

The *Auto de la huida a Egipto*: Convent Theater in Context

The *Auto de la huida a Egipto* [The Play of the Flight into Egypt] dramatizes the canonical biblical episodes of the Flight into Egypt (Matthew 2: 13-23) and St. John the Baptist's ascetic life in the wilderness (Matthew 3:1-6; Mark 1:1-8). It also includes the apocryphal episode of the Holy Family's encounter with the three thieves. The play's double plot juxtaposes those ritual or mythic sequences based on sacred history with mimetic sequences involving a non-biblical figure, the Peregrino, and his spiritual trajectory.

The play is preserved in a single manuscript once housed in the Franciscan convent of Santa María de la Bretonera near Burgos in northern Spain. The manuscript was copied some time between the founding of the convent in 1446 and its binding with two books purchased in 1512. However, the handwriting is late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.¹ What can the manuscript tell us about the way in which the play may have been staged? The *Auto* is preceded by nine poems which seem to have also been inscribed on as many hermitages located on the convent grounds. This is indicated, for example, by the beginning of the poem dedicated to the Holy Savior: "Tú, ermita, nos haces muy dulce memoria / del nombre más dulce que todos los nombres" [Hermitage, you recall to us the sweet memory of the sweetest of all names]. The poem that follows opens: "Tú que estas ermitas visita. . ." (33) [You who visit these hermitages...]. The first two lines of another poem indicate that, in addition to being copied into the manuscript, the verses were inscribed on the hermitages: "No pases depriesa, devota cristiana, / sin leer estas letras que ves ante ti" (34) [Do not pass by in haste, oh devout Christian woman, without reading this text you see before you]. Eight of the manuscript poems correspond to the hermitages called Holy Savior, Bethlehem, Egypt, Montserrat, the Holy Sepulcher, Mount Calvary, the Brook of Cedron, and the river Jordan. One additional poem mentions other hermitages that either did not have individual verses associated with them or whose corresponding poems were not copied into the manuscript: the Trinity, the Cross, Mary Magdalene, St. James, St. Dimas, St. Humphrey, St. Anne, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. Jerome, St. Anthony, and St. Michael.

Such hermitages seem to have been part of the landscape of a number of convents and monasteries or at least of those with sufficient surrounding land. When Blessed Alvaro of Córdoba (d. 1430) returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he had a Dominican monastery built (Escalaceli) with various oratories designed to represent and recall the holy places he had visited. A hilltop cave represented the Mount of Olives,² while Brother Alvaro named the stream that divided the monastery from that hill the Brook of Cedron in memory of the stream Christ crossed to reach the Garden of Gethsemane (173). Alvaro had three crosses placed on another hill to represent Mount Calvary, making sure that there were the same number of steps between the monastery and the hill as between the city of Jerusalem and Mount Calvary. He also had a hermitage constructed that was dedicated to Mary Magdalene (144). It appears that Brother Alvaro used this ensemble of hermitages not to make the stations of the cross, a devotion that did not evolve in its fullest form until the late seventeenth century, but rather as places to which to retire for personal meditation (144).

A somewhat later example seems to confirm that hermitages could be part of a convent's landscape. At one moment in her autobiography, St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582) recounted how

she retired for prayer to one of several hermitages in the Convent of San José, specifically, to that dedicated to Christ at the Column.³ San José was Teresa's first reformed foundation, so we may assume that the presence of hermitages for individual meditation on the property was due to the express desire of the founder herself. In Teresa's Camino de perfección [Way of Perfection] she stipulated that convents should have sufficient land for hermitages to which the nuns could retire for prayer (202). Finally, in the constitutions she redacted for her nuns Teresa explained that such isolated hermitages would enable them to imitate the solitary prayer life on Mount Carmel of the holy forefathers of their order (642).

