1, p. 142)[234]

The reader of Cervantes' *Numancia* will find much familiar imagery in Orosius' speaking Hispania: fields soaked with blood, a siege that leads to famine, wives and children killed, suicide and mutual slaughter as a remedy for misery. All such imagery of suffering and violence is present in Cervantes' play. If Orosius has written an inverse triumph wherein the conquered *nationes* are able to speak to the destructiveness of the Roman order, Cervantes' *Numancia* unravels and expands this critique, and provides the inverted triumph with a new representational home in the form of tragic theater. Indeed, when our analysis takes us to the play's concluding acts, we will encounter not only the imagery here but also aspects of Orosius' own account of the siege of Numantia that comes in the seventh book of his *History Against the Pagans*.

Yet well before the play's conclusion and the town's destruction, Cervantes' *Numancia* offers another moment that reminds us of Orosius' speaking Hispania when the play's own personified 'España' comes to the stage. Echoing Orosius' Hispania, the Cervantes' España presents an account of its suffering at the hands of foreign conquerors, but where Orosius was primarily focused on indicting the Roman Empire, Cervantes offers a more extensive history of conquest from the geographic vantage point of the Iberian Peninsula:

> y a mil tiranos, mil riquezas diste;
> a fenicios y griegos entregados
> mis reinos fueron,

---

[233] feliciter Roma uincit tam infeliciter quidquid extra Romam est uincitur. … quanti igitur pendenda est gutta haec laboriosae felicitates, cui adscribitur unius urbis beatitudo in tanta mole infelicitatis.

[234] edat Hispania sententiam suam: cum per annos ducentos ubique agros suos sanguine suo rigabat inportunumque hostem ultro ostiatim inquietantem nec repellere poterat nec sustinere, cum se suis diuersis urbibus ac locis, fracti caede bellorum, obsidionum fame exinaniti, interfectis coniugibus ac liberis suis ob remedia miseriarum concursu misero ac mutua caede iugulabant, - quid tunc de suis temporibus sentiebat?

…
¿Será posible que contino sea
esclava de naciones extranjeras[?]
…
los bárbaros de pechos codiciosos
a venir a entregarse en mis riquezas,
usando en mí y en ellos mil cruezas.
(I.365-7, 369-70, 382-84)

Rome's conquest is only the latest in a series of conquests that goes back to the Phoenicians and the Greeks. And Cervantes' España knows what these "mil tiranos" are after. She has been made an "esclava de naciones extranjeras" and suffered "mil cruezas." What ultimately drives these barbarous conquerors are the twice-mentioned "mil riquezas" of her natural bounty. The speech of Cervantes' España thus also takes us back to the familiar Laus Hispaniae with its elevation of agricultural fertility and mineral wealth. Indeed, España's entire address is framed as a prayer to the "sereno y espacïoso cielo" that has enriched her soil: "con tus influencias enriqueces / la parte que es mayor de este mi suelo" (I.353-55). Toward her conclusion, España weds this image of fertile Iberia to another familiar topos, that of a pastoral Iberia populated by nymphs who frequent the gold-bearing waters of the Tagus/Tajo: "arenas de oro, cual el Tajo ameno, / ansí las ninfas fugetivas sueltas,/ de que está el verde prado y bosque lleno, / vengan humildes," (I.428-31).

Cervantes' España thus asks her audience to spatially imagine the territory and topography of Iberia in a way absent from Orosius' account of imperial victimization, with the important exception of Hispania's fields watered with her own blood, which we shall return to later. But while Cervantes' España is more rightly visualized as a geographic and topographic space, she also has a body. Her prayer to Heavens indeed begins with what can only be characterized as the corporeal experience of ritual sacrifice:

Bástete ya que un tiempo me tuviste
todos mis flacos miembros abrasados
y al sol por mis entrañas descubriste
al reino oscuro de los condenados, (I.361-64)

Here España is not subjected to a triumph, but a ritual perhaps more reminiscent of the Celtiberian practices we will see performed among the Numantinos. She is laid prostrate, her limbs exposed to the sun, and she seems to have been disemboweled (mis entrañas descubriste), left as an offering for the gods of the underworld (al reino oscuro de los condenados). Such description prompts us to consider the triumph not only within the Roman context but likewise within a broader network of ancient ritual.

Where España broadens our historical perspective by asking us to look backward, her companion pushes us forward. España's address concludes by calling forth the Duero, the river that surrounds Numancia. Like his mother España, the Duero asks us to visualize the land, depicting how "el feroz romano tiende / el paso agora por tu fértil suelo," (I.465-66). The majority of the Duero's speech, however, takes the form of a prophecy. Iberia continues to be a haven for foreign peoples, but the invading "mil tiranos" of España's speech is transformed into

more neutral image demographic of migration combined with the fulfillment of desires for vengeance against Rome:

> De remotas naciones venir veo
> gentes que habitarán tu dulce seno
> después que, como quiere tu deseo,
> habrán a los romanos puesto freno. (I.473-76)

But if the Duero's speech were to strike us as an invitation to pluralism and an embracing of the many cultures and peoples that have called Iberia home, we'd be mistaken. Though the Duero at first speaks of "remotas naciones" and "gentes" in the plural, we quickly see that the river has only one such people in mind, a group we have encountered before:

> Godos serán, que con vistoso arreo,
> dejando de su fama el mundo lleno,
> vendrán a recogerse en tus entrañas,
> dando de nuevo vida a sus hazañas.
> Estas injurias vengará la mano
> del fiero Atila en tiempos venideros,
> poniendo al pueblo tan feroz romano
> sujeto a obedecer todos sus fueros. (I.477-484)

Though in her speech España characterized herself as the victim, a land plundered by wave after wave of foreign invasions, the Duero images the next arrival of foreign peoples in different terms. The Goths are not invaders but avengers who will make the once proud and conquering Romans subject to their laws (fueros), reminding us of the emphasis on legal codes we saw earlier. Aspects of the Duero's speech certainly mirror what we saw spoken by España. The entrails/entrañas once left burning in the sun are now reconstituted as a womb into which the Goths can gather themselves and, in an image of rebirth, be transformed into the now-native children of the Spanish nation. But such rebirthing also transforms the communal image itself, and does so in a way we have encountered before. Rather than a land that has been home to many peoples (both invaders and victims), España has become the patrimony of a single people, a land synonymous with this group. And of course, the Goths El Duero describes are little different from those which our earlier humanists encountered and countered with their alternative vision of Spain as Hispania. Similar to what we saw among the caballero authors, El Duero's Goths are a warlike people whose law codes are a merely an extension of their violence and desire to dominate. And while there is no mention of Gothic blood as pure blood, the communal vision is unmistakable. No long a land and territory, the national community is now imagined in ethno-tribal terms and as the exclusive patrimony of the Goths. As El Duero goes on to report, the monarchs have changed their names – "católicos serán llamados todos" – but are offspring of the "sucesión digna de los fuertos godos" (I.503-4). El Duero's España is Visigothic.

The river's prophecy does not end there. Extending its historical scope, El Duero's prophecy recounts a much later conquest to which Rome was subject, the 1527 Sack of Rome by the troops of Carlos V. Here the inversion is completed with a return to the language of a spectacle: "…se mire / estar blandiendo el español cuchillo / sobre el cuello romano, y que

respire / sólo por la bondad de su caudillo" (489-92). Though not quite a triumphal process, the image we are to visualize in the mind's eye (se mire) is that of the Roman now prisoner and humbled before the Spaniard. But if the Roman triumph reduced the foreign prisoner to the status of material spoils and a trophy, so too does the Duero's image of conquest use poetic metonymy to objectify its personages. The Spaniard has become nothing more than his blade (español cuchillo) under which foreign victims must submit. And many such conquests do follow, all to be understood as extensions of the original Gothic act of vengeance against Rome. After the Romans of both Late Antiquity and 1527, comes the "girón lusitano" (I.517) in reference to Felipe II's annexactino of Portugal in 1580, and after this, "mil naciones estranjeras, / en quien tú teñirás tu aguda espada / y trenderás triunfando tus banderas!" (I.521-24).

The final allusion to "mil naciones estranjeras" is a likely reference to the peoples of the New World. But what is perhaps most striking is the repetition of imagery we have already seen. The specific inclusion of "mil" reminds us of the "mil riquezas" and "mil cruezas" that España was herself subject to at the hands of "mil tiranos." As certain scholars have proposed, the Spanish conquest of the Americas is thus subtly likened to the Roman conquest of Iberia. Echoing how we were to imagine Rome's 1527 sacking, the conquering Spaniard remains little more than a weapon, an "aguda espada." And closing off these images of Spanish conquest is nothing less than a return to the very ritual instantiation of Roman imperial fantasy that has so caught our attention: Spain and her banners march in triumph. And with Spain triumphant over foreign peoples the cycle of conquest is brought full circle. What began as a victim's narrative of foreign conquest and tyrannical exploitation, an Orosian outcry where the conquered prisoner was given voice, has become the celebration of a triumph in which victim has become victor.

El Duero tells his mother España that all such imagery should serve as an "alivio" (I.525), and she responds agreeing that they do, but only because she trusts that there is no "engaño"(I. I.532) to the prophecies. España's qualifications and her implying the possibility of an "engaño" should provoke our own doubt as to how the prophecy should be read. The allegorical personification of the two figures has certainly prompted interpretations that take their words to authoritatively express the message of the play itself and Cervantes' mentality as the work's author.[235] But to accept this interpretation is to ascribe to the play and to Cervantes a vision of national history that is but an endless cycle of war and vengeance where Roman conquers Celtiberian, Goth conquers Roman, and from there the Spaniard only continues to conquer and conquer outside of Iberia's borders.

The prophecy' of El Duero comes to us early in the first act of *La Numancia*, leaving us in wait as to how the play will ultimately reject this message of violence and vengeance. But of course, in previous chapter discussions we already encountered the works of Spanish authors who sought to counter Gothicism as an ideology of violence and ethno-tribal bloodlines by offering the more inclusive communal image of Spain as Hispania reborn, and Cervantes' solution will prove itself to be very much within this cultural tradition. Indeed, we can better prepare ourselves for how the play envisions culture and community by turning to a work at once embedded in the humanist discourse of our previous discussion and composed at nearly the same time as Cervantes' play. Influenced by Antonio de Nebrija and member of Seville's humanist community, Fernando de Herrera wrote his *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso* in 1580, the same decade to when Cervantes' *Numancia* is dated. Though largely, as the title suggests, a

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[235] See Avalle-Arce's "Poesía, historia, imperialismo: *La Numancia*" (1962).

poem-by-poem commentary on the works of Garcilaso de la Vega, the work also offers frequent digressions into the history of poetry and Spanish culture. In one such digression, Herrera confronts the Gothic legacy framing it in terms reminiscent of both the humanist discourse of decades earlier and what we encounter in *La Numancia*:

> la bárbara pero belicosa nación de los godos, i destruyendo los sagrados despojos de la venerada antigüedad, sin perdonar a la memoria de los varones esclarecidos, como si a ellos solos tocara la vengança de todas las gentes sugetas al yugo del Imperio Romano, se mostrasen no menos crueles enemigos de las diciplinas i estudios nobles que de la grandeza i magestad del nombre latino, fue poco a poco oscureciendo i desvaneciéndose en la sombra de la inorancia la eloquencia i la poesía con las demás artes i ciencias que ilustran el ánimo del ombre (Pepe and Reyes edition; 2001: 559)

Herrea's account of poetry treats the Gothic migration across Europe and into the Iberian Peninsula as a path of ruination whose course left only destruction it is path – destruyendo los sagrados despojos de la venerada antigüedad – the modifier of "sagrados" even adding an air of iconoclasm to such sentiments. The historic legacy of such peoples is not, as Cervantes' Duero would profess, the glorious Spanish monarchy, but an era of decline in eloquence, poetry and the other arts and sciences. The spirit of mankind is itself left in a dark shadow of ignorance.

While all such sentiments are more or less in keeping with what we have already encountered, what Herrera includes in the middle of his anti-Gothic diatribe is both unique and pertinent to what we have come across in *La Numancia*. Not unlike Cervantes' Duero, Herrera sees the Goths as avengers, and indeed identifies vengeance as the underlying motivation for their destructive actions. But while El Duero relishes in such vengeance and sees it justified by the suffering of the Numantinos and other Celtiberian peoples, Herrera sees this same vengeance as overweening. Having presumptuously assumed that they alone should act on behalf of all nations conquered by Rome – "como si a ellos solos tocara la vengança de todas las gentes sugetas al yugo del Imperio Romano" – Herrera's Goths are the brazenly self-appointed avengers of suffering not their own. And whatever justification they might reasonably lay claim to is negated by the misguided redirection of their destructive rage onto the very learning and studies associated with Latin culture (las diciplinas i estudios nobles que de la grandeza i magestad del nombre latino). More than the Romans themselves, such learning and culture has become the Goths' true object of scorn against which they have set themselves as an enemy.

Herrera's anti-Gothicism thus confronts the pretense of justified vengeance against Rome, and likewise extends a rhetoric that we have primarily encountered in art historical writings into the disciplines of literature and poetry. As we will come to see by the end of our discussion, Cervantes' work continues this disciplinary expansion into the realm of theater. With the Roman triumph, we are already beginning to understand *La Numancia* as theater concerned with theater, spectacle that assumes the discourse of spectacles. And yet, we might ask, was it not the implicit rejection of the Roman triumph as a ritual of imperial avarice that led us to ponder the merits of El Duero's praise of Gothicism? Are we left with a repudiation of both Roman and Goth? Such dual rejection would seem particularly pessimistic given that our third imagined community of the Celtiberian Numantinos is entirely extinguished by the play's end.

At some level, the solution is rather obvious. As a story of populational contact, *La Numancia* can realize the very potential for ethnographic hybridity implicit in the hyphenated union of Hispano-Romans as simultaneously Hispano (here, Iberian/Numantino) and Roman. But as a story of contact, La *Numancia* is of course really one of conflict, not of coming together. And here too, the complete disappearance of Numancia troubles such possible hopes for communal merging and hybridity. And yet, as we have also emphasized, the discourse surrounding Hispania seeks models for communal affiliation that need not rely on the biological commingling and reproduction of peoples. Cervantes' *Numancia* will thus produce community through culture and art. Indeed the play will look to the very cultural forms that Herrera and other humanists lamentingly cast as the target of Gothic violence. Though triumph and other ritual performances will reveal themselves wanting, by interrogating the capacities, implications and even the limitations of ritual spectacle, Cervantes' *Numancia* will imagine the emergence of theater itself. From ritual's failures, theater will arise as the true foundation for community of cultural hybridity and ethnographic pluralism.

