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“LAS NAVES DE LA CONQUISTA”: WOMAN AND THE FATHERLAND IN *EL BURLADOR DE SEVILLA*

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In one of those intervals that to a modern audience would seem unduly wordy, the fathers of Don Juan and Doña Ana, Don Pedro and Don Gonzalo, exchange some thoughts. Other than providing a commentary on the development of the action, this interval was probably used by the rest of the cast to prepare for the next scenes. Such apparently uneventful conversation includes Don Gonzalo's lengthy expatiation on the virtues of Lisbon. Don Gonzalo describes this city, then one of Europe's major ports, in a propagandistic and grandiose manner. Among its landmarks, Don Gonzalo foregrounds “las naves de la conquista,” at once signalling Portugal's openness to the Atlantic world and the wealth those ships brought back from their arduous travels. Since Portugal was, at the time the play was written and performed, part of the Spanish kingdom, this commentary, as Robert Ter Horst has explained, offered at once an invidious and a flattering view of Spain and its domains.¹

In this segment Don Gonzalo suggests that the “naves” provide a point of entry to the city and give it the character of an Atlantic, trading, colonizing, and worldly harbor. These are precisely the features that are most prominently represented in the bird's-eye view of the town that was included in the famous collection gathered by Georg Braun and Francis Hogenberg, the *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572-1618) (Fig. 1). As in Braun and Hogenberg's view, the presentation of the city in this passage

exemplifies not only the relationship between urban development and the exploration of the seas but also the feminization inherent in notions of urbanism and civility. The study of these associations, this paper proposes, affords a deeper understanding of the role played by women and the gender politics of the play. It is worth noting that this section of the dialogue takes place just after Don Juan plots the seduction of Tisbea, which is happening at the same time as Gonzalo's talk proceeds. The scene abruptly ends when Don Gonzalo asks Don Pedro whether he has any daughters, meaning, of course, young, marriageable daughters. Doña Ana is then unceremoniously brought to the fore and promised to Don Juan in an arrangement that, we know, will be a complete failure on every count, for Doña Ana loves the Marqués de la Mota, and Don Juan is not planning to wed in the near future.

This passage thus forthrightly and uncannily links Don Juan's conquests to those of Iberian conquistadors, in a display of masculine rivalry that, as the double meaning of *burlador de España* insistently reminds us throughout the play, brings home the association of woman and land, more specifically, woman and the "fatherland." The boundaries of this patriarchal territory² are threatened not by aliens from the outside but by some inside traitors who, like Don Juan, are disloyal, as the repetitive use of the word *traición* early in the play reminds audience and readers alike.³ The framing of the passage and the position of the absent women that frame it, Tisbea and Ana, confirm these notions.

Doña Ana's betrothal is thus linked to the goods obtained from the journeys to Africa or the Americas to which the ships of Lisbon were directed. She is an item in a masculine exchange in which she plays no active role, and her silence is comparable to that of the indigenous populations of Africa or the Americas, whose wealth was largely alienated without consideration for their will. Likewise, her silence reminds us of Isabela's desire to articulate her defence when Don Juan abandons her at the beginning of the play. Isabela's words, as Susana Pendzik has rightly emphasized, are disregarded to the point of being stifled.⁴ Ana's wishes, like Isabela's, are also disregarded when her father presents her as a sort of merchandise. Much like Isabela and Tisbea, Ana is, at this point, one potential prey of Don Juan's conquests.⁵

By the time Doña Ana is being negotiated, then, Don Juan has already seduced two women, Isabela and Tisbea. In this occasion, however, the presence of Doña Ana's father in the exchange makes this seduction the

most important in the play, at least in terms of its denouement. Don Juan deceives and kills Don Gonzalo, showing his disregard and abuse of this father figure, which will ultimately bring about his undoing. It is in challenging and killing Don Gonzalo that Don Juan demonstrates that his seductions threaten not only women but also the patriarchal control of fathers.