In other cases religious performed their devotions not by using specific sites constructed in memory of the episodes and the geographic spaces of Christ's life, but by using their imagination to superimpose biblical sites on the actual architecture of their convent or monastery. The German Dominican Heinrich Suso (d. 1365) went from corner to corner of the chapter room of his monastery,

conforming himself to Christ. . . . He began by joining with Christ at the Last Supper and suffering together with him from place to place until he accompanied him to Pilate. Finally, he took his condemned Lord to his trial and went with him then the lonely way of the cross from the place of judgment all the way to under the cross.⁴

The four paths of the cloister became a via crucis, as, for example, when Suso "came to the fourth path, he knelt down in the middle as though he were kneeling in front of the gate through which Christ would have to go out. Falling down in front of him, he kissed the ground, calling upon him and asking him not to go to this death without him, and that he let him go along because he had a right to go along" (85). Entering the choir, Suso climbed the stairs to the pulpit, where the cross became the cross of the Crucifixion and where he would participate in Christ's suffering by flagellating himself as he imagined himself nailed to the cross (85). Suso's practice thus combined spatial movement through his monastery with meditation on and imaginary participation in the episodes of the Passion. The monastery became Jerusalem, and Suso's imaginative journey was both a mimetic pilgrimage and an inner journey to perfection through which the Dominican friar performed his identification with Christ's suffering.

Similarly, in late fifteenth-century Germany the nuns of the Cistercian convent of Wienhausen imaginatively transformed the geography of their house into that of Jerusalem in order to follow the way of the cross. The sisters engaged in a spiritual pilgrimage that involved both interior devotion and actual movement from location to location. For example, the choir became Pilate's residence, while the cemetery became the place where Christ fell for the second time.⁵

In a previous discussion of the Auto de la huida a Egipto from the perspective of its stagecraft, I hypothesized that the work was performed "processionally," the actors moving from hermitage to hermitage on the grounds of the convent.⁶ Three of the hermitages (Egypt, Bethlehem, and probably the river Jordan⁷) corresponded to places evoked in the play, while the hermitage of St. John the Baptist could have been associated with Zacharias's house in Jerusalem and that of St. Dimas with the episode of the three thieves. If, as I have suggested, the actors moved from hermitage to hermitage, what did the audience, comprised of the rest of the sisters, do?⁸ Two possibilities suggest themselves. If the hermitages were close to one another

and visible all at once to the audience, they could have functioned like the “mansions” of the simultaneous staging of the medieval tradition and the audience could have remained stationary. If, however, the hermitages were distant from one another, since, as we have seen, a certain isolation was desirable for such structures, we can hypothesize that the spectator nuns moved along with the actor nuns from one symbolic location to another. The poems in the manuscript indicate that the sisters of Santa María de la Bretonera were already accustomed to move from hermitage to hermitage or to retire to a single hermitage in order to engage in private devotions. I believe the Auto de la huida a Egipto not only represented the voyages or pilgrimages of its characters, but the audience reproduced that movement as part of its viewing experience. Thus, the performance of the play and its experiencing by the audience can be related to the monastic devotional practices discussed previously. On the one hand, as in the case of the emerging devotion to the stations of the cross, the nuns moved from place to place within the convent geography. On the other hand, rather than relying totally on their imagination as in the case of the nuns of Wienhausen, the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera used their hermitages that linked specific locations in that geography to specific places associated with the life of Christ. In all these cases, that devotional experience involved movement as well as the use of the physical space of a convent or monastery as a sort of stage for personal meditation.

Following the phenomenon of rites de passage studied by Arnold van Gennep, Victor and Edith Turner relate pilgrimages to the three phases of separation, limen, and aggregation.⁹ However, the Turners also observe that for monks and nuns, the liminal phrase becomes “a specialized state, complex and intense enough to involve the entire lives of the deeply devoted.”¹⁰ He further notes that while lay people had to exteriorize their salvific journeys “in the infrequent adventure of pilgrimage,” “monastic contemplatives and mystics could daily make interior salvific journeys.”¹¹ Nuns would not normally have left the cloister to go on pilgrimages, but the performance of the Auto enabled them to make a spiritual pilgrimage to the Holy Land without leaving the space of their convent. So if the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera were in a sense permanent inhabitants of a liminal state, what happened when they embarked upon the mimetic pilgrimage of participation in the representation of the Auto de la huida a Egipto? The Turners note that “by visiting the sites believed to be the scenes of his [Christ’s] life and teaching mission, the pilgrim in imagination relives those events.”¹² The nuns’ spiritual pilgrimage performed a similar function, enabling the sisters through their imaginative participation in the play to accompany the Holy Family to Egypt and to share in St. John’s ascetic life in the desert.