**Iberia's Constellation of Conquerors**

As we return to ritual, we will situate *La Numancia* within a network of texts of similar subject matter and with similar concerns. The Latin authors who hailed from Roman-Hispania will continue to be central to our discussion, as will historiographic representations of ancient Iberia. The latter help us appreciate how the predilection among Hispano-Roman authors to employ and exploit the image of the triumph in their writings (as we have already begun to see in Seneca and Orosius), can perhaps be attributed to already established associations between Iberia and the triumph within the Roman imperial imaginary. At the beginning of his career Julius Caesar, for example, was especially keen on capitalizing on his appointments as quaestor and then governor of Hispania Ulterior by winning for himself a triumph.[236] The vastness of Iberia meant there was much left (especially in the interior) for a Roman general to conquer. As the Spanish historiographer Ambrosio Morales, whom Cervantes likely consulted for his play, wrote about the Romans in Spain, "no les traía otra cosa, más que ambición de gloria y fama, deseo del triunfo, o codicia de riquezas" (quoted in King 205). And yet as we also saw with the "made in Spain" Emperor Galba of almost exactly a century later, Iberia was both Italy's Other yet also its peninsular twin and reflection, granting it an especially privileged place within the Roman imagination, and rendering it simultaneously and object of ambition yet also suspicion for Rome's generals and politicians.

Within the classical imagination, Iberia activated ideas of imperial expansion both because of its geographic location at the western-most edge of the earth and because of its long history of foreign invaders. As Cervantes' España was apt to reminds us, before the Romans came the Greeks and the Carthaginians. Indeed, from our introductory discussion of the Second Punic War, we can remember how crucial Iberia was for Hannibal's military strategy. After crossing the Ebro river as the boundary line between the Carthaginian and Roman empires, Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum, a victory that like Scipio's at Numantia ended when the inhabitants committed mass suicide.

[236] See Josiah Osgood's "Julius Caesar and Spanish Trophy-Hunting" (2014).

For Ceaser, Iberia also channeled desires of inquest; indeed, they weighed on him heavily. Just as Silius Italicus writes of Hannibal traveling to Gades (Cadíz) after his victory at Saguntum to pay reverence to the Temple of Hercules (*Punica* III.14-60), so too in Suetonius' biography do we see Caesar traveling to Gades after his appointment as questor in Hispania. And where Hannibal is moved by the temple's door whose carvings recount the Twelve Labors, Caesar at the very same temple comes across another work of art: a statue of Alexander the Great also (*Divus Julius* 7.1).[237] The statue vexes Caesar, prompting him to bemoan how little he has accomplished compared to Alexander at a similar age. Though Alexander's conquests moved east to India and not west to Iberia, the episode nonetheless presents the very palimpsest of conquests narrated by Cervantes' España. Though Hannibal and his Carthaginians are not implicitly mentioned, the Punic Temple of Tyrian Hercules at Gades channels such associations. At the end of the earth, Caesar is drawn to compare his own conquests, and by extension the conquests of the Rome, to those of both the Greeks and the Carthaginians.

But of course, the Romans had already conquered great swaths of Iberia, including and especially during the Second Punic War against Hannibal. The concluding lines of the seventeen-book poem are nothing short of an extended description of the triumph Scipio celebrates upon returning to Rome from his victory over Carthage, and through which, as Silius writes, Scipio "gave to the citizens the spectacle of his martial countenance" (17.646). But central to this martial spectacle is an ethnographic and geographic representation of Iberia as land now brought into the fold of Rome's empire:

> And there were figures (*effigies*) of Iberia now pacified, Gades at the Worlds's End, Calpe the limit of the achievements of Hercules in ancient times, and the Betis that is won to bathe the sun's courses in its sweet waters. There too was Pyrene, the fierce mother of wars, thrusting her forest-clad height to the heaven, and the Ebro, no gentle stream when it pours with violence into the sea all the streams it has brought down with it. (17.635-42, p. 484-5).

Silius thus presents a triumph that is an interplay of images. And indeed, such interplay refracts across the entire scope of the poem. Even before Silius ekphrastic description of Hercules' Labors on the Temple of Gades, the poem reworks one of epic's best-known tropes; in the vein of Achilles and Aeneas, Hannibal is gifted a shield engraved with elaborate imagery. But where the former heroes received god-given arms, Hannibal's shield is local in origin, of indigenous material: "Behold! The peoples who dwell aby the Atlantic brought gifts to the general. They gave him a shield that glittered with cruel sheen, the work of Gallician craftsmen … covered richly with the gold of the Tagus and Hannibal surveyed each part of it with joy and triumph in his eyes."[238] Prominent on the shield is Sagunutm itself "rising on its lofty eminence" (excelso consurgens colle; II.446, p. 92-93). And around the out rim is the Ebro river "enclosing the vast circuit with its curves and windings" (curvatis claudens ingentem flexibus orbem; II.450; p. 92-

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[237] In Plutarch's telling Alexander is still in Hispania, but there is neither a statue not rip to Gades. Instead Caesar merely reads about Alexander during a break from his quaestorly duties.
[238] Ecce autem clipeum saevo fulgroe micante / Occeani gentes ductori dona ferebant, / Callaicae telluris opus, galeamque coruscis … opibus perfuse Tagi, per singular laetis / lustrat ovans oculis et gaudet origine regni. (II.395-397 & 404-5, p. 88-89)

3), both a representation of the local landscape and the political boundary line whose crossing inaugurated the war. As we saw, the figure of the Ebro returns in Scipio's triumph and its *effigies* of a pacified Iberia. But here the Ebro is only part of a broader landscape that spans the entire Iberian Peninsula from the Pyrenes mountains in the northeast to the Baetis river in the southwest. Hannibal's thin border is thus outdone by Scipio's vast territory. And indeed, in this triumphal representation the only frontiers are the very ends of the earth as marked by Gades and Calpe, boundaries reached in ancient times by Hercules and now by Scipio.[239]

The inclusion of Hercules and Gades likewise channels the very imperial desires we saw on display when the vexed Caesar found himself in Gades staring upon a statue of Alexander the Great. Iberia's westernmost location repeatedly presents itself as a challenge to the ambitious Roman conqueror. That much is perhaps unsurprising, and yet less evident is how Iberia's geography is almost by necessity coupled with history. With Hercules and Alexander, Iberia presents both conquerors with a model to follow, a goal to meet. Both vastly unconquered yet long part of the Roman imaginary, Iberia is at once ripe for new ventures yet always already populated by mythic deeds.

The historical vastness that Iberian triumphs conjure for Plutarch's Caesar and Silius' Scipio is reduced by yet another Hispano-Roman author to the confines of personal experience and history, yet is rendered no less powerful. In his *Pharsalia* about the Civil Wars between Caesar and Pompey, the Cordovan-born poet Lucan, nephew to Seneca, uses triumph to define his very subject matter of civil war, as "wars that held no hope for triumph" (1.14).[240] The prohibition against celebrating a triumph in wars between Romans is indeed attested to through Iberian history. When Sertorius raised an army of Spaniards and Celtiberians against Rome, the victorious generals, so we are told in Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*, knew not exactly how to categorize the conflict, but settled on deeming it a foreign war, rather than civil, so as not to forfeit the celebrating for themselves a triumph.

Among the generals of the Sertorian War was Pompey himself. And if, as Florus recounts, the triumphs that followed were tainted by the cynical self-interestedness of the generals, Pompey certainly harbors no doubts or insecurities over them, and indeed has come to view them as the high point of his life. Toward the end of the *Pharsalia*, as Pompey is coming to terms with his impending defeat to Caesar, he dreams of triumph. And as it was with Plutarch's Caesar and Silius' Scipio, when Lucan's Pompey dreams of triumph, his dreams take both him and us readers to Iberia:

> That night, for Magnus the end of a happy life,
> deceived by his troubled slumbers with an empty image [*vana imagine*]:
> he sees himself seated in the Theater of Pompey

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[239] Of course Gades was also conquered by Carthage, so this upstaging via depicted landmarks and landscape is a product of the poem's visual rhetoric, and not a reflection of historical realities.

[240] Florus comments in his historical *Epitome* (II.x) how the Sertorian War, where a defected Roman general rebelled against Rome with a hybrid army of Celtiberians and other defects, blurred the categories between civil and foreign war, with the practical consequence that a civil war could not be celebrated with a triumph. Thus the victorious generals, which included Pompey, dubbed the war foreign to guarantee their triumphal celebration.

perceives countless shapes of Roman plebs [*effigiem Romanae cernere plebis*]
extolling his name to the stars with ecstatic voices,
roaring sections contending with their applause.
Such was the people's appearance [*populli facies*], such the clamor
of their praise, back in youth, his first days of triumph [*iuvenis primique aetate triumphi*]
after he'd mastered the tribes that the Hiberus [i.e. the Ebro]
rushes around along, along with every army Sertorius,
that fugitive, hurled at him. The West was pacified,
and in a plain white toga – as worthy of veneration
as the chariot with its ornaments – he sat
applauded by the Senate,
(Fox translation; 2010: 7.8-21, p. 179)

The ever-present associations between triumph and theatricality are exploited by Lucan to their full potential. From the very beginning of the dream we see Pompey, or Pompey sees himself, seated in the theater that bears his name, and that was indeed the first permanent theater built within the city of Rome. The theater itself brings about experiences more illusory than real. The images of Pompey's dream are empty (*vana imagine*). The applause he receives is equally insubstantial, delivered not so much by the actual people of Rome but rather by the "appearance of people" (facies populli).[241] The framing of Pompey's triumph as not only theatrical but of a dream-world, has thus allowed Lucan to more greatly exploit the possibilities of triumphal inversion. The dreams of conquest that Iberia provoked for Caesar and Scipio are in Lucan's poetic hands nothing more than dreams. The audience that applauds Pompey is just as illusory as the performance itself, and Pompey is himself both the triumph's ceremonial center yet also a dreaming spectator, both performer and audience. And of course, as Florus reminded us, all such illusions surround a triumph whose very reputation is marred by inauthenticity and self-serving vanity.

### A Tale of Two Cities, a Tale of Two Conquests: Scipio at Numantia and Hannibal at Saguntum

España's address in *Numancia* Act I thus reminds us that every conquest of Iberia sees yet another conquest before and behind it. From the historiographic to the mythological, from Caesar to two Scipios to Hannibal to Hercules, and all those in between and after, every conqueror walks in the footsteps and beneath the shadow of a conqueror before. And such repetition of conquests, moreover, generates its own palimpsest of conquest narratives that spans the classical to the Christian to the Renaissance. As we are likewise seeing, the imagery and discourse of the triumph runs through this span of authors. Despite their divergent context and times, these authors share in the recognition that the triumph, as both the ritual culmination of military conquest and as a system of representations, brings together the discourses of imperialism and image-making.

[241] The *Pharsalia* recounts other moments where Pompey nostalgically recalls his victory over Sertorius (2.578 and 8.998).

But the discursive potential of the triumph also requires that it not be viewed solely in isolation. Having traced the imagery and rhetoric of the triumph from Cervantes' *Numancia* back through the works of various Hispano-Roman authors, we will now examine more closely how early modern Spanish authors imagined the cultures of those who were conquered and those who did the conquering in ancient Iberia. We already saw that the same decade that witnessed the production of Cervantes' *Numancia* was inaugurated by Herrera's *Anotaciones a la poesía de Garcilaso* in 1580. At the other end of this decade, in 1589, the author Lorenzo de Zamora published a work of very similar subject matter and concern. In his epic poem *La Saguntina*, Zamora draws on many influences, both early modern and classical, but the poem expands the content of the first two books of Silius' *Punica* into nineteen cantos.[242]

Like the Spanish humanists of earlier decades, Zamora hails Silius Italicus as an "excelentísimo poeta español" (Rodríguez and Martín edition; 1988: 7) within the prologue of his epic. Less certain, however, is any influence that Cervantes' play might have had on Zamora's epic. And of course, the influence could have run the other way as well, as it is not inconceivable that Zamora had been working on his lengthy epic for a number of years and that it circulated, even if only in portions, in manuscript form before its print publication. A resident of Ocaña near Toledo, Zamora lived not far from Cervantes who at this time was based in Madrid. Zamora's *Saguntina* was, moreover, published in Alcalá de Henares, where Cervantes also published his pastoral novel *La Galatea* in 1585.[243]

Of even greater intrigue is the fact that Zamora's poem took an alternate title of "Primera parta de la historia de Sagunto, Numancia y Cartago" thus advertising the epic as the first within a trilogy that would go on to include two more epic poems about the battles of Numancia and Cartago. (There is no knowledge that Zamora even began writing the sequels, though as we will see he does also refer to them within the poem itself.) Whether or not Cervantes and Zamora traveled in the same literary circles and had any influence on one another, both the proximity in dates as well as the shared qualities of their subject matter renders fruitful the opportunity for comparison. Beyond the historical subject material itself, both Cervantes' *Numancia* and Zamora's *Saguntina* are examples of how early modern Spanish authors narrated the colonization (or colonizations) of Iberia through the aesthetic models and drawing on the discursive concerns laid out by their Hispano-Roman predecessors.

The associated network of images and spectacles that we have uncovered in Silius Italicus (the engraved shield, the temple doors, the triumph) contribute to the understanding of conquest as a visual, even poetic, act. Scipio's arrival in Iberia was itself punctuated by images, his allegorical vision of Virtue vs. Pleasure and the more phantasmagorical dream in which his father instructs him to conquer Cartago Nova. But where Scipio's visual instruction comes from the dream-world, Hannibal's is more of this earth. We can remember how Hannibal came across the Twelve Labors of Hercules depicted on the Temple at Gades. Elsewhere Hannibal comes across painted images of Rome's victory in the First Punic War, which include the depiction of his father paraded as a prisoner in the triumphal procession (VI.653-716, p. 328-35).

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[242] The poem also contains interludes more reminiscent of Ariostan romance than Classical epic.
[243] They were however published by different printers, respectively Juan Iñíguez de Lequerica and Juan Gracián.

Zamora's *Saguntina* does not imitate such ekphrastic moments, but his Hannibal, or Aníbal,[244] is without doubt a visual conqueror. Readers of the *Saguntina* first encounter Aníbal while he is on march through Iberia, where we become privy to the going-ons of his imagination:

> Volviendo con mil triunfos victorioso,
> andaba con cuidado imaginando
> cómo pasar el Ebro caudaloso
> los conciertos de Roma quebrantando. (I.194-8, p. 19)

The processes of conquest are already visually taking place in his mind; Aníbal sees himself crossing the Ebro. And while here "triunfos" refers perhaps to military victories rather than the ceremonial procession themselves (a thousand such ceremonies seems beyond the realm of even hyperbolic fantasy), Zamora's Aniíbal is nonetheless of the same mindset at Cervantes' Cipión and turns over in his mind (volviendo) if not the same event, than at least the very same word that so motivates Cipión before the walls of Numancia.