Some twentieth-century readings of Don Juan's seductions have read Don Juan's interaction with Don Gonzalo as the most important aspect of the play. For these critics, Don Juan's challenge is first and foremost an attack on the father, embodied in his most authoritarian and authoritative form in Don Gonzalo. From this perspective, Don Juan's potentially unlimited seductions are seen as expressions of his unfulfilled desire to occupy his father's position and possess his mother. In this vein, Otto Rank, deploying the psychoanalytical approach of the early twentieth century went so far as to propose that, for Don Juan, "the many women whom he must always replace anew represent to him the *one* irreplaceable mother; and that the rivals and adversaries whom he deceives, defrauds, struggles against, and finally even kills represent the *one* unconquerable mortal enemy, the father" (41). In other words, Rank argues that Don Juan's conquests should be read as direct affronts to other men, especially to fathers.⁶

This type of analysis presents Don Juan's threat as an attack on patriarchal society and its laws. Don Juan's abuse of women presupposes a moral disorder that threatens the structural bases of society, as shown in his lack of respect for the king, for the sanctity of marriage, and, finally, towards life and death. Michel Foucault follows this line of thought when he observes:

Underneath the great violator of the rules of marriage [...] another personage can be glimpsed: the individual driven, in spite of himself, by the somber madness of sex. Underneath the libertine, the pervert. He deliberately breaks the law, but at the same time, something like a nature gone awry transports him far from all nature; his death is the moment when the supernatural return of the crime and its retribution thwarts the flight into counternature. There were two great systems conceived by the West for governing sex: the law of marriage and

the order of desires—and the life of Don Juan overturned them both. (39-40)

Don Juan's seduction, as presented by Foucault, would seem to offer a potential release for women from the constraints imposed on them by masculinist religious and moral values. Needless to say, this type of release makes women pawns in the hands of "liberated" seducers, like Don Juan, and complicit in their own victimization.⁷ These readings, then, see women become, at best, secondary characters and, at worse, agents of their misfortunes.⁸ Such views have been rightly demolished by the feminist interpretation of Susana Pendzik. The play's women, Pendzik has shown, are actually more active and reasonable than what traditional readings would have us believe. Following this argument to its logical conclusion, Pendzik proposes that:

The idealization of Don Juan as a rebel who defies socially accepted conventions is quite preposterous. The fact that he uses his privileged position as a nobleman who moves in influential circles as a springboard for his *burlas* shows that, rather than rebelling against the norms, Don Juan plays with his power to enforce them to the extreme. It is this abuse of power that makes it impossible for the male characters in the play to go on colluding with him, continuing to protect him. Don Juan is not a rebel but a radical executor of the norms. If there are social rebels in this play, these are the women. (179)

The three women that are seduced by Don Juan, the gentlewoman Isabela, the fisherwoman Tisbea, and the country girl Aminta, are all subjected to patriarchal law. However, Isabela and Tisbea, in their own ways, question those laws and subtly undermine the religious sanctity of marriage as the sole aim of a woman's life: Isabela does so by maintaining an intimate relationship with her fiancé, Octavio, and Tisbea by refusing overtly the advances of various suitors and remaining single. Women, that is, are not just pawns or stand-ins for the social order, and Don Juan's seduction offers them no release whatsoever from the constraints of patriarchal authority, for his "liberation" remains inscribed within the coordinates of a patriarchal tradition that considers women men's possessions.

The notion of woman as men's property is clearly conveyed in the description of Lisbon, where, as in an *ekphrasis*, the verbal is meant to evoke powerfully the visual, so that verbal and visual become intimately intertwined. This is done by the use of deictics as well as words that refer to sight and viewing. For a start, the river provides a verbal entry into the city that is first apprehended as an extension of the river that runs through it, the Tajo. Born in the city of Cuenca, a place readily feminized as the bowels of the country, the "entrañas de España" (723), the river traverses a good section of the peninsula, "media España" (726), before reaching Lisbon.