But even if Aníbal is here thinking more about the act of conquest rather than the ritual celebration, ritual distinctly ties Aníbal to Iberia. We do well to remember that Hannibal's wife Himilce was a native Celtiberian. For Silius, the figure of Himilce served as an opportunity to explore Iberia's pastoral origins; her "sacred line" (sacrata … stirpe; III.100, p. 120-1) is said to trace back to "the time when Bacchus was conquering the Iberians" (tempore quo Bacchus propulos domitabat Hiberos; 101, p. 120-1).[245] By contrast, Zamora using the marriage with Himilce to emphasize the role of ritual when narrating how Aníbal forms military alliances between his Carthaginians and various Celtiberian tribes.

> Aníbal, que esto sólo pretendí
> dió su palabra, fe y consentimiento,
> y así se concerto que cierto día
> se hiciese el desposorio y casamiento.
> Aníbal, por complir su fantasia
> y efectuar mejor su pensamiento,
> quiso que en Castulona se casasen
> a donde grandes fiestas inventasen.
>
> Despachó para el caso mensajeros

[244] I will use 'Aníbal' to refer to the specific character of Zamora's poem instead of Hannibal, just as 'Cipión' when discussing the *Numancia*.

[245] While this is not pastoral account Nebrija references when connecting the town of Lebrija/Nebrissa to the "nebris" (fawn skin) of Bacchus' Maenads, here Silius models his own etymological practices by tying Himilce to the nymph Myrice and her daughter Milichus, even providing the linguistic explanation that "the name of Milichus had suffered a slight corruption in the native speech" (barbarica paulum vitiatio nomina lingua; III.107; p. 120-1). And indeed, in the passage which Nebrija does refer to, Silius is once more positing his own etymological connection, albeit without the explicit explanatory gestures we see here, in a similar connection of names and terms: Bacchus birthplace in Nysa, the nymph Nebrissa, and the 'nebris' fawn skin.

a pueblos y a ciudades diferentes,
convidado soberbios caballeros
con ruegos, con promesas y presents
Mandó llamar gran copia de guerreros,
bizarros, animosos y valientes,
a título que todos se mostrasen
y su valor y fama eternizasen.

En fin que en estas fiestas pretendía
era juntar la gente más granada
de Cádiz y de toda Andalucía
y del illustre reino de Granada. (I.265-84, p. 22-3)

Within the first stanza and lines of the passage, Zamora explicitly returns to Aníbal as a creature of his own imagination. He is driven to "complir su fantasia" and "efectuar … su pensamiento." The wedding festivities he hopes to invent (inventasen) occur in his thoughts before they actually take place, and within such thoughts the festivities become, as we learn at the end of the second stanza, a means of eternalizing his valor and fame (y su valor y fama eternizasen).

Across the three stanzas we likewise get a sense of the festivities. He has chosen the Iberian city of Castulo (quiso en Castulona se casasen) in order to more easily draw the Celtiberian leaders of different towns and peoples (a pueblos y a ciudades diferentes). And by the beginning of the third stanza, it is made clear that Aníbal's aim (En fin … pretendía) is to use such festivities as a means of uniting southern Iberia (Cádiz, Andalucía and Granada). Thus more than even the marriage itself, it is the ritual festivities of the wedding that will forge a Punic-Celtiberian alliance.

Cervantes' Cipión encounters what is in many ways the exact opposite problem, and yet comes to display, as we shall see, a nonetheless similar penchant toward images and ritual. Where Hannibal wants to unite soldiers with festivities and celebration, the Roman legions that Cipión has been recently appointed to command have for too long indulged themselves in merriment. Cipión must thus discipline these idling soldiers whose energies are sapped by the prostitutes that follow their camp.

And just as the two generals encounter contrasting challenges in their conquests of Iberia, so too do their imaginations turn to different visual vocabularies. Where Zamora's Aníbal visualizes his military alliance through fantasies of wedding festivities, Cervantes' Cipión imagines the disciplining of his troops as something like a Roman engineer, in the imagery of architectural design and territorial manipulation:

De esta ciudad los muros son testigos
que aun hoy están cual bien fundada roca
de vuestras perezosas fuerzas vanas,
que sólo el nombre tienen de romanas,(I.77-80, p. 42)

Such imagery of the walls as an observer plays off of a familiar trope of epic that goes back to Homer's *Iliad*, the *teichoskopia* where an observer looks from walled heights down upon the enemy troops. Yet as we see, Cervantes' Cipión has personified the walls themselves and turned

them into witnesses (testigos). Granted such human powers of observation, the walls' proximity renders their testimony reliable, but as walls, their sturdy foundation also serves as a contrast against hollowness (fuerzas vanas) of the Roman troops who have become shadows of their former selves, Roman in name only (sólo el nombre tienen de romanas). Both in their natural structure as walls and figuratively anthropomorphized as spectators, the walls of Numancia indite the Roman legions.

Cipión's walled imagery indeed picks up on earlier comments he made to Jugurta, indeed right after Jugurta first mentions their aims of winning a triumph. Cipión relates how he will handle the troops' lack of discipline by comparing his work as a general to that of a topographic engineer:

> El esfuerzo regido con cordura
> allana al suelo las más altas sierras,
> y la fuerza feroz de loca mano,
> áspero vuelve lo que está más llano; (I.12-16, p. 39)

The metaphor of undisciplined soldiers as rugged terrain taps into broader associations of the Roman mindset. Commenting on the Latin term *informem terris* as interchangeably meaning either "shapeless" or "dismal," the art historian Simon Schama writes that, "For a Roman, the sign of a pleasing landscape was necessarily that which had been formed, upon which man had left his civilizing and fructifying mark" (*Landscape and Memory*: 81). Cipión thus applies the standards of landscape manipulation to his own people; they like the landscape must be formed. Indeed Cipión is quick to describe the soldiers' very bodies as shapeless, thrice in as many lines insulting them for their "flojedad" (1.85-87, p. 42). The pale whiteness of their hands and cheeks (1.69-70, p. 41) likewise casts the soldiers' bodies as something like blank canvases in need of artistic color. And indeed, the opposite of all of this according to Cipión, that which the soldiers should achieve at the end of their training, is "fortaleza" a term that as an adjective conveys strength but as a noun refers to an architectural structure and stronghold, both fortitude and fortress.

But with Cipión's words, Cervantes also navigates a more subtle binary than what we see in Schama. Beyond simply being shaped, Cervantes' Cipión understands that such shaping must be done properly. While "force regulated with good sense" (esfuerzo regido con cordura) can flatten a mountain, the "wild force of a mad hand" (la fuerza feroz de loca mano ) can inversely "turn the flat plane rugged" (áspero vuelve lo que está más llano). Improper modes of engineering are thus just as detrimental as is the very absence of such shaping and civilizing forces.

Through the figurative imagery of walls that witness and soldiers as terrain to be molded, Cervantes reveals how Cipión's military leadership manifests itself through metaphors of land manipulation and architectural construction. Indeed such interplay of architecture with military discipline arises from accounts in Numancia in Classical historiographers. Livy's *Periochae* quickly summarizes Scipio's disciplinary action in an account that builds to imagery of architecture and engineering:

> [Scipio] pruned all accoutrements of pleasure, he expelled 2,000 prostitutes from the camp, he had the troops at work every day, and he compelled them to tote

> seven stakes with grain for thirty days. He said to a man proceeding laboriously because of his load: "you can stop carrying a fortification once you have learned to fortify yourself with your sword," (Book 57, p. 269)[246]

Though the *Periochae* does not figuratively imagine the walls as spectators or witnesses, he does present an interplay between the human and the architectural. Toting stakes day-after-day, Scipio's soldiers take on the trappings of an architectural structure. They must carry fortifications/walls (vallum) in order that they learn how to fortify themselves and become wall-like (vallere) in battle. To elide the *Periochae's* account with Cervantes' accusation that these soldiers are Roman in name only, the process of becoming more constructed and more architectural is in fact a return to being Roman, to the selfhood that these soldiers have lost, who they truly are or at least who they should be.

The primary Greek account of the siege of Numantia, Appian's *Iberike*, also underscores the soldiers' training through toil and pairs it with his own elaborate imagery of architectural construction:

> [Scipio] did not dare to begin the war until he had trained them with many hard tasks. Going round all the plains that were nearest to hand, he erected each day another camps and then demolished it, dug deep ditches and then filled them in, built large walls and then took them down again, he himself overseeing everything from dawn to dusk.[247]

Appian's depiction is that of a nearly Sisyphean task where the labor of constructing fortifications is equally and immediately paired with a labor of undoing such fortifications; camps and walls are built only to be unbuilt, ditches dug to be refilled. Appian moreover characterizes Scipio's aims with the verb γυμνάσαι that is etymologically related to the Greek gymnasium, a place not only of training but also, as we see in several dialogues of Plato, also philosophic conversation. Indeed, the Roman heir to Plato, Cicero would make Scipio Aemilianus the primary mouthpiece of his *Republic*, where the Roman general reminisces about his time in Numantia and in particular the philosophical conversation that took place beneath its very walls (sub ipsis Numantiae moenibus; I.18). Appian's image of training is thus at once most onerous, yet also suggests the possibility of a more theoretical and ruminative process, a duality that brings us back to Cervantes' own treatment.

After his initial likening of troop discipline to the flattening of rugged terrain, Cipión goes on to describe the training not only as military preparation but as ethical self-betterment. Such notions of self-betterment are dually cast as a return to a lost and better state yet also the

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[246] Omnia deliciarum instrumenta recidit, duo milia scortorum a castris eiecit, militem cotidie in opere habuit et XXX dierum frumentum ad septenos uallos ferre cogebat. Aegre propter onus incedenti dicebat: "cum gladio te uallare scieris, uallum ferre desinito"

[247] οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὣς ἐτόλμα πολεμεῖν πρὶν αὐτοὺς γυμνάσαι πόνοις πολλοῖς. τὰ οὖν ἀγχοτάτω πεδία πάντα περιιών, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, ἄλλο μετ᾽ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἤγειρέ τε καὶ καθῄρει, καὶ τάφρους ὤρυσσε βαθυτάτας καὶ ἐνεπίμπλη, τείχη τε μεγάλα ᾠκοδόμει καὶ κατέφερεν, αὐτὸς ἐξ ἠοῦς ἐς ἑσπέραν ἅπαντα ἐφορῶν. (Sec. 86, p. 90-91)

transformation into something new: “Y esto sólo pretendo, esto deseo: / *volver a nuevo* trato nuestra gente” (1.21-22, p. 40 emphasis added). But more than not, it is the rhetoric of becoming something new that wins out, as Cipión makes the following promises to his troops:

> sepan todos / mis nuevas trazas y sus viejos modos (I.31-2, p. 40)
> …
> dar a vuestras costumbres nuevo asiento (I.150, p. 44)
> …
> y del viejo vivir nueva mudanza (I.204, p. 46).

The promise that the soldiers’ will change their manners, customs and even former lives (modos, costumbres, viejo vivir) certainly suggests that Cervantes’ Cipión sees such training as a sort of ethical formation, perhaps not so different than the philosophical activity he himself engaged in beneath Numantia’s walls. Indeed by the end of his address, Cipión promises not just self-betterment and change, but self-actualization through agency over one’s very fate, a promise once more framed in the architectural terminology of fabrication: “Cada cual se fabrica su destino” (I.157, p. 44).

But if such heightened language gives the soldier’s training a philosophical air of ethical self-improvement, it also brings the training closer to ritual. Even back in Appian’s account that presented the idea of the camp as gymnasium, the cyclical building and unbuilding renders the training something like a ritual that is performed over and over again. And indeed after rhetorically exploiting metaphors of architecture and engineering, Cervantes’ Cipión will eventually conform to his historiographic sources and present actual tasks of construction. Indeed, even before laying out the specifics of his architectural plan, Cipión’s early speech hints that such construction is not only metaphoric but material when he vows that the scents of flavorful dinners and of prostitutes’ perfume that pervade the camp will be replaced by the smell of pitch and tar (olor de la pez y de resina; I.138, p. 44). Cipión’s ritual of construction will thus be an anti-festival, and will thus further implicitly distance him from the Aníbal of Zamora’s *Saguntina*.

Though he seems to already have plans of construction in mind, Cipión waits until diplomatic alternatives are exhausted. Yet after refusing to negotiate a peace treaty with two Numantino ambassadors, Cipión immediately presents plans to build siege fortifications. The direct aim of such fortifications is, of course, to drive out the Numantinos from their city, torturing them with hunger: “Pienso de un hondo foso rodeallos, / y por hambre insufrible he de acaballos” (1.319-20, p. 50-1). And yet, as Cipión goes on to describe the project, the construction becomes something of an activity in its own right, indeed a sort of ritual:

> Ejercítense agora vuestras manos
> en romper y a cavar la dura tierra ,
> y cúbranse de polvo los amigos
> que no lo están de sangre de enemigos.
> No quede de este oficio reservado
> ninguno que la tenga preminente,
> trabaje el dicurión como el soldado,
> y no se muestre en esto diferente.

Yo mismo tomaré el hierro pesado,
y romperé la tierra fácilmente.
Haced todos cual yo, veréis que hago
tal obra con que a todos satisfago.
(I.325-336, p. 51)

Cipión's imagery of taking up heavy iron tools and tearing open the earth (romper y a cavar la dura tierra) of course echoes his earlier metaphor of flatting rough terrain. Even the earlier insulted pale complexion of the troops will find its much needed color in that comes not only from work but from friends working alongside one another (cúbranse de polvo los amigos). Cipión's task of construction is a ritual because first and foremost it is a collective activity. Indeed creating further distance between Cervantes' account and those of the classical historiographers for whom digging ditches and building fortifications was a punishment, this Cipión presents a project for the entire camp, irrespective of rank and applying equally to the officer as to the common solider (trabaje el dicurión como el soldado).[248] Cipión himself will even participate, presenting his labor, in this ritual, and act as an example for all to see and imitate (Haced todos cual yo, veréis que hago / tal obra con que a todos satisfago). The task of construction has thus itself changed in nature. Though already carrying intimations of ritual self-improvement, what began as activity for the lax soldier in need of betterment has become a ritual for the entire community and that will thus produce the community. The soldiers will regain their lost Romanness not only by becoming more disciplined, but by becoming part of a Roman community alongside and with their friends and leaders.

**Images and Inversions of Civilization between Numancia and Sagunto**

Cipión's project of using construction and labor to transform his soldiers into a disciplined Roman community will also of course transform Numancia. The city walls invoked by Cipión as witnesses to his camp's original laxity are now to be encircled by another set of siege apparati consisting of ditches and trenches, ramparts and fortifications. The battle has, in a sense, come to be fought not between soldiers but between such structures. In certain regards, this is not exactly a new idea.

[248] A Decurion was an officer of the cavalry, and the term was also used for members of a municipal senate.