Once in Lisbon, the river creates the site/sight of the city, which becomes a spectacle for the visitor or, in this case, the narrator and listener. The river carves the harbour, Don Gonzalo suggests, between the mountains:

Entra en el mar Oceano [...]

 por la parte

del Sur, mas antes que pierda

su curso, y su claro nombre

hace un cuarto entre dos sierras [...]. (727, 729-32)

From the entrails of the land, the Tajo reaches Lisbon and honors its name by cutting a path for itself and cutting the city in two. This deep creek, the *tajo*, effects a dramatic severance that allows the vision of "barcas, naves, carabelas [...] galeras y saetias" (735-36). The viewer, located in the vantage point of "tierra," is then granted a scopic view of the *tajo*'s interior, where Neptuno reigns in the waters well protected and enclosed by two fortresses, "dos fuerzas, / de Cascaes y Sanguian" (741).

The narrator depicts the city in terms of a feminine anatomy of which the river is an inherent part. The description of the Tajo reaching Lisbon not only feminizes the city, which lies open, divided by the river, but does so in a manner that suggests that urbanism, like Don Juan's sexuality, is to be understood as violence effected on a female body. This violence is, however, not just performed by the river, but it also, and perhaps more importantly, is signified by the verbal and visual dissection effected by the describer. This description embeds a possible complicity between listener and viewer, both, needless to say, gendered as masculine in the dissection of woman as a kind of landscape.

Don Gonzalo assumes the role of an all-seeing God to describe Lisbon from above, and this suggests that anybody caught within this frame is part of a field of vision, and his or her movements may be measured, controlled and determined.⁹ From such a perspective, the inhabitants of the city can be apprehended as anonymous walkers whose trajectories are foreseeable and may be predetermined, as can clearly be seen in the view of Lisbon from the *Civitates*. The paths that city dwellers trace become, like a narrative, legible for the reader or viewer. Viewers and listeners become god-like figures, "fathers," who can read the feminized city that, lying before them, displays buildings and roads as well as peoples and their possible trajectories.

What is more important in the present context is that this elevation renders the onlooker a voyeur by distancing him or her from the object studied and makes this object a text that is offered to be opened, read, and dissected, in a word, violated. Don Gonzalo's view is shared by an audience of viewers able to stand in the traditional position reserved for the eye of God and now occupied by the father. These viewers are thereafter reminded of Death the Leveller, and rendered close to royalty and aristocracy when they hear that next to Lisbon is the site of Belem, where the "Reyes y Reinas / Católicos y Cristianos / tienen sus casas perpetuas" (748-50). The surrounding environment of the valley and religious monuments in it is viewed from the perspective given by distance and detachment, "miradas de lejos" (760).

Interestingly or paradoxically, verbal description is compared favorably with visual representation in the passage. Language is affirmed to be more accurate than any possible painting, even those performed by the paradigmatic painter Apeles (757). However, the verbal medium constantly uses words that refer to the faculty of vision, as, for example, in the comparison of Lisbon with the city considered the center and origin of the civilized world, Rome (763). In Lisbon "se ven diez Romas cifradas" (763), that is, these *Romas* embody not only monumental buildings such as convents, churches, mansions, and streets but also concepts essential to civility, including justice, arts, and arms (767-68). These abstractions associated with civility include those notions were often embodied as female in monumental form.¹⁰ Here, the city and its possible virtues are reified as female and, as such, in need of masculine control and surveillance. This patriarchal gaze, therefore, immobilizes the feminised city that, as a text, depends on the inscriber's role in order to exist.

The passage continues with a further underscoring of vision from above, “del mismo castillo” (775), from which one sees no fewer than “sesenta lugares” (778). Here Don Gonzalo reminds his listener that he is indeed an *oculus testi* of the voyeuristic scene where he saw, “por mis ojos” (781), the “seiscientas y treinta celdas” (782) of the convento de Odivelas, where “mil y doscientas” nuns and *beatas* live. Don Gonzalo then presents himself again as an individual at the centre of a universe in which people, more specifically men, are able to occupy the position formerly reserved to God the Father, and, from that vantage point, like a *voyeur*, he spies on cloistered women.

The particular point of view privileged in these views is that of an individual, upper-class man, Don Gonzalo, who acts as a surveyor. Don Gonzalo’s panoramic view creates the impression that men who identify with him may easily assume the attributes of divinity. The describer constructs a scopic fantasy of objectification in which everything is given meaning by the point from where perspective originates: his eye/I. Consequently, it participates in the bolstering of individualism associated with perspective viewing because the point from which such a perspective is drawn is precisely that of the individual viewer, in this case Don Gonzalo. Viewers, listeners, and readers are enabled to believe that they can control the destinies of human beings, including themselves, by contemplating the view before them. In this manner, the viewer becomes an accomplice in a visual journey aimed at making not only trajectories but also intentions transparent.¹¹ Michel de Certeau’s analysis of the relationship between sight, power, and the construction of space explains this process as follows:

The division of space makes possible a *panoptic practice* proceeding from a place whence the eye can transform foreign forces into objects that can be observed and measured, and thus control and “include” them within its scope of vision. To be able to see (far into the distance) is also to be able to predict, to run ahead of time by reading a space. (367)

A reciprocal vision is created where viewers and viewed can exchange their roles and positions in an infinite game of mirrors in which everyone can become alternately a subject, the voyeur, and then an object of vision, the sight.

Don Gonzalo proceeds by giving an inventory of country houses and then takes the viewer back to Lisbon's central plaza, the *Ruzío*. From here no less than 30,000 new constructions separate the city from the sea that once "bañaba su arena" (797). Such a feat of workmanship underscores human dominion over the forces of nature, more concretely, in this case, masculine dominion over a feminized landscape. The association of woman, land, and the colonial enterprise then continues with the description of the wealth of the city and the merchandise brought from the Orient, which are sampled in the *Rua Nova*.¹²

The cosmopolitan and the explorer merge in the mythical figure of Ulysses, whose name is supposed to have inspired that of Lisbon. The original Ulisibona is a "good" city founded by Ulysses, a god who rightly overlooks the sailing activities of the town. Likewise, the city's arms also emphasize geographical expansion in the choice of the world's *esfera* (822), where the outgoing, seafaring activities of the people are portrayed. This description climaxes in the "diversas naves" (828) in the harbor, among which "las naves de la Conquista" (829) stand out "tan grandes, que de la tierra / miradas, juzgan los hombres / que tocan en las estrellas" (830-32). The tall ships, then, also look from above, therefore reaching Don Gonzalo's position and sharing his lofty point of view. The audience, sharing Don Gonzalo's privileged position, apprehends the city's inhabitants from a position of dominance and power, much like that conveyed by the contemporary bird's-eye view of the city. From above, viewers can appreciate the grandeur, mightiness, and power embodied by the ships so that descriptive *ekphrasis* stands as an extended conceit and an instrument of conquest.

The framing of this scene around the seduction of Tisbea is further underscored by the references to fishing within the passage. Fish are so abundant around Lisbon that they need not be sought but come willingly, "viene a entrarse," into the fishermen's nets (839-40). This supposedly voluntary subjection echoes the way Don Juan would like to imagine his own conquests to be. The fish fall into the fishermen's nets, like Tisbea, not voluntarily but tricked by the deceptive traps set to that end.¹³

The image of woman as food is reinforced by a further reference to the colonies and to all sorts of foodstuffs brought to the harbor as merchandise, including "pan, aceite, vino y leña / frutas de infinita suerte" (846-47).¹⁴ The depiction of women as edible items is thereafter furthered in the seduction of Aminta at her wedding banquet. As soon as he arrives,