City walls had long come to serve as a metonym for the greater people, and even more broadly for their strength as a culture and the security of their place in history. In both Homer and Virgil, the collapse of Troy's walls spells the end of Trojan civilization itself (or at least until Aeneas can revive it).[249] Cervantes' contemporary, El Greco would indeed depict one of the moments leading up the fall of Troy when the Trojan priest Laocoön attempts to warn his countrymen about the likelihood that the Greek's gift of a wooden horse is a trap. As a painter largely known for his religious scenes and portraits of Spanish nobleman, El Greco did not frequently turn to the classical subject matter of Greek and Roman literature or history, so his decision to depict the episode of the Trojan War (told in Book II of the *Aeneid*) is noteworthy. And El Greco's rendition is far from what would be expected, if for no other reason than because he cast in the role of Troy his own hometown of Toledo. The walls of Troy have thus come to include such well-known Toledan landmarks as the Puerta de Bisagra Nueva and the Alcázar. El Greco's artistic decision to substitute Troy for Toledo thus presents a visual analogue to the literary statements we see made by Cervantes' *Numancia* and Zamora's *Saguntina*. Like the drama and poem that preceded it by somewhere between two or three decades, El Greco's *Laocoön* fuses Classical epic with the Spanish landscape, projecting the former onto the latter.[250]

Figure 1. Detail of El Greco's *Laocoön* (c. 1610)

As theater and spectacle, Cervantes' *Numancia* has also presented its audience with an image that connects the city walls the Spanish people. The personified España whose speech we considered at the beginning of our discussion, is described by Cervantes' stage directions as "coronada con unas torres, y trae un castillo en la mano" (p. 52). Perhaps more importantly, however, España's speech also includes descriptions of the Roma siege fortifications that get into

[249] Plutarch's *Life of Lysander* also participates in the metaphor that a city's walls reflect the virtues of its inhabitants.
[250] And yet from another point of view, El Greco's image is something of a betrayal to the very notions of Spanish history that Cervantes and Zamora so wanted to emphasize. Having turned to Virgil and the Trojan War, El Greco has gone outside of Iberia and by doing so implicitly rejects the idea that battles such as Numancia or Sagunto are in any way worthy successors to the epic struggles recounted by Virgil and Homer. Better to bizarrely re-imagine Troy on Spanish soil than waste one's creative efforts on such lesser-known provincial skirmishes.

far greater detail than even Cipión's instructions (which as we discussed focused more on the communal action involved):

> Mas ¡ay! Que el enemigo la ha cercado
> no sólo con las armas contrapuestas
> al flaco muro suyo, mas ha obrado
> con diligencia estraña y manos prestas,
> que un foso por la margen concertado
> rodea la ciudad por llano y cuestas.
> Sólo la parte por do el rió se estiende,
> de este ardid nunca visto se defiende.
> Ansí están encogidos y encerrados
> los tristes numantinos en sus muros;
> ni ellos pueden salir, ni ser entrados,
> y están de los asaltos bien seguros.
> Pero en sólo mirar que están privados
> de ejercitar sus fuertes brazos duros,
> la guerra piden o la muerte a voces,
> con horrendos acentos y feroces.
> (1.401-412, p. 53-4)

From the point of view of España, Cipión's fortifications are different, even unseen, form of warfare. Beyond simply "opposing arms" (armas contrapuestas), the Romans have "constructed with strange diligence" (ha obrado / con diligencia estraña) a trench that circles the entirety of the town, unhindered by either hills or valley (rodea la ciudad por llano y cuestas). It is a trick never seen before (ardid nunca visto), that denies the Numantinos not only the freedom to come and go but also the dignity of a more valorous confrontation, which they are reduced to pleading for from behind their own walls (la guerra piden o la muerte a voces).

Like her Numantinos, España has little option but to plead. But where the Numantinos beseech the Romans for a more conventional mode of warfare, España, as we saw, turns to the landscape itself as embodied in the Duero river

> Y pues sola la parte por do corre
> y toca a la ciudad el ancho Duero,
> En algo al numantino prisionero,
> antes que alguna máquina o gran torre
> en sus aguas se funde, rogar quiero
> el caudaloso y conocido río,
> en lo que puede ayude al pueblo mío.
> (1.417-24)

We might recall that elsewhere in her speech (and indeed just after these lines), Cervantes' España turned to images of a pastoral Iberian landscape when describing her rivers, not only the Duero but the gold-bearing Tajo whose banks are frequented by nymphs. With such imagery in mind, España's description of siege warfare is rendered all the more intrusive. Indeed as we see

above, España's calling on the Duero is precisely enacted because she cannot bring herself to retaliate with buildings of her own, and refuses to retaliate against Roman fortifications with the additional construction of "alguna máquina o gran torre / en sus aguas."

But even without España building additional 'máquinas' and 'torres,' the scene described strikes us as cluttered with multiplicity. Indeed that is exactly how it would be visualized with just a few years of the play's production by the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius who both had an influence on and corresponded with Francisco de Quevedo. Lipsius' *Poliocreticon* (1596) is a volume dedicated exclusively to the discussion of siege warfare, its structures and its machinery, and it includes what is likely the first visual representation of Numancia. Lipsius' image is one of concentricity and multiplication. Working our way from the center outward, we as viewers first come across the walls of Numancia around which runs the surrounding Duero river. Immediately after the Duero come not one but two Roman siege walls, between which are seen various tents and war machines.

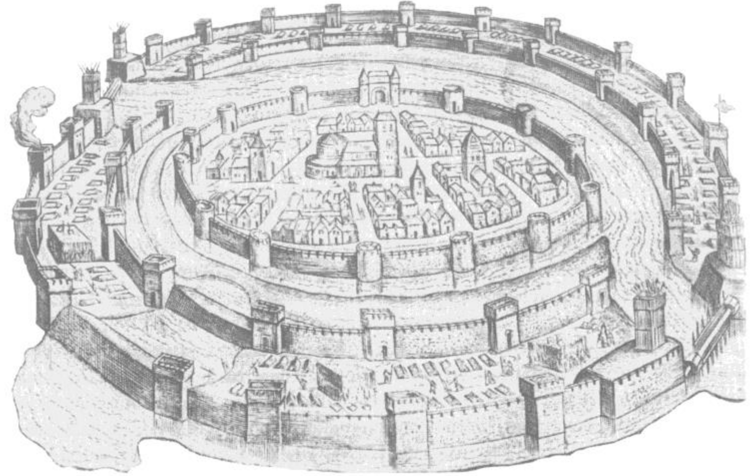

Figure 2. Numantia in Justus Lipsius' *Poliocreticon* (1596).

Without the third outer wall, Lipsius' image would lack the visual emphasis on circularity and concentricity so crucial to its composition. But this third wall is not without its grounding in the classical source material. Though we last saw the Scipio of Appian's *Iberike* unbuilding the very walls he ordered built, he eventually stops the unbuilding and adds wall upon wall.

> Then [Scipio] assigned leaders to each section and instructed them to dig a ditch and construct a fortification round the city. The perimeter of Numantia was twenty-four *stadia*, and that of the fortified wall more that twice that … When he completed all this and had made adequate provisions to repel those attempting to prevent the work, he dug a second ditch not far in front of the first, and fixed stakes in it and built a wall, eight feet thick and ten feet high,[251]

Once more the process of building fortifications around Numantia seems to lack end. Where the earlier account communicated such endlessness through the cyclicality of building and unbuilding, now the perpetual building creates its own sense of endless outward expansion. For both the reader of Appian's account and the viewer of Lipsius' image, there is a nearly a sense

[251] εἶθ᾽ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιστήσας ἑκάστῳ μέρει προσέταξε περιταφρεύειν καὶ περιχαρακοῦν τὴν πόλιν. ἦν δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἡ μὲν αὐτῆς Νομαντίας τέσσαρες καὶ εἴκοσι στάδιοι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ χαρακώματος ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον … ὡς δ᾽ ἐξείργαστο πάντα αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς κωλύοντας εἶχεν ἱκανῶς ἀπομάχεσθαι, ἑτέραν τάφρον ὤρυσσεν οὐ μακρὰν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, καὶ σταυροὺς αὐτῇ περιεπήγνυ, καὶ τεῖχος ᾠκοδόμει, οὗ τὸ μὲν πάχος ἦν πόδες ὀκτώ, (Sec. 90, p. 94-5).

that were the frame to be expanded or the narrative to continue, we would simply encounter more and more walls.[252]

Though we have so far only discussed Orosius for his ventriloquized Hispania in triumphal procession, his own account of the siege of Numantia is just as, if not more, extensive as those found in Appian's *Iberike* and the *Periochae* to Livy. Orosius was likewise fascinated by the levels of signification that arose from multiple and competing walls of Numancia. He offered what can be seen as yet a third image of endlessness:

> [Scipio] surrounded the city itself with a siege, and even enclosed it with a trench whose width was ten feet and whose depth was twenty feet. Then he fortified the rampart itself which had been construct with stakes by means of frequent towers, so that if any sally should be attempted against it by an onrushing enemy, he would then not fight as a besieger with the besieged, but vice versa, as the besieged with the besieger.[253]

Here endlessness is created not through repetition and cycle doing and undoing, or from a sense of infinite concentric expansion, but through a back-and-forth. Turning the besieger into the besieged and the besieged into the besieger, the walls become something of a hall of mirrors in which the onlookers are faced with, and even become, their own inverse.

Orosius' rhetoric of mirroring, reflections and inversions raises broader questions as to what similarities and differences we see on each side of these walls and between the Roman and Numantino peoples. On the one hand, the Numantinos and the Romans do mirror each other in noticeable ways. Numancia is governed by a senate (III.1739), and the Numantinos seem to pray to the same pantheon of deities as the Romans.[254] The latter quality takes on a heightened specificity when both Cipión and the Numantino leader Marandro turn to the gods of Mars and Venus when they speak before their respective communities about the incompatibility of love and military prowess.

And yet, as Armstrong-Roche also shows, the Romans have trouble acknowledging the Numantinos as barely even human, let alone as reflections of their own selves. The dehumanization of the Numantinos reflects certain tensions with the Romans' imperial mindset that simultaneously justified Roman political and cultural domination, yet also saw Roman

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[252] Indeed Appian does goes to describe the construction of an earthwork embankment, one just as high as the wall, constructed when a marsh prevented the erection of a wall. It is not however entirely clear whether this earthwork embankment is a third fortification or only built in an area where the second wall could not be extended: "As it was not possible to build a wall alongside the marsh which lay next to it, [Scipio] set up an earthwork embankment around it, of the same size as the wall in height and depth, to take the place of the wall" (95).

[253] urbem ipsam obsidione conclusit, fossa etiam circumdedit, cuius latitudo pedibus decem, altitudo uiginti fuit. [9] ipsum deinde uallum sudibus praestructum crebris turribus conmuniuit, ut, si qua ab erumpente hoste in eum temptaretur inruptio, iam non quasi obsessor cum obsesso sed uersa uice obsessus cum obsessore pugnaret. (V.7, p. 152).

[254] On the overlapping gods see Armstrong-Roche (211)

culture, politics and law as universally transferable to conquered peoples.[255] Similar questions, moreover, regarding the degree of 'civilization' or 'culture' among the Celtiberian Numantinos would be debated in the ethnographic and historiographic writings of early modern Spanish authors who were also unsure as to how they should think about the Celtiberian tribes who were more removed from, and even inimical to, the classical cultures of Greece and Rome.

In addition to his attack on the Visigothic legacy, we'll remember from our first chapter that in another of his digressions \, Fernando de Herrera wrote of an "antigua quexa" between Rome and its former province of Hispania/España for having not only been sorely mistreated as a province of Rome's but also ignored by Roman authors despite her glorious achievements. Within the complaints Herrera enumerates as part of this "antigua quexa" are the juxtaposed examples of Sagunto and Numancia.

> tendrá perpetua nombre la maravillosa lealtad i constancia de Sagunto i l'afrentosa remisión de Roma. I no se oscurecerá en las nieblas de la ignoranción aquella singular i generosa valentía de los numantinos. Mas ¿qué alabança no será inferior a la gloria de aquella ciudad que, sin muros i sin torres, pequeña en sitio i en número, resistió i contrastó en tantos años a los grandes exércitos de Roma i traxo compelidos a conciertos vergonçosos? No fue vencida Numancia, sino muerta; no rota sino acabada. No pudo el poder romano, vencedor de las naciones, la fortuna i destreza del espunador de Cartago, deshazer a Numancia; el hambre, los fossos, el hierro, el veneno, el fuego i las manos de los numantinos se emplearon en el ministerio de su muerte, sin que bastasse fuerça contraria para presumir esta onra. (901-2)

Though little time is spent on Sagunto compared to Numancia, the contrast is telling. Sagunto is marked by its alliance to Rome, its "maravillosa lealtad i constancia" that was nonetheless answered with shameful disregard (afrentosa remisión) on the part of Rome. Numancia, by contrast, is of course not loyal but inimical to Rome. Indeed some lines earlier Herrera refers to España as a "provnica belicosa i fortíssima" and such virtues, it would seem, are on display in the story of Numancia. But like Cervantes, Herrera also tells the story of Numancia as one where divergent technologies of civilization clash. Though, as we have seen, most classical historiographers and Cervantes himself write of Numantia as a city with walls, Herrera tells of a town "sin muros i sin torres, pequeña en sitio i en número."[256] By contrast, and here echoing Cervantes, Herrera's list of instruments that brought about Numancia's destruction includes alongside "las manos de los Numantinos" Rome's very technologies of construction, its "fossos" and at an even broader level the base material of "hierro."

Scholarship surrounding Numancia has tended to echo Herrera's discussion of virtues and values more than his emphasis on the materials than underlie a culture and its civilizational technologies. Discussions engage with Cipión's siege apparati not as technological and material

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[255] Armstrong-Roche discusses how this contributes to Cipión's disappointment by the plays end, and in doing so provides a helpful comparison between the rhetoric of Cervantes' Romans and the vocabulary of empire in Virgil's *Aeneid*.

[256] His precedent is in Florus who writes of a city "without walls or fortification" (sine muro, sine turribus; I.xxxxiii.18)

structures but as to whether they reflect a general marked by strategic prudence or cowardly cunning. The Numantinos likewise are analyzed according to the competing virtues of bravery and honor vs. rashness and savagery. But such discussions, as even Herrera and Cervantes remind us, should not fail to consider the more anthropological questions surrounding a culture's composition and material daily life.

In terms of our own cultural analysis, our discussion has thus far primarily considered the Romans, their rituals and their technologies. Though we have examined the walls of Numancia we have not examined its population and their activities. We will do so now. But like Herrera we will do so within a comparative context that first looks at Sagunto as depicted by in Zamora's Saguntina.