Don Juan makes it clear that his social position allows him to take Batricio's place at the table and, by implication, in the marriage bed. Batricio quickly observes that Don Juan's "occupation" is a not very subtle threat of his marital arrangement:

Si os sentáis
delante de mí, señor,
seréis de aquea manera
el novio. (1779-82)

A few lines later, Batricio again remarks that the fact that Don Juan sits himself next to Aminta so as "to eat with her" is like a penetration of his fiancée's body. Batricio's words assimilate the food at the table with the "plato" that is his bride, Aminta, where he cannot "introduce" ("meter") his hand:

¿No es bueno que se sentó
a cenar con mi mujer,
y a mí en el plato meter
la mano no me dejó? (1840-43)¹⁵

Don Juan robs Batricio's "food," and this culminates his challenge to social mores and to the very survival of the model of society in which he lives. Don Juan has gone from usurping the place of another man in the palace to abusing the hospitality of Tisbea and to this breach of the marriage vows. This marks him as a force of disruption of the very religious tenets on which the society rests.

After the references to food and fish, Don Gonzalo ends his tirade by indicating that the king of Lisbon kisses the hands of the king of Spain in a sign of both friendship and respect (858). The king, in turn, having shown appreciation for the "relación sucinta" (861), stresses once more how the description surpasses actual sight: "Más estimo, Don Gonzalo, / escuchar de vuestra lengua / esa relación sucinta / que haber visto su grandeza" (859-62). After this overvaluing of representation, the king rounds up the scene when, in an apparently unexpected move, he asks "¿tenéis hijos?" (863). When Don Gonzalo answers that he has an "hija hermosa" (864), the king then communicates his desire to marry Ana to Don Juan, an arrangement that disregards Ana's wishes.

With this shift in the conversation, the king marks the closure of the scene and reveals the interesting array of (sub)conscious associations that inform this passage. The city, or rather its visual description and apprehension, is inextricably linked with the notion of possession, that is, "conquista," and with the ships that enable the success of the enterprise. Wholly disregarding the wishes of Ana, the king exchanges her, much as he does with the merchandise of his realm. Within this intricate pattern of interrelations, Tirso cleverly situates Don Juan's conquests. Don Juan, as a traitor of women and of his own fatherland, Spain, presents an overt challenge to the law of the father just set down by the king and Don Gonzalo. However, he shares with them the apprehension of women and land as items of exchange. Only, Don Juan includes his own fatherland and its "founding fathers" as objects of his disrespect and his challenge. This is clearly emphasized when Catalinón identifies España with the women Don Juan has tricked. Don Juan, Catalinón affirms, is Spain's trickster: "el burlador de España" (1272, 1480), at once the sole or the most distinguished trickster of women and the man that deceives his own fatherland, Spain. This ambiguity, which is prominently present in the play's own title, makes the trickster's attack one against the fathers of the land in more than one sense.

The juxtaposition between the "naves de la conquista," Tisbea's seduction by a Don Juan newly rescued from the ocean, and the commerce of women figured in the transaction of Doña Ana is by no means circumstantial. The conquest of the world, the transfer of the silent and absent Doña Ana, and the violation of the rules of hospitality exemplified in the seduction of Tisbea all conform to a particular social configuration. This male-dominated society clearly rests on the subjugation of a nature gendered as female, and maintains itself united by means of pacts between men sealed on the exchange of women.¹⁶