Just as Cervantes did through both the costume and speech of his personified España, Zamora presents in his poem a poetic cityscape:

> Sagunto fue ciudad antiguamente
> ilustre, populosa, escalrecida,
> con excelencias mil heroicamente
> en la pasada edad ennoblecida.
> En ejercicio bélico excelente,
> de extraños pueblos bárbaros temida;
> los griegos de Zacintio la fundaron
> que acá por mil tormentas aportaron.
>
> Cerca del mar Tirreno tuvo asiento,
> poco más Oriente que Valencia,
> hacia donde con raudo movimiento
> da el Ebro al mar de España la obediencia.
> Reinaba en ella Marte turbulento,
> con arte, disciplina y experiencia,
> porque jugar las armas fue vedad
> al que en letras no fuese aventajado.
> (I. 33-48, p. 10)

In his poetic panorama of Sagunto and its surroundings, Zamora focuses on the character traits of the Saguntinos, which are here rather in keeping with Herrera's account of Iberia as a "provincia belicosa." Zamora describes an "ilustre" people who achieved their reputation "heroicamente." More specifically, the Saguntinos are "en ejercicio bélico excelente" and thus rightly feared by "extraños pueblos bárbaros." The latter is an especially ambiguous construction that leaves the reader wondering whether the "pueblos bábaros" are the surrounding Celtiberian tribes or peoples further away from and outside of Iberia. But regardless of who these bárbaros are, the Saguntinos are nothing like them. After his digressive description of the surrounding bodies of water, Zamora returns to the theme of Saguntine bellicosity. Though he again echoes with Herrera[257] with the declaration that "Reinaba en ella Marte turbulento," there

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[257] Herrera also referred to Iberia as a "Campo de Marte" (901) amid his praise of Numancia and Sagunto.

is nothing exactly turbulent or wild about how the Saguntinos wage war. In battle they demonstrate a trifecta of "arte, disciplina y experiencia" qualities that by the end of the stanza we learn are a result of social prohibitions. The practice of arms and soldiery are limited to those who already demonstrate an excellence in letters and learning: "jugar las armas fue vedado / al que en letras no fuese aventajado."[258]

The stated prohibition against arms for those unskilled in letters is but the first of an elaborate poetic description as to how the cultural practices of Sagunto ensure its greatness. And at the center of such cultural practices are ritual and even the space of the theater. Deviating from anything we learn in Silius Italicus, Zamora imagines a city governed by fifteen "caballeros" or "quinarios" who wield the "gobierno, sceptro y monarquía" with egalitarian ideals, "sin excepción ni diferencia iguales" (I.51-3, p. 11). Though the language of "caballeros" could seem to a connate a sort of feudal aristocracy, Zamora goes on to describe their being elected through a democratic vote, albeit one that does see to last for life. The space of such democratic politics is, moreover, none other than the city's theater: "los del pueblo al teatro concurriendo, / uno por votos públicos nombraban" (1.147-48, p. 16).

Once elected, the new member of Sagunto's council is stripped of his private property and estate so as so as to prevent the corrupt use of public office for personal enrichment.[259] Here too the space of the theater is rendered central to the city's democratic politics. Within the theater, the public vote becomes something of a democratic ritual whose publicized setting within the very theater makes voting a performance of collective civic identity. And with the result of the vote and appointment of a new caballero, the population is likewise witness to what

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[258] Zamora's description of Sagunto recalls the panoramic cityscapes of not only Silius's Saguntum but also Lucan's Ilerda. Reflecting tendencies we have already seen, Silius delves into antiquarian concerns with a layered narrative of a heroic founder and ensuing waves of migration: "The city founded by Hercules, rises on a gentle slope not far from the coast and owes its sacred and famous name to Zacnythus, who is buried there on the lofty hill. For he was on the march back to Thebes in company with Hercules, after the slaying of Greyon … The wound was fatal, and the Greek hero lay dead on Spanish soil. At a later time exiled colonists sailed hither before the wind – sons of Zacynthus, the island surrounded by the Ionian sea … These small beginnings were afterwards strengthened by men of Daunia in search of a habitation" (25). Similarly, Zamora's cityscape presents the ethnographic character of its population within a narrative of migratory foundation (de extraños pueblos bárbaros temida; /los griegos de Zacintio la fundaron).

And yet with the second estrofa, Zamora moves to the natural surroundings, and as such evokes Lucan's idyllic Ilerda: "A modest hill slopes, and at its heights gentle land gives way to mounds of rich soil. Atop this place stands Ilerda, founded long ago by ancient hands. Peacefully passing by are the waters of the Sicoris, not least among Hesperian rivers … From here the land spreads out to open, sweeping plains, limits hard for the eye to comprehend, fields surrounded by the rushing Cinga … bestow[ing] its waters and its title on the river that makes the land great and that gave it its name, the Iberus" (85). Lucan's landscape finds echoes in Zamora's description of the Tyrrhenian Sea and the swift currents (raudo movimiento) of the nearby Ebro.

[259] "la propiedad y hacienda le quitaban, / porque el goloso fin de la avaricia / en él no corrompiese la justicia" (1.150-52, p. 16)

is at once a political ceremony yet also something of a dramatic performance. Stripped of his private wealth, the new caballero dons a public identity that will fundamentally alter how he interacts with his fellow citizens; he has a new the role to play within Saguntina community.

The duties of Sagunto's quince caballeros are themselves frequently concerned with ritual and theater. One subgroup of the fifteen serves as the city's cultural censors enforces a ban on the production of "comedias de amores."[260] A second group is described as guardians of the law (las leyes se guardasen, 1.55) who are involved in public governance (el gobierno público entendía, 1.74). And yet, the only specified duty Zamora recounts is the regulation of rites both religious and funerary. This subgroup of the fifteen watches to ensure that the people pray at the people pray at the Temple of Diana with sufficient fervor and that funerals are carried out with appropriate pomp: "y en mirar el fervor con que la gente / al templo de Diana concurría / y en ver si con la pompa conveniente / cualquiera se enterraba que moría" (1.75-80, p. 12-13).

It is, however, the responsibilities of the third subgroup that Zamora most elaborately recounts. This group oversees the education of Sagunto's children, a matter whose intrinsic futurity prompts Zamora again reflect on the general conditions of the city as a whole.[261] The guiding principals of Sagutine pedagogy look back to the familiar conceit of armas y letras already introduced in the opening image of the cityscape, and is again summed up with the single line that in Sagunto "las armas y letras floreciesen" (I.88). The children of Sagunto receive this dual education through training in war games, in which the they learn "mil ingenios de guerra" (I.91), combined with instruction in the "ciencias" (I.113) which include "ciencias morales" (I.123) as well as the "artes liberales" (I.121) and "puntos cortesanos" (122).

But while such details speak to the content and aims of Saguntine pedagogy, the means by which this education is carried out brings us back to the centrality of theater and ritual in Sagunto. When elaborating upon the children's training through war games, Zamora recounts the following exercise:

> Salían bien compuestos y adornados
> los anchos campos fértiles cubriendo,
> en forma, traza y orden de soldados,
> las armas püeriles esgrimiendo.
> A donde todos juntos ya llegados
> con voces, barahunda y con estruendo
> en bandos igualmente arremtían
> y con furor extraño combatían.
> (I. 97-104, p. 14)

What Zamora describes here takes on the trappings of theater. Not quite soldiers, the children are an imitation of such, dressed up and adorned in the form, appearance and manner of soldiers

[260] Such image of censoring lewd comedies no doubt reflects attitudes and positions common in Zamora's day, perhaps that the poet even held. At the same time, however, they also reflect a historiographic assumption that such forms of theatrical entertainment would have existed in ancient Iberia, at least in its more Romanized cities.
[261] Zamora's detailed breakdown of various guardians, educators and custodians of public virtue certainly channels Plato's system in the Republic of various responsibilities within his ideal city.

"bien compuestos y adornados … en forma, traza y orden de soldados." Their performance is made complete by the arrival of audience, perhaps comprised of their parents, whose cheers urge them on (con voces, barahunda ), and even go so far as to bring out in the children a "furor extraño" as they fight one another. Somewhat paradoxically, the addition of an audience brings the performance closer to the reality of warfare as it provokes emotions that would otherwise require both the peril and the rush of battle.

Yet just as Zamora's imagined pedagogy embraces the artificial trappings of theater so too does it look to the natural world in associations that remind us of the Laus Hispaniae and the later humanist who reimagined Iberia's agricultural fertility as cultural fertility. This performance of warfare makes as its theatrical stage the "anchos campos fértiles" of Sagunto's countryside. The young soldiers-at-play cover these "anchos campos fértiles" in an ordering that imitates not only the formation of an army but also the allotment and planting of agricultural crops. With this visually collapsing of columns of soldiers with rows of crops, Zamora's poetic descriptions suggestions an almost anthropological connection between the development of organized fighting and organized farming. And in keeping with the rhetorical tropes of Zamora's humanist predecessors, the agricultural fertility of the crops also serves as an organic material refection of the intellectual fertility and maturation undergone by the Saguntine youth.[262] Sagunto's fields thus ensure both the biological continuation of the city through the agricultural production of crops and also provide a space for such the pedagogical exercises that likewise ensures the city's cultural and political legacy.

One performance leads to another as the pedagogical exercise would not be complete without the celebration of the very ceremony that began our discussion, the triumph:

> De palma y de laurel los vencedores
> en premio del trofeo coronaban.
> con versos y con públicos loores
> por toda la ciudad los paseaban.
> Los yelmos con mil plumas de colores,
> los vencidos delante los llevaban,
> y en el ancho teatro congregados
> eran los vencedores coronados.
> (1.105-112)

All the hallmarks of the triumph are indeed evident. The celebration involves a procession through the city in which the defeated are paraded before the victors. The victors are crowned with palm and laurel, and are praised through the recitation of poems and paeans. We even see echoes of Lucan and the theatrical setting of Pompey's dream as the Saguntine procession culminates in very same theater where elections are held. The "anchos campos" that hosted the mimetic battles has now given way to the even more explicitly mimetic space of the "ancho teatro" that hosts this triumph for those who emerged victories.

Zamora concludes the imagined ethnography of his Sagunto much in the same way as he began, with a panoramic view:

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[262] Such connection is of course present in the very term "kindergarten" that comes by way of the nineteenth-century German educational principles.

Así por largos tiempos gobernaron
  en tranquila concordia sus estados,
  su ciudad con palacios illustraron,
  con teatros y muros torreardos.
(I.153-56)

The theaters, now pluralized, return as part of the larger symbolic architecture of the cityscape, descriptively placed by Zamora alongside the city's very walls. Indeed while previous epic poets would have tied the lasting success of cities and civilizations to such city walls, we might well wonder if in Zamora's Sagunto that vaunted role more rightly belongs to the theater.

Though Cervantes' Numancia has walls, there is no indication of a theater. But Numancia is unmistakably a place of ritual. Indeed nearly the entire second act that comes on the heels of España's speech and El Duero's prophecy is dedicated to recounting the rituals of Numancia and the Numantinos. Such details and activities surrounding Numantine ritual are unique to Cervantes' account, and if there is any precedent in classical literature, the closest mention would likely be Silius Italicus' Galicians, not those who crafted for Hannibal a golden image-laden shield, but those who appear later, "wise-men who have knowledge concerning the entrails of beasts, the flight of birds, and the lightening of the heavens" (III.344-5). And yet in Cervantes' telling, it is not exactly quite clear how wise these Numantinos are. Time and time again, and for a variety of reasons rarely the same twice, the Numantinos' rituals do not seem to work as they should. Just then as the theater was central to an image of Saguntine success, so does the failure of action in Numancia presage the city's demise, as we shall see when our discussion arrives at this moment.

In Numantine society ritual does not, however, seem to carry the same function as did theater in Sagunto. More than anything Saguntine theater and its attendant rituals were performative acts. The voting for a city leader, the war games of the youth and the ensuing triumphs all reified the community through collective performance. By contrast (though in keeping with Silius' Galicians), Numantine ritual is primarily an activity of hermeneutics and interpretation. From the very beginning of Act II we see the Numantinos as a people largely concerned with interpreting the world around them. Indeed the utterance spoken by a named Numantino, Teógenes, is "Paréceme" in reference to what he detects around him: "tristes signos y contrarios hados" (2.537 & 539). Teógenes sentiments are closely echoed shortly thereafter when the Numantino priests arrive to perform the series of rituals. Even before the rites begin, they speak of what they encountered on the road over, again a semiotic world ripe for their interpretations: "Señales ciertas de Dolores ciertos" and "agüeros tristes" (2.789 & 796). But the priests' attempts to decipher this world also raises the possibility of doubt, as one frames his prognostications with a qualifying "Si acaso yo no soy mal adivino" (2.792).

It is not however the priests themselves who commit the gravest errors of interpretation. The first ritual of reading flames does not exactly go as planned because the fire never really catches, but even this the priests interpret as a sign:

Sacerdote 2º: ¡Desdichada señal, señal notoria
  Que nuestro mal y daño está patenta!
Sacerdote 1º: Aunque lleven romanos la vitoria

de nuestra muerte, en humo ha de tornarse
y en llamas vivas nuestra muerte y gloria.
(I. 820-24)

With our knowledge of the play's conclusion we can appreciate the accuracy of the priests' interpretation. The Roman victory will turn to smoke precisely because Cipión will be denied the triumph he so craves. Indeed when the Romans finally realize their nonetheless disappointing victory, Cipión's lieutenant Mario utters lines that closely echo the priests' interpretation, commenting that "en humo y en viento son tornadas / las ciertas esperanzas de Victoria" (4.2261-62).

The second ritual of interpretation comes somewhat impromptu. A storm and thunderbolt – theatrically represented for the play's audience by a "cohete volador" (p. 69) – draws the priests' attention skyward where their eyes land on a flock of eagles that encircle and attack another group of birds. Once again presaging what we know will come, the priests read the encircling "rodeo" as signifying the Romans' siege apparati, even characterizing the eagles' mode of warfare in terms reminiscent of how Cipión's strategy was described by España, "con astucia y arte las rodean" (2.855).

Everything the priests discern from the first two rituals convinces them that Numancia's fate can only be mitigated by a sacrificing a ram. It is with this ritual sacrifice that the rituals most truly go awry. With one of the priests about to plunge his knife into the ram, a devil appears, snatches the ram and sets of a series of fires that destroy the other ritual objects of the sacrifice.[s] The appearance of the demon is undoubtedly one of the oddest moments of the play. And the play's audience and readers are not the only ones confused; likewise bewildered by the appearance of the demon are the Numantinos themselves. Whatever was behind Cervantes' choosing this particular dramatic device, the dramatic result is that it sows doubt among the Numantinos. The first to doubt are the priests themselves, who come to mistrust the very efficacy of the prayers they cry out and the hymns they sing, wondering whether if the effect they are having amongst the gods is the very opposite of what is intended:

¿Qué prodigios son éstos tan insanos?
No has enternecido ya los llantos
de este pueblo lloroso y afligido,
ni la harpada voz de aquestos cantos.
Antes creo que se han endurecido,
cual se puede infirir de las señales (II.887-94)

Essentially, the lesson the priests has derived from this ritual gone awry is to mistrust other rituals performed by the Numantinos. And from here the doubt surrounding ritual only spirals.