The allusion to a society that seals its bonds by means of the exchange of women is also embedded in other aspects of the play following upon this scene. After the king and Don Juan's father acknowledge Don Juan's "treason," they "transfer" Doña Ana again and decide that she should marry Octavio (1046ff). Then, from being an item of exchange in the hands of her father and the king, Doña Ana becomes a pawn in a wager between Don Juan and her beloved, the Marqués of Mota. A good friend of Don Juan, Mota shares his seductive activities and has had a long relationship of rivalry with him. The rivalry between Mota and Don Juan

means that Don Juan desires to possess Doña Ana because another man, his friend Mota, "has" her. The stimulus for this envy, which René Girard has called "mimetic desire,"¹⁷ threatens the social fabric, for, by desiring another man's woman, Don Juan challenges the masculine homosocial bond that maintains his society united.¹⁸ Ana is the subject of a dialogue between men where she occupies a precarious position.¹⁹

In a literal and metaphorical exchange of papers (or roles), Don Juan gets hold of a letter that Ana sends to Mota where she asks Mota to consummate their marriage in order to avoid her wedding to Don Juan. In his role as unscrupulous *burlador*, Don Juan, then, tricks the Marqués by telling him to go to Ana's house at the wrong time, and Don Juan goes instead of him at the appointed time. Before Don Juan encounters Doña Ana, however, he meets his own father,²⁰ and goes on to murder Don Gonzalo. Displaying signs of the tyrant, including contempt for the old and the weak, Don Juan seals his fate when he kills Don Gonzalo. From now on, as Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has pointed out, Don Juan will be faced with a "strong" father, in the form of the ghost of Don Gonzalo, who will let him know his place in this society:

Matando al comendador Don Juan mata también a lo que podemos llamar la *Imago* del padre pusilánime, del padre incapaz de castigar. El nuevo padre, simbolizado en un padre de Piedra, procederá a hacer cumplir a Don Juan esa palabra que nunca cumple, a obligarle a *dar la mano* para que Don Juan, que no ha sabido o querido desposar a la doncella o a la esposa, se vea obligado a unirse a la Parca, a la *Imago* femenina de Thanatos. (64)

Readers need not be reminded that, like Ana, Don Juan does not have a mother, and his family is exclusively made of men: father, uncle, and son. Like so many other Golden Age literary characters, Don Juan is motherless and the mothers of his victims or friends are not even mentioned.²¹ Nevertheless, critics have seen in this absence some implicit references to the mother, who is ultimately represented by the stone statue and by the tomb: the ultimate mother-earth that devours the devourer and ultimately conquers the conqueror. The mother-earth, that is, seduces the seducer, Don Juan, and leads him away to his own death.²²

El burlador articulates, thus, a patriarchal world in which men owe

their name, indeed their very existence, to fathers alone. The obsession with names and naming, and the “clean” transfer of blood, is the hallmark of patriarchy. In this society, as we have already seen, women’s function is to be vessels for the transfer of lineage, of “sangre.” Luce Irigaray accounts for this image of women as vessels, receiving all sorts of “products,” as follows:

Woman is nothing but the receptacle that passively receives his *product*, even if sometimes, by the display of her passively aimed instincts, she has pleaded, facilitated, even demanded that it be placed within her. Matrix—womb, earth, factory, bank—to which the seed capital is entrusted so that it may germinate, produce, grow fruitful, without woman being able to lay claim to either capital or interest since she has only submitted ‘passively’ to reproduction. Herself held in receivership as a certified means of (re)production. (18)

From this perspective, woman is a “container” entrusted to preserve patriarchy, and all women’s “virtues” are reduced to chastity and marital fidelity. Woman is thus the holder of a notion of masculine honor that depends on the exclusive property of female sexuality. As such, woman’s chastity is then described as a glass easily broken, or a fortress continuously under siege and in need of protection.²³ Female chastity is, as Tisbea notes, an enclosed and fortified city, much as Tarragona with which she compares herself previous to her seduction (424-31). Tarragona is a city threatened by pirates who, like Don Juan, want to appropriate what is not rightly theirs.