As two Numantinos, Marandro and Leoncio, discuss the ritual performances they have just witnessed, the latter offers an utter rejection of such superstition. For Marandro, it is Leoncio tells his companion Marandro that "he good soldier is not unsettled by omens" (al que es buen soldado / agüeros no le dan pena; II.915) for they are nothing but "vanas aparencias" that

[s] Sale por el güeco del tablado Un Demonio hasta el medio cuerpo, y ha de arrebatar el carnero, y volverse a disparar el fuego, y todos los sacrificios. (p. 71)

run counter to "judgement" (tino; II.918-19). What Leoncio prefers is something more exact, a "ciencia" (II.928). But if Leoncio seems to stand as a voice of rational enlightenment, we soon see that he believes he will find such "ciencia" in simply another and even more macabre set of rituals, in the necromancy of a certain Marquino.

Marquino enters as the embodiment of the occult. He is draped in a large black robe with black hair and a black staff.[263] Some versions of the play moreover have him carrying a book (which would make his book the only one that appears on stage throughout the performance), associating him at the same time with textual wisdom. Marquino in fact refers to his knowledge as the "cuento de mi saber" (II.950-1). But if Marquino is a text and storytelling, he promises a simple narrative void of multiple interpretations or ambiguity. In the ceremony that awakens the corpse, Marquino invokes various pagan deities to grant him not only information of the future but more than anything information that can be easily understood,

> Y pues ha de salir, salga informada
> del fin que ha de tener guerra tan cruda,
> y de esto no me encubra y calle nada,
> ni me deje confuso y con más duda
> la plática de esta alma desdichada,
> de toda ambigüidad libre y desnuda
> tiene de ser. (II.977-83)

Like so many of his fellow Numantinos, Marquino battles not only the Romans but the uncertainty of interpretation as well. He craves to be "informada" and that such information leave him not confused and with more doubt (ni me deje confuso y con más duda) but without any ambiguity (de toda ambigüidad libre y desnuda).

As with the earlier auguries, the corpse does provide information that proves accurate by the play's end. Taking us back to a familiar topic, the corpse attests that the Romans will not earn their "triunfo o gloria" (2.1075). With regard to the Numantinos, the corpse informs them that they will come to an end by "las mismas manos" and an "amigo cuchillo" (2.1071 & 1079). It would certainly be hard to describe such information has free of the ambiguity Marquino requested, especially since the corpse's declaration that the Romans will not leave Numancia victorious (No llevarán romanos la vitoria / de la fuerte Numancia; II.1073-74), rather directly contradicts, and with nearly the same terminology, the priests' reading of the augural flames as ensuring such victory, (lleven romanos la vitroia / de nuestra muerte; II..822-23). And yet, Marquino himself receives the corpse's message with such certainty that he is willing to take what is perhaps the greatest interpretive leap. So sure of the doom foretold by these "tristes signos, signos desdichados," he bets his life on their accuracy and concludes that it is better to throw himself into the very sepulcher from which the corpse was unearthed. If death is assured, Marquino at least wants it on his own terms.

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[263] Marquina had actually made a brief appearance earlier in the act where he himself refers to his "ciencia de poderío" (II.654) and also belabors a vocabulary of reason (Esa razón que muestran tus razones…; II.649). This moment however lacks the descriptive costume details we see later and his ciencia is never specified as necromancy.

But Marquino is largely alone in his certainty. Despite being the one who turned to Marquino and praised his necromancy as a "ciencia," Leoncio wholly dismisses what he has just sean and heard:

> Que todas son ilusiones,
> quimeras y fantasias,
> agüeros y hechicerías,
> diabólicas invenciones.
> No muestres que tienes poca
> cienca en creer desconciertos, (II.1097-1102)

Leoncio's words are among the act's closing lines, and with them the entire series of rituals are likewise dismissed as "ilusiones" and "fantasias." And yet as we have already seen, the problem is less with the rituals themselves and what they prophecy – that by play's end are proven to be accurate – but in the Numantino's ability to interpret and understand what they see. Cervantes has wrapped the act in a something of a dramatic irony where Leoncio's marshalling of reason and science against superstition would seem convincing, but by the play's end proves itself less reliable than the rituals he attacks.

Even the attempted sacrifice of the ram, though not itself a ritual aimed at prophecy and despite its interruption by the mysterious demon, is pregnant with imagery of what is to come. Before the demon's appearance the priest offers a prayer in which he visualizes what a more desired outcome for Numancia would look like:

> Y ansí te baño y ensangriento
> este cuchilo en esta sangre pura,
> con alma limpia y limpio pensamiento,
> ansí la tierra de Numancia dura
> se baña con la sangre de romanos,
> y aun los sirva también de sepoltura (II.879-84)

At the center of the prayer is the image of a blood-soaked earth, bathed specifically in the spilt blood of Roman soldiers. Within the narrative of the play, the image is especially salient as it not only shares in the prophetic rituals' ability to look ahead and imagine Numancia' demise but looks backward as well and echoes moments that the priests themselves would not have been present for.

**Images of Destruction: Bloodshed Between Epic and Tragedy**

The imagery of a bloodstained earth first emerges as part of Cipión's plans for the Romans to collectively construct siege fortifications. Among the reasons he rhetorically outlines, we remember, is the desire for his soldiers to cover their fellow soldiers with the dirt of their labors rather than be covered with the blood of their enemies. But this visual interplay of blood and earth is juxtaposed with yet another that anticipates the imagery of the priest's prayer:

> No quiero yo que sangre de romanos

colore más el suelo de esta tierra;
basta la que han vertido estos hispanos
en tan larga reñida y cruda guerra. (I.321-24)

As Cipión most wants to avoid the coloring of Iberian soil with Roman blood, the Numantino priest's prayer has managed to evoke the very fears of those who stand as enemies to his people and city.

Despite Cipión's strategies to avoid Roman bloodshed, the image of a Iberian soil stained with Roman blood becomes something of a recurring visual trope. At the beginning of Jornada Quarta, a starving Marandro scales the walls to steal bread from the Roman camp. Quinto Fabio recounts to Cipión the ensuing fight and bloodshed, "colorando el duro suelo con la sangre romana" (IV.1769-70).[264] From there the image intensifies. Later in this same act and toward the play's conclusion the image reemerges after Numancia's destruction, and is again recounted through the experiences of Cipión's Romans, this time utterly shocked and frightened. This time it is the Roman Mario who scales the walls in order to comprehend the recently spotted flames and detected cries of the people. When Jugurta asks him to relay what he has seen, Mario recounts the following:

De mirar de sangre
un rojo lago, y de ver mil cuerpos
tendidos por las calles de Numancia
de mil agudas puntas traspasados. (IV.2217-20)

So struck by the image, Mario repeats it some lines later: "Numancia está en un lago convertida / de roja sangre y de mil cuerpos llena" (2276-77). In a manner somewhat evocative of the Romans' earlier rhetoric of landscape manipulation, the spilt blood has not only colored the earth but has transformed it, adding new bodies of water in blood lakes and streets that now resemble rivers of blood.

Yet however shocked Mario and his fellow Romans are, what they see is not of course the fulfillment of the priest's prayer nor even a realization of what their leader Cipión most

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[264] The play jumps to Marandro who describes the bread as something of an inversion of the earth, Roman bread stained with his blood (Pero mi sangre vertida, / y con este pan mezclada; III.1844-45). Along with concluding image of Act III of a Numantino mother suckling her child with a dry and bleeding teat (III.1689-1731) and with Teógenes' gruesome account of his own suicide (IV.2140-2173), the three scenes of Numantino suffering form something of a parallel to the three rituals of Act II. Indeed, and as scholars have discussed, Marandro's eating of the bread evokes the Christian ritual of Communion and the Eucharist. Teógenes likewise describes his suicide as a "sacrificio" (IV.2161).

A full analysis of these scenes of suffering require their own separate discussion, but I will at least say that contra certain interpretations I do not read the evocation of the Eucharist as the insertion of a Christian message into the play, but rather as the secularizing of such religious imagery. As I argue here and most fully elaborate in my conclusion, the image of community that I believe the play imagines is not centered on religious confessionalism but on the power of secular art and culture.

feared. The blood that fills the streets of Numancia is not that of their fellow Romans but of the Numantinos themselves. And yet because the Romans are nonetheless shocked, their reactions reveal that such fears ran deeper, perhaps even in ways they did not entirely comprehend. What they feared was not a bloody image that signified Roman slaughter, but simply the bloody image itself in all its base material reality.

The image of a blood-stained earth is not however void of signifying functions. Far from it. Just as the priest's prayer for a bloodstained earth looks both backward and forward within the play, so too does it go beyond the play and, like the ritual triumph, evokes an image that runs through the works of several Hispano-Roman authors. We likewise remember that in Orosius own inverted image of the triumphal procession, his victim Hispania, began her account by describing a land that "for "two hundred years everywhere watered its fields with its own blood."

Cipíon's desires for triumph in Iberia took us to Lucan's Pompey; conversely, his stated desire to avoid bloodshed on Iberian soil renders him heir to Lucan's Caesar. [265] Indeed it is on the Iberian fields of Ilerda in *Pharsalia* Book 4 where Caesar conducts his own siege, torturing the Ilerdans not with hunger but with thirst, stating aloud to his soldiers, like Cipión, that, "I do not want a war that will cost me any bloodshed" (non ullo constet mihi sanguine bellum; IV.274).[266] Though Caesar more or less achieves the bloodless victory he craved, the episode ends with a bitter irony characteristic of Lucan. The ever-clement Caesar allows the surrendered Ilerdans to return to their homes, while his own 'victorious' troops are condemned to "conquer again and again, drenching everything in blood as they follow Caesar" (Vicnedum totiens; terras fundendus in omnes / Est cruor et Caesar … sequendus; IV.391-2).

Later in the same book, though no longer in Iberia, Lucan likens the Roman Civil War to the mythical Earthborn (Spartoí) of Thebes who grew from dragon teeth sown by Cadmus, yet once born immediately begin to kill one another and fill "many a furrow with their kinsmen's blood" (4.583). As Thebes was the go-to setting for Greek tragedies, it was common for tragedians to offer their own narrative asides about the Spartoí myth. Lucan's evocation of the Spartoí thus becomes a broader political statement about how civil war is itself tragedy. But there is also a poetic dimension to the Spartoí that points to Lucan's engagement with literary genre. Because civil war is a topic perhaps better suited to tragedy than epic – and related we can remember how it earns no triumphs – Lucan's poetry, even if written in hexameters, would have to draw on the conventions tragedy just as much as those of epic. Like the story of the Spartoí the image of a bloodstained earth is itself something of a tragic trope.

Lucan's own uncle, Seneca made the image of bloody bodies of water into a visual hallmark of his drama. [267] In his own *Hercules Furens*, among the portents of things to come are

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[265] In other moments Cipión speaks more broadly of his desire to avoid bloodshed "tener en mayor cuenta / la vitoria que menos ensangrienta … Que cuando la vitoria es granjeada / con la sangre vertida del amigo, / el gusto mengua que causar pudiera / la que sin sangre tal ganada fuera." (III. 1126-27 & 1133-36)

[266] Like Cipíon, Lucan's Caesar builds a trench.

[267] Like so much else we have dealt with in the writings of Hispano-Roman authors, the image of spilt blood as a poetic trope is less an original invention than something reworked and expanded toward greater poetic use. Though blood frequently stains the earth in Homer's *Iliad*, it rarely reaches the poetic scope of becoming a full body of water.[267] But when Homer does turn to the image it is within the rather fitting episode of *Iliad* 21 where Achilles fights the river god

“thickets that bleed crimson” (dumeta rubent; 135). Similarly (and echoing Euripides’ *Heracles*), Seneca’s *Oedipus* recounts the pollution Oedipus brings to Thebes by describing the “Dirce’s stream churning with blood twice over” (bis turbatam sanguine Dircen; 177). Even the more common image of a blood-stained earth finds new spatial possibilities and a wider geographic scope with Seneca’s description of the entire mountain range of the “Caucasus spattered with the blood of Prometheus” (*Medea*, 709).

Seneca’s *Trojan Women* that recounts the aftermath of the Trojan War as experienced by the female captives (a play hailed by Spanish intellectual José Gonzalez de Salas as the perfection of the tragic genre) exploits two variants of the image. Anticipating the Numantino priest before his sacrificial slaughter, the once Trojan queen Hecuba offers a prayer of revenge that imagines blood flowing forth from her son Hector’s tomb to inundate the Greeks: “Let the scars made at your funeral burst, the blood flow and gush in streams” (fluat et multo sanguine manet / quamcumque tuo funere feci / rupta cicatrix; 122-4). And at the play’s end, Hecuba hears from a messenger how her daughter Polyxena has been sacrificed at Achilles’ tomb; the messenger’s describes Hecuba’s prayer in reverse: “the spilled blood did not stay or float on the surface. All at once the earth sucked all her blood and drank it” (non stetit fusus cruor / humoue summa fluxit. obduxit statim / saeuusque totum sanguinem tumulus bibit; 1162-4). The play as a whole is thus bookended with images of blood-red streams flowing either into or out of the tombs of Troy’s heroes.

Undoubtedly the most expansive of Seneca’s bloody images comes in his *Phaedra* where it serves as a visual synonym for the decline of human civilization and advent of war: “Then streaming blood dyed each land and made the ocean read” (hinc terras cruor / infecit omnes fusus et rubuit mar; 551-2). Beyond simply staining one spot of land or reddening a single body of water, the blood of war covers all the earth and its oceans.

Cervantes would not have been alone among Spanish playwrights to inherit Seneca’s image of bloodshed as a topos of the tragic genre. The Aragonese poet Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola (who is praised in *Don Quixote*) begins his play the *Alejandra* (ca. 1583) with an

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Xanthus. Angered by all the Trojan corpses that, tossed in by Achilles, have polluted his waters,[267] Xanthus battles Achilles, including by hurling at him the “foam and blood and corpses” of his waters’ “bloodred crest” (21.372-3; p. 530).