The references to the city of Tarragona, like those of Lisbon, bring home the relationship traced in this paper between geographical and sexual conquest. In the seduction of Tisbea that is framed by the passage scrutinized here, Don Juan has ignored the debt he has contracted, not just by not fulfilling his promise to marry Tisbea but also, and perhaps more importantly, by violating the laws of hospitality. He is not paying Tisbea what she is owed and should be hers. Much like the colonial enterprise, this may be described as a failed exchange. A prototype of the capitalistic entrepreneur, Don Juan invests for his own profit, disregarding the effects of his actions on both others and on the environment.²⁴ As Hélène

Cixous has remarked, this is the paradigmatic masculinist model of investment:

Take Don Juan and you have the whole masculine economy getting together to “give women just what it takes to keep them in bed then swiftly taking back the investment, then reinvesting, etc. so that nothing ever gets given, everything gets taken back, while in the process the greatest possible dividend of pleasure is taken. Consumption without payment, of course. (47)²⁵

Cixous sums up thus the economies of debt and payment in Don Juan’s enterprise. This argument rounds out the claim presented in this paper about Don Juan’s masculinism as a failed exchange. Don Juan’s enterprise, as exemplified in the *Loa* of Lisbon, reveals the intimate relationship between urbanism, colonization, perspective viewing, and conquest. These concepts, I have suggested, depend on an apprehension of woman and the land as objects of exchange that ought to be possessed, even if that means that they be conquered and violated.²⁶

NOTES

1. Ter Horst amply illustrates how “One of Don Gonzalo’s two main duties is to represent Spain to Portugal ... He also seeks to represent Portugal to Spain. The Lisbon passage ... is valuable because it shows the ambassador in a augmented role and prepares the spectator for Don Gonzalo’s principal mission as Don Juan’s antagonist” (148).

2. Peter Stallybrass’s now-classic work, “Patriarchal Territories,” develops ideas puts forward by Douglas and Bakhtin about the female body and its symbolism in imagery of social construction.

3. After the first seduction of Isabela in the palace, the king asks Don Juan’s uncle, Don Pedro Tenorio, to impart justice, and Don Pedro demands that Don Juan identify himself. Don Pedro discovers that Don Juan is his nephew and accuses him of being “desobediente” (59), having performed a “*gran traición en España*” (79; italics added) before coming to Naples to seduce Isabela. Don Pedro had already foreseen the treason as soon as Don Juan had identified himself: “¡Ay corazón / que temo alguna *traición*” (54-55; italics added).

4. With reference to Isabela’s repeatedly frustrated attempts to argue her point, Pendzik concludes: “it is clear from the text that silence is neither a choice of hers nor a proof of her guilt. In acquiesc-

ing to the blame, she is doing nothing else but going along with the only option available to her as a woman: keeping silent" (171).

5. On the use of women as items of exchange to seal social relationships, see Gayle Rubin.

6. These analyses follow upon the development of psychoanalysis and its application to literary studies. Rank was probably the first critic to read the play using this approach and highlighting the importance of the absent mother. Among contemporary critics that have also studied the play from this angle, see especially James Mandrell. Shoshana Felman, in her study of seduction, argues: "Don Juan subverts the principle of genetic reasoning and the institution of paternity" (38).

7. Julia Kristeva sees Don Juan as deeply ambivalent and goes so far as to suggest that his character can "resonate ... as a hymn to freedom": "seductive, wicked, laughable, and compelling, Don Juan is probably the most perfectly ambiguous figure—the most perfect one—pertaining to masculine sexuality that western legend has passed on to us" (191).

8. Ruth Lundelius's is probably the most important study of the role of women, which presents them as victims and complicit in their own downfall, as Pendzik notes.

9. These ideas are developed in my study of early modern bird's-eye views of Spanish towns in "Producing the City" and *Practising Places* 25-66.

10. On this topic, see Marina Warner.

11. The establishment of laws that tried to regulate the geographical movements of master-less peoples is a further illustration of the desire to view and to control the trajectories of people that inheres in the early modern bird's-eye view. This is apparent, for example, in the recurrent decrees designed to prevent beggars from practicing beyond their parishes. On this topic, see my *Practising Places* 29-30.