No less bloody are the Greek tragedians who begin to expand the image’s poetic potential. At the center of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* is Clytemnestra’s poisonous red tapestry described as “sea-red” (line 946). The play’s sequel, the *Libation Bearers* frequently juxtaposes the ritual pouring of a libation with the spilling of blood in murder. But while there is frequent imagery for a “nurturing earth [that] has drunk too much blood” (66), such blood never reaches the scale of either a river or a lake. Indeed when the liquids are brought together, it becomes an image of cleansing where the rivers of the earth flow to cleanse bloody hands (70-73).[267] Yet in Sophocles and Euripides we begin to see the image develop. In *Oedipus Tyrannous*, the familiar political image of the ship of state becomes rather that of a swimmer drowning “beneath the tossing waves of blood” (24).[267] In Euripides’ *Heracles* the eponymous hero enters the play angered with Thebes and imagines his punishment acted out against its two rivers: “[I will] fill the entire Ismenus with the carnage of corpses. / And the clear flowing of Dirce will be read with blood” (572-3).

introductory monologue delivered by the figure of Tragedia, described in both the stage directions and her own opening line as wearing "tocas sangrientas" (p. 7). When describing her origins to the audience, she acknowledges the debt she owes to "vuestro celebrado español Seneca" (ibid).[268] The play tells of a conspiratorial usurpation that took place in Ptolemaic Egypt, and its first act concludes with the conspirators describing for the audience the "sangre derramada" (25) of the king they have murdered and moreover taking his royal tunic and turning it into their flag (26).[269] For both Argensola and Cervantes, the image of spilt blood could not only signify the tragic genre but also connect such metatheatrical imagery to the political symbols that so often populate historical drama. Like Argensola's bloody shirt, Cervantes' Numantine lakes of blood carry both aesthetic and political weight.

With such strong footing in tragedy, the image of a blood-stained earth is thus something of a meta-poetic image that could channel notions of the tragic within the literary space of other genres and modes. Just as Lucan did in his *Pharsalia*, later epic poets of Renaissance Spain could also call forth the image of a blood-stained earth to bend their epics toward tragedy. Let us turn back again to Zamora's *Saguntina*.

Like the Numantinos, the citizens of Sagunto opted for mass-suicide over surrender to Carthage (thus the loyalty that Herrera so praised). Amid descriptions of parents killing children and a city burning itself to the ground, Zamora's *Saguntina* evokes the very image of a blood-stained earth, and indeed does so through the visual language of spectacle and seeing. The last moments of the Saguntinos are spent "mirando el suelo colorado" (XIX.263).[270] Moving not only from the classical to the early modern but from the old world to the new, Alonso de Ercilla's *Araucana* – an epic which we have yet to discuss, but which has a long scholarly history of being read alongside the *Numancia* – likewise employs the familiar imagery in its account of the battles between the Spanish conquistadors and the Arauca Amerindians of modern-day Chile. Bloodstained earth becomes something of a visual bookend to Ercilla's epic, appearing early on in Book 3 and again toward the poem's end in Book 32. But Ercilla does not simply repeat the imagery; he finds ways to invert and expand its significance with each articulation. Such differences and development no doubt begin with the changing military contexts.

In the first instance the blood spilt is that of the Spanish soldiers led by Capitán Valdivia: "cubre la roja soagnre todo el prado, / tornándole de verde colorado" (III.30). Blood has not only covered the field but stained it, turning the landscape from green to red. Ercilla is not however done with the image and to the sense of metamorphosis adds the experience of spectatorship. The victorious Araucanos take in the bloody victory with their eyes. Compounding the sensory resonances, Ercilla describes the visual experience as something of a drinking and tasting through the eyes: "el sangriento campo iban rodando, vueltos los ojos ya paladeando" (III.31).

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[268] The play also engages with imagery similar to that we have seen before when Tragedia asks the audience to no longer imagine they are "en la insigne ciuded de Zaragoza, / ribera del antiguo padre Ibero," (56-57)
[269] The play also echoes the *Numancia's* metatheatrical use of "triste" with the specificiation that "el rey … el desdichado, / llevaba esta camisa el triste día" (616-17). Such metatheater continues when the conspirators say the bloody camisa "será el guión en cualquier parte" (636).
[270] The act of seeing the blood red earth is coupled with the Saguntinos looking upon themselves covered in red blood: "viéndose en tal punto, desespera / tinto" (XIX.262).

When Ercilla employs the imagery of blood-red earth to describe a later battle, the Spanish are the victors, though the blood itself is not necessarily specified as exclusively Spanish or Arauco and seems to more generally embody the extreme carnage of what has occurred:

> La mucha sangre derramada ha sido
> (si mi juicio y parecer no yerra)
> la que todo en todo ha destruido
> el esperado fruto desta tierra
> pues con modo inhumano excedido
> de las leyes y términos de guerra,
> haciendo en las entradas y conquistas
> crueldades inormes nunca vistas. (XXXII.4)

Underscoring the scholarly attention that the passage received, David Quint comments on its having been "rightly identified as a high moral moment in the epic" which goes so far as to question the very "ideological justification" of Spanish conquest (*Epic and Empire*, p. 176). Perhaps. But comparing the two scenes of the bloodstained battlefield also allows us to see the extent to which Ercilla has taken his inversions. The poet's high-minded reflection about the nature and justice of warfare also emphasizes his differences to the Araucanos who had earlier drank with their eyes the bloodshed of a similar scene. Ercilla, by contrast, uses not his eyes but his "juicio" to process the spectacle.

Ercilla's "juicio" prompts speculation (as he himself admits, he might "be wrong" (yerra) that such covering of the earth with blood has rendered it infertile and destroyed its "esperado fruto." As we have seen in both this chapter and others, concerns about fertile land are part of a longstanding place tradition within the literature of Iberia that goes back to the Laus Hispaniae. The very terms by which Ercilla comprehends the brutality of warfare connects his meditation on a bloodstained earth to this tradition and in doing so juxtaposes the Roman colonization of Iberia to the Spanish colonization of the New World. Whereas Roman conquest preserved, and perhaps even fostered (in Roman eyes at least), Hispania's fertility, Ercilla wonders whether the extreme violence of the Spanish conquest will render the exact opposite, a land no longer able to produce such fruits. Further elucidating such contrasts in the imagining of Roman vs. Spanish colonization, is Zamora's *Saguntina* that etymologically explains the city's modern name of Monverde (also Morvedre or Murviedro) in the growth of "verde manto" that covered the "pedazos de muralla y torreones" left undisturbed to human interference after Hannibal's destructive siege (I.161-68).

Not far from such rhetoric of agricultural fertility is the association of artistic and poetic fertility. The Hispano-Roman Prudentius of Christian Late Antiquity, as we saw in the first chapter, turns the imagery of a blood-stained soil into one of writing, when he describes the land of Iberia (terra Hibera) as earth upon which God "has recorded the [deeds of Christian martyrs] in letters of blood" (sanguinis notis eadem scripta terries tradididt; *Crown of Martyrs* 1.3-4). Ercilla goes in the opposite direction. In yet another image of battle where "la sangre, que en arroyas ya corría / por las abiertas grietas de la sierra" Ercilla concedes that, "el entendimiento y pluma mía / anque usada al destrozo de la guerra, / huye del gran estragon" (26.8). Just as the visual shock of a field of blood contravened the laws and norms of warfare, so too do they surpass the capacities of poetry.

Between Prudentius' letters of blood and Ercilla's immobilized pen, is Zamora. As with the image of fertility after massacre, Zamora operates within a similar constellation of images as Ercilla, but imagines less pessimistic alternatives. Amid his poem's depiction of Sagunto's final hours and their own mass suicide, Zamora engages in the faniliar epic trope of re-invoking the Muses. But where such re-invocations typically reify a poem's commitment to the epic genre, Zamora uses this final invocation to turn course and embrace tragic modes of expression:

> Tórnose ya mi historia en triste llanto,
> mi ronco verso en áspero lamento,
> tristeza es la memoria de mi canto
> …
>
> Dadme, ninfas del Tajo, nuevo aliento,
> nuevo caudal y espíritu a mi canto,
> con discordantes y áspero concento,
> hermanas de Faetón tornad al llanto.
> Llora, fértil España, el detrimento,
> mientras de tus hermosas hijas canto
> el término, remate y la ruïna
> q[ue] co[m]pasión el mismo ince[n]dio inclina.
> (19. 225-27 &241-48)

Zamora's poetic invocation and turn to the "triste llanto" and "áspero lamento" of tragedy anticipates his description of a blood-red earth by only a few stanzas, thus channeling the generic associations we saw run through Seneca and other tragedians. And as with the image of blood, here too there is strong grounding in the land and the earth. Zamora's "triste llanto" is a reflection of the fertile soil, the "fértil España" that itself weeps among such horror and destruction. Like Ercilla's "entendimiento y pluma," Zamora's poetic capacities are overwhelmed, made hoarse (ronco) by the task of having to recount such horrors. But aid is also found in the divinities of the land; the "ninfas del Tajo" will become his Muses and renew his "caudal y espíritu."

But what of Numancia? Will the lake of blood it became lead to the fertility of Zamora's Sagunto or to the barren fields of Ercilla's *Araucana*? Will Cervantes' pen fall like that of Ercilla or will he find new capacities for expression like Zamora? The possibility that Cervantes' play would follow in the poetic message of Ercilla's epic presents a somewhat related set of questions: Did Cervantes see the Roman conquest of Numancia akin to the Spanish conquest of the New World? Like Ercilla's meditation, were Cervantes' conquering Romans depicted so as to provoke self-reflection on the part of the play's audience regarding their nation's militaristic imperialism?

Such questions and the echoes that exist between Cervantes' play and Ercilla's epic prompted scholars to see the Numancia as an anti-colonial or counter-imperial artistic

statement.[271] To complete the parallel, the audience would not only see their compatriot conquistadors in Cipión and his conquering Roman soldiers but also identify the dramatic representation of their ancestral Celtiberians with the indigenous of Americas. Though such anti-colonial readings arrive at something of a contrary ideological conclusion, they certainly share something with scholarly interpretations I mentioned at the beginning of my discussion where the play's portrayal of the defeated yet ostensibly valorous Numantinos is understood to be something akin to "Celtiberian nationalism." According to both strains of interpretation, the play's aesthetic power is realized when the audience identifies and empathizes with the Celtiberian Numantinos.

The notion of empathy and processes of empathizing are also central to the interpretive conclusion that we have now arrived at through our examination of the play's meta-aesthetic engagement with visual, ritual and theatrical experiences. And indeed Cervantes' play approaches empathy as a meta-poetic category. Our concern is thus not the inferred emotions and empathy of the play's actual or idealized viewers but rather the processes of empathizing that we see internally dramatized within the play itself. Though this distinction might at first seem slight or even insignificant, I will conclude my discussion by illustrating how the internal dramatization of empathy uniquely builds on the complex network of literary and historiographic tradition we have explored.

When we last saw Cipión he was confronted with an image that combined the realization of his worst fears as well as the destruction of his highest hopes: covered in rivers of blood, the destroyed Numancia would unlikely render him a triumph. Yet in their onlooking, the Romans eventually detect a survivor, a young boy who had hidden himself away, and this detection perversely serves to rekindle their desire for triumph:

> JUGURTA: Todos son muertos ya, solo uno creo
> que queda vivo, para el triunfo darte,
> …
> CIPIÓN: Si eso fuese verdad, eso bastaba
> para triunfar en Roma de Numancia,
> que es lo que más agora deseaba.
> (IV.2322-23 & 2326-39)

Such hopes are, however, short lived for whatever youthful hesitance delayed the young Bariato from partaking in his city's collective suicide is soon overcome. And like so many of his fellow citizens, Bariato is compelled to suicide by that thought that to live is to provide Rome with the necessary ingredients of a triumph; among his dying words is this declaration that "que no triunfen pérfidos romanos" (IV.2385-87).

With the fleeting reemergence and resolute suicide of one last Numantino survivor in Bariato, we see a replay in miniature of the emotional upheaval that has characterized Cipión since the play's beginning: the fantasy of triumph gives way to ensuing disappointment. But Cipión's emotional journey is not over. Though he will not leave Numancia with a triumph won,

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[271] For analyses on connections between Cervantes and Ercilla, see Emilie Bergmann's "The Epic Vision of Cervantes' 'Numancia'" (1984) and Barbara Simerka's *Discourses of Empire: Counter-Epic Literature in Early Modern Spain* (2003).

he does not leave as he came.  Here too Cipión shares in the company of others who sought to conquer Iberia.  Having provoked and witnessed a similar mass suicide, Silius Italicus' Hannibal leaves Iberia "haunted in his sleep by the ghosts of Saguntum" (saepe Saguntinis somnos exterritus umbris]; II.704)."

That Hannibal would leave Saguntum so affected would not have surprised another Hispano-Roman writer of Classical Antiquity.  For the rhetorician Quintilian, a military siege and the destruction of a city was among the most powerful sights one could experience, and was indeed used to illustrate what is, and was in the Renaissance, perhaps his best-known concept, enargeia.  Quintilian is of course approaching the topic as a rhetorician, so his concept of enargeia involves not actually experiencing a siege but how a siege would be recounted and received through description.  And what he describes is remarkably familiar to various accounts we have come across:

> there will come into view flames racing through houses and temples, the crash of falling roofs, the single sound made up of many cries, the blind flight of some, others clinging to their dear ones in a last embrace; shrieks of children and women, the old men whom an unkind fate has allowed to live to see this day; then will come the pillage of property, secular and sacred, the frenzied activity of plunderers carrying off booty and going back for more, thee prisoners driven in chains before their captors, the mother who tries to keep her child with her, and the victors fighting one another wherever the spoils are richer. (8.3; p. 379)[272]

Like the passage from Orosius where Hispania speaks of the miseries its suffered, Quintilian's rhetorical description reads almost as a summary of what Cervantes depicted in his play, from the "flames racing through the houses," the "shrieks of children" and "the mother who tries to keep her child with her."  Though not part of Cervantes' drama, the inclusion of "three prisoners driven in chains before their captors" was no doubt part of how Cipión had imaged and hoped the events would turn out.

Quintilian's rhetorical description is yet another image of siege warfare and urban destruction that stands within the Hispano-Roman literary tradition behind Cervantes' *Numancia*. Indeed, by turning to siege imagery to illustrate enargeia, Quintilian has illustrated that the generic importance of the siege for epic and tragedy could extend as well to the discipline and genre of rhetoric.  Yet there is also a distinctly theatrical, and even tragic, element about the concepts Quintilian aims to elucidate through his siege imagery.  Somewhat earlier, in Book 6 of his *Orator's Education*, Quintilian discusses the Greek terms Pathos and Ethos, which he admits don't translate perfectly into Latin.  Ethos, Quintilian proposes, has a certain relationship to the Latin 'mores,' and connotes something about one's permanent character or mental attitude. Pathos, by contrast, has more to do with one's "emotional state (adfectus)," and is "more like

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[272] apparebunt effusae per domus ac templa flammae et ruentium tectorum fragor et ex diversis clamoribus unus quidam sonus, aliorum fuga incerta, alii extremo complexu suorum cohaerentes et infantium feminarumque ploratus et male usque in illum diem servati fato senes: LXIX. tum illa profanorum sacrorumque direptio, efferentium praedas repetentiumque discursus, et acti ante suum quisque praedonem catenati, et conata retinere infantem suum mater, et sicubi maius lucrum est pugna inter victores.

tragedy (tragoediae magis simile)" as it has to do with "anger, hatred, fear, envy and pity (iram odium metum invidiam miserationem)." Of those five emotions, pity and fear likewise remind us of the emotional responses Aristotle famously attributes to tragedy in his *Poetics*. And it is pity (miseratio) that Quintilian likewise sees as most explicitly channeled by the siege account (8.3; p. 378).