12. The *Rua Nova dos Mercadores* was one of the principal streets of Lisbon.

13. Tisbea describes her honor as an edible item too ("fruta sabrosa" [421]), alluding to its being preserved "entre pajas" (420).

14. Referring to this segment, which he considers the "*pièce de résistance* in this verbal banquet" (154), Ter Horst suggests: "At its most commonplace, then, Don Gonzalo's description invites Spaniards to feast upon Lisbon with the mind's eye" (155).

15. Batricio further describes Don Juan's usurpation using culinary terminology indicating that, as Don Juan eats, the bridegroom has to starve: "Mas no se usará en Sodoma: / que otro con la novia coma, / y que ayune el desposado" (1865-67).

16. As Mandrell observes: "If Don Juan is a principle of exchange in patriarchal society, then the primary commodity in which he deals is, of course, women, or, perhaps, male desire for women" (255).

17. In Girard's own words: "Rivalry does not arise because of the fortuitous convergence of two desires on a single object; rather, *the subject desires the object because the rival desires it*. In designing an object the rival alerts the subject to the desirability of the object. The rival, then, serves as a model for the subject, not only in regard to such secondary matters as style and opinions but also, and more essentially, in regard to desires" (145; italics in the text).

18. The work of Eve Segdwick on “male homosocial bonding” has become essential to analyses of this sort.
19. This has been clearly indicated at the beginning of the play, following Isabela’s cry and the arrival of the king of Naples in her bedchamber. See above, note 3.
20. His father tells Don Juan that the king is going to send him into exile as a punishment, and Don Juan answers with the familiar “tan largo” (1441).
21. This has not prevented critics from blaming the absent mother for the maladjustment of Don Juan. Gerald Wade, for example, observes that “Tirso has no mention of his protagonist’s mother, but even so, the Oedipal conflict must be taken for granted. As a result, the mother, presumably more than any other person, would be the one most responsible for the scarring of his psyche” (37).
22. David Winter presents this view as follows: “Don Juan seeks fusion with his mother through seducing a series of women; yet, he fears this very fusion, because it is also the source of frustration and thus the threat of his own destruction. He cannot separate these two aspects of ‘woman’ because they have been complexly bound together by his mother; and so he is driven to pursue both at once” (173)
23. These ideas about honor appear early in the play, when we first meet Octavio talking with his servant, Ripio. Octavio complains about women’s inconstancy and of the fear that his love may give her castle of chastity, “castillo del honor” (208), to a different man.
24. Anthony Cascardi also highlights this aspect, seeing that *El burlador* presents “on the one hand, a culture in which interpersonal relationships are determined by kinship ties and by bloodlines, in which actions are evaluated according to an archaic heroic ethos, and in which social functions and roles are sedimented into near static hierarchies; on the other hand, a culture in which the categories that determine personal worth are based largely on standards of possessive individualism [...] in which the central cultural myths are those of personal and social progress (the latter to be achieved largely through the technological domination of nature and through the medium of free economic exchange)” (152-53).
25. “For the moment you receive something you are effectively ‘open’ to the other, and if you are a man you have only one wish, and that is hastily to return the gift, to break the circuit of an exchange that could have no end [...] to be nobody’s child, to owe no one a thing [...]. Debt [...] is a system of absolute equivalence [...] of no inequality, for inequality is always interpreted by the masculine as a difference of strength, and thus a threat” (48).
26. Carolyn Merchant has argued that the transition from an organic model of society to a production-oriented one entailed a redefinition of the relationship with the land: from an idea of mother earth as nurturing and worthy of respect to one of nature as wild and in need of control. These changes, she demonstrates, underline the development of capitalism. Ruth El Saffar has studied the role of the absent mother in the *comedia* in the context of the changing paradigm of human kind’s relation with nature.

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