The bridge between this discussion of tragic pathos and that of enargeia through the described siege comes in the form of a theory of images and imagination. To create "the impression of reality," Quintilian argues that it is necessary to engage in process of empathetic imagining of "assimilating to the emotions of those who really suffer":

> when pity is needed, let us believe that the ills of which we are to complain have happened to us, and persuade our hearts of this. Let us identify with the persons of whose grievous, undeserved, and lamentable misfortunes we complain … we play the part of an orphan, a shipwrecked man, or someone in jeopardy: what is the point of taking on these roles if we do not also assume the emotions? (6.2; p. 62-3)[273]

Quintilian is specifically suggesting techniques for oration, but clearly the theater is not far behind. He writes of "playing a part" (agimus) and of "roles" or characters (personas). But while the theater might inform such discussion, there is nothing feigned or inauthentic about the emotions themselves; as he writes, "the images of absent things are presented to the mind in such a way that we seem actually to see them with our eyes and have them physically present to us … Emotions will ensue just as if we were present at the event itself" (6.2; p. 61). In a moment that reminds us of Hannibal's nightmares of the ghosts Saguntum, Quintilian even likens this emotional reality to "being disturbed during sleep" as such is an experience of "not thinking but doing" (ibid). And when he returns to the topic several books later, in a discussion that separates out the difference between real and imitated emotions, Quintilian writes that being "genuinely affected" comes through a process of "forming the image of a situation and letting oneself be moved as if it were real" (11.3; p. 116).

Quintilian's concept of enargeia is thus intimately connected to tragedy as a theatrical genre, to pathos as the primary emotion this genre elicits, and to the authenticity of such emotional experience as it arises through a rhetorical or aesthetic performance. And beyond its broader connections to tragedy, Quintilian's most sustained example of enargia in the account of military siege and a city's destruction takes us closer yet to our own specific tragedy of *La Numancia*.

In Cipión and his fellow Romans we witness the emotional process very much in line with what Quintilian proposed would happen when experiencing such a scene. And indeed, the psychological experience we see unfold among Cipión and his Romans intersects with the play's very embrace of meta-theatrical language and the genre of tragedy. Just as Zamora characterizes his poetic depiction of Sagunto's end as a "triste llanto," so does Cervantes conclude his play

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[273] Ubi vero miseratione opus erit, nobis ea de quibus queremur accidisse credamus, atque id animo nostro persuadeamus. Nos illi simus quos gravia indigna tristia passos queremur … orbum agimus et naufragam et periclitantem, quorum induere personas quid attinet nisi adfectus adsumimus?

with several characters describing city's destruction as a "triste espectáculo." Such language of a sad or even tragic spectacle first begins among the Numantinos; one an anonymous citizen looks about the pile of possessions they are about to burn and offers the following instructions to both his companions and the play's audience:

> Vuelve al triste espectáculo la vista,
> verás con cuánta priesa y cuánta gana
> toda Numancia en numerosa lista,
> aguija a sustentar la llama insana,
> (3.1664-67)

The meta-theatrical language of a "triste espectáculo" advertises the sense that what is occurring is theater within theater. The pyre the Numantinos are building has itself become a stage to look upon. Even the words that heighten the anonymous Numantino's account, the "cuánta priesa y cuánta gana," could refer to the urgency with which the Numantinos are building this pyre, this stage, or to how the spectator will inevitably look on the horrific scene.

The play's meta-theatrical language of tragedy and spectacle re-emerges and intensifies among the Romans, indeed within the very same concluding scene were Cipión seeks but is denied one last possibility of a triumph. The scene begins with Cipión sending Mario over the walls to inspect and return with a full report of the destruction:

> CIPIÓN: Si no me engaña el pensamiento mío,
> o salen mentirosas las señales
> que habéis visto en Numancia
> …
> MARIO: Presto podrás salir de aquesa duda,
> Porque, si tú lo quieres, yo me ofrezco
> de subir sobre el muro, aunque me ponga
> al riguroso trance que se ofrece,
> sólo por ver aquello que en Numancia
> hacen nuestros soberbios enemigos.
> CIPIÓN: Arrima, pues, ¡oh Mario! alguna escala
> a la muralla
> (4.2184-86 & 2196-2203)

Though a mission of reconnaissance, the begins with language that echoes the Numantinos' hermeneutic doubt surrounding ritual. Cipión has detected "señales" that may or may not be "mentirosas" depending on whether he can trust his mind ("si no me engaña el pensamiento"). At the same time the scene also recalls the importance of the wall that in this context has become an obstacle to their very ability to understand.

As the exchange between the Roman soldiers continues, it comes to include one of Mario's descriptions of Numancia as a lake of red blood, which we can now consider in its full context:

> JUGURTA: ¿De qué te admiras?

MARIO: De mirar de sangre
un rojo lago, y de ver mil cuerpos
tendidos por las calles de Numancia
de mil agudas puntas traspasados.
CIPIÓN: ¡Qué! ¿No hay ninguno vivo?
MARIO: Ni por pienso:
a lo menos, ninguno se me ofrece
en toda cuanto alcanzo la vista.
CIPIÓN: Salta, pues, dentro, y mira, por tu vida.
Síguele tú también, Jugurta amigo;
JUGURTA: ¡O cuán triste espectáculo y horrendo
se me ofrece a la vista! ¡O caso estraño!
Caliente sangre baña todo el suelo,
cuerpos muertos ocupan plaza y calles.
Dentro quiero saltar y verlo todo.

To Jugurta and Cipión's questions about what he sees (¿De qué te admiras?), Mario reports back what a visual description whose rhetorical power places it alongside Quintilian's enargeia-filled account of a siege. Combined with Jugurta's imagery, moreover, weds the recurrent imagery of bloodshed (Caliente sangre baña todo el suelo) with the now recurrent language of spectacle.

Where Cipión seeks a triumph, Mario and Jugurta find tragedy.[274] Repeating the same terminology of the Numantino citizen from the previous act, the Roman Jugurta refers to a "cuán triste espectáculo y horrendo" that has been presented for his viewing (vista).[275] And where Cipión instrumentalizes his companions' sight in hopes of finding a survivor for his triumph, Jugurta is simply drawn by a curiosity to see, to "saltar y verlo todo." Jugurta and Mario's exchange turns the final devastation of Numancia into a theatrical and even aesthetic experience.

With the play's end, such meta-tragic registers are now part of a much larger dramatization of aesthetic experience in all its psychological complexity. Simultaneously horrified yet captivated, Jugurta enacts the mysterious allure of tragic spectacle and spectatorship. Cipión, on the other hand, reflects processes of emotional engagement and transformation far closer to what Quintilian discusses. With the suicide of Bariato, Cipión has been forced to re-live the denial of his triumph all over again, knowing that the victory celebration has vanished before his eyes, "en humo y en viento son tornadas" (IV.2261). Yet both of these acts of self-sacrifice, and perhaps especially that of the young Bariato, produce their effects on Cipión and his fellow Romans. Amid his report of mass destruction and lakes of blood, Mario is so moved as to acknowledge the glory of the city's ending: "El lamentable fin y triste history / de la ciudad invicta de Numancia / merece ser eternal en la memoria" (IV.2264-66). His words illustrate that he cannot be but moved by both the heroism and the devastation of his enemies. After Bariato's suicide, Cipión goes further yet:

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[274] We remember that when Cipión asks about their not seeing "ninguno vivo" it is out of the fear that his triumph has been taken from him, which he confirms some lines later: "Con uno sol que quedase vivo / no se me negaría el triunfo en Roma" (IV.2244-45).
[275] In that both constructions use 'vista', the are rendered near echoes of one another.

CIPIÓN: ¡Oh nunca vi tan memorable hazaña,
niño de anciano y valeroso pecho,
que no sólo a Numancia, mas a España
has adquirido gloria en este hecho!
Con tu viva virtud y heroica, estraña,
queda muerto y perdido mi derecho.
Tú con esta caída levantaste
tu fama, y mis vitoria derribaste.
Que fuera aun viva y en su ser Numancia,
sólo porque vivieras, me holgara.
Tú sólo me has llevado la ganancia
de esta larga contienda, ilustre y rara.
Lleva, pues, niño, lleva la ganancia
y la gloria que el cielo te preapara,
por haber, derribándote, vencido
al que, subiendo, queda más caído.
(4.2401-2416)

Cipión's words are the last spoken by a human character in the play, followed only by the final delivery of yet another allegorical figure, Fama. But Fama's words are very much a repetition of Cipión's sentiments, and even his circumstances. Though Fama begins by framing her speech as one universally aimed at many peoples – "de gente en gente" (IV.2417) – she also has a specific message for the Romans. She instructs them to take the young Bariato's corpse with them, essentially inverting the triumphal procession's very requirement of having a live captive. Indeed, Fama praises Bariato for having at "tan pequeña edad" taken from the Romans the triumph that would have brought them so much ("arrebataros el triunfo que pudiera tanto honraros," IV.2423-4).

Eric Graf has proposed a Christological reading of this final scene of *La Numancia*, underscoring the typological parallels between the young Bariato and Jesus Christ, both brought to death by in their youth by the violence of Roman aggression. Such parallels are indeed intriguing, but as much, if not more, for their differences as their similarities. While the scene might mimic Christian conversion, its ultimate concerns are neither religious nor spiritual. What Cipión witnesses (nunca vi tan memorable hazaña), moves him to sing the praises of the Numantinos as a people worth of glory and fame. Rather than Christian virtues, these are these are the very classical values that Cipión himself pursued and hoped would materialize with a culminating military triumph. Fama, herself a figure of pagan allegory, goes on to echo Cipión's sentiments, stating the need to "publicar con lengua verdadera ... el valor de Numancia … valor tanto, / digno de en prosa y verso celebrarse" (2429 & 2445-46). Such sentiments indeed take us back to Fernandro Herrera's *Anotaciones*, where, after his praising of Sagunto and Numancia – and after the cities, other figures that include Viriato[276] and the Hispano-Roman emperors Trajan and Theodosius – he concludes that "no faltaran a España en algún tiempo varones eroicos … ¡Faltaron escritores cuertos i sabios que los dedicassen con immortal estilo a la eternidad de la

[276] Cervantes' Bariato seems meant to evoke the historical Viriato and rebel against Rome whom we encountered in some of our verse historiographies from the third chapter.

memoria!" (940). The praises of Cipión and his fellow Romans will thus overturn the city's tragic and begin to give Spain the fame it deserves. Though the city's having converted it a lake of blood was for Mario a "triste remate al largo cuento" (IV.2275), Fama states, with the play's closing lines, that by singing the praises of the city, there will be a "feliz remate a nuestra historia" (IV.2448).

Fama'a aim of spreading the glory of Numancia echoes the very sentiments of Cipión's concluding speech. He spoke of its "memorable hazaña," its "valeroso pecho," "gloria," virtud y heroic, estraña," etc. etc. Such shared feelings toward Numancia render Cipión something akin to Fama's agent. If Fama's hopes of celebrating Numancia for "mil siglos" (IV.2444) are to be realized, they will indeed begin with the reports of those who witnessed first-hand Numancia's end. Indeed, Numancia's glory depends on words of Cipión and his fellow Romans, and we can see Cipión's closing speech as the first of such Roman songs that sing the praises of Numancia. But such singing itself required a transformation on the part of Cipión and his Roman companions, and transformation is what we indeed witnessed.

Like the orators and audience Quintilian describes, Cervantes' Romans are moved and even transformed by what they have seen. And while the sorts of religious parallels that Graf proposes are useful to a point, ultimately the Romans' transformation is closer to an aesthetic experience. The "triste espectáculo" of mass suicide, a city in conflagration, and streets turned to rivers of blood, has produced the very emotional change that Quintilian attributes to enargeia. In many ways, we can see the characters' emotional transformation paralleling the play's own generic shift from epic to tragedy. Obsessions with military victory and triumph are transformed into feelings of pathos and pity for the defeated and dead enemy. And yet by being so moved to sing Numancia's glory, the Romans likewise guarantee an epic conclusion for the destroyed city. In this they give their enemies the very triumph that this enemy so denied them.

But Numancia's glory is not of course manifested in a triumphal procession. Fama speaks of singing (justo título cantarse) and of "prosa y verso." And there is also the play itself. In addition to providing an aesthetic framework for their emotional experience and transformation, the metatheatrical vocabulary employed by the Romans collapses their situation with that of play's audience. Indeed, with the play's final scene the audience's account of Numancia is wholly filtered through the experiences and words of the Romans. In this too the characters share in the qualities of Quintilian's orator. Having been emotionally transformed they go on to move others with their rhetoric, planting in the minds of their listeners the images of things that are to them absent. Through such pathos and pity, the play's audience can further identify with the Numantinos, but at another level they must identify with the transformed Romans as sharing in this same experience, at once emotional and aesthetic, of tragic empathizing.

Cervantes' play, has until this point, enacted the limitations and failures of ritual. The various oracular rites of the Numantinos were either interrupted or misinterpreted. Cipión's much sought for triumph never came to be. If the ritualistic discipline that Cipión imposed on his Roman soldiers through the building of fortifications led to anything it was a glorious end not for the Romans but for the Numantinos. In scaling the wall, the Romans were also raising a curtain that revealed to them the spectacle of Numancia, and though they did not realize, this commenced their emotional transformation. Just then as *Don Quixote* is a book about the power of books, so is *La Numancia* theater about the power of theater. But if *Don Quixote* is the story of a man driven further into isolation through the mania of reading, only to slowly contaminate

those around him with his fiction-fueled idealism, theater in *La Numancia* is from beginning to end a communal activity, and in particular an activity of building community through art. In this sense, theater comes to displace the failed rituals enacted throughout the play on both sides of the conflict. And just as important, the theater that concludes *La Numancia* transcends the cultural specificity of those earlier rituals. Indeed the very point of this theater is that it forms emotional bonds between sides previously divided by antagonism. Like the cultural and political divisions, the "antigua diferencia," that such walls embody, the walls of Numancia are themselves eventually breached, not by military force but by the emotional bonds created through spectatorship and the witnessing of tragic suffering in another. Though one community is lost, another takes its place. Though not Numantino, this new community is not exactly Roman either. While certain values might persist, its rituals are different. Or more aptly put, they aren't rituals any longer but new cultural forms around which communities grow. Though he did not know it at the time, when Cipión instructed his soldiers to build a wall, what they were actually building was a theater.

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