Spiritual pilgrimages were not a novelty in late fifteenth-century Spain and perhaps not for the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera. A number of guidebooks disseminated in the vernacular in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Spain, many written by Franciscans, were intended as manuals for actual pilgrims to Jerusalem. However, some of those guides were designed for virtual pilgrims, that is, they were intended as a stimulus for spiritual meditation on the holy places and through them on the life of Christ. For example, by 1487 the Franciscan friar Antonio Cruzado had probably finished his Los misterios de Jerusalem [The Mysteries of Jerusalem], which was both a record of his own sojourn in the Holy Land and a meditative guide for those unable to undertake the voyage “because of the distance, the cost, and the danger of the route.”¹³ Cruzado sought an emotional response to the holy places from his readers, for virtual pilgrims were to mimic the behavior and even the words of the actual pilgrims described in his

text (25). While both Cruzado's guidebook and the Auto provided the experience of spiritual pilgrimage, they differed in that the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera actually moved from place to place, performing a pilgrimage as they "read" the play.

The Auto lends itself to being experienced as a spiritual pilgrimage because it both thematizes and enacts movement. The Angel's initial mandate to Joseph to flee to Egypt already contains the promise of return: "que por mí cierto sabréis / cuándo cumple que bolváis" (5) [through me you will know for sure when it is safe to return]. Likewise, when Joseph communicates the Angel's message to Mary, he promises that "alegres volveremos" (6) [we shall return happy], and Mary in turn wishes that it will please God that they return to their home ("a El plega que volvamos" [6]). In the song that follows, movement is again highlighted; the place names Judea and Egypt are each mentioned twice, and verbs of movement are prominent: partirse (set off), guiar (guide or lead), and sacar (bring forth). The angel responds with the imperative Caminad (travel, walk) and notes that Christ is the true carrera (way), an echo of John 14:6: "I am the way." Finally, when the Angel reiterates that Christ will bring them back to Judea (7), Joseph responds with a song whose refrain twice reiterates the hortative andemos (let us walk).

At the end of the ensuing encounter with the three thieves, the younger son recognizes the Child Jesus as the Messiah, thus providing the play's first model of a conversion experience (9). Joseph utters prophetically that this thief, the future St. Dimas, will be saved on the day of Christ's Passion (9). Conversion here is to be understood not as a change of religion but as a change from a perfunctory faith to a firm decision to abandon a life of sin for a virtuous life of obedience to the will of God. To that end, in addition to the thief's conversion, the Auto figures certain exemplary behaviors, among them unquestioning obedience to God's mandates on the part of Joseph and Mary (6).

The setting then changes to St. John the Baptist's house in Jerusalem, and the audience witnesses the moment when he takes leave of his parents, to return only when "God returns to Judea" (11). As in the case of the trajectory of the Holy Family, the beginning of St. John's journey contains the promise of his return: Zachary recognizes John's need to search for the Messiah but also expresses the hope that He will return his son to him (11). St. John departs and meets the character known as the Peregrino. "Peregrino" means both "traveler" and "pilgrim," and this latter sense of the word is made explicit in the play when the Peregrino states he is on a pilgrimage (romería [(4)] to Judea and when St. John calls him a "little pilgrim" (romerico [23]).¹⁴ The scene is now the desert, for St. John explains to the Peregrino that he eats nothing but grass and honey. The Peregrino is not ready to convert, for he rejects John's ascetic life, stating that he can not go a single day without bread (15). However, by the end of his dialogue with St. John, the Peregrino tells the holy man that he has saved him (19) and joyfully announces that he will go back to his native Egypt to offer his sinful soul to Christ, thus providing a second model of a conversion experience. The Peregrino does indeed return to Egypt, but he does not remain there, for he soon takes leave of the Holy Family and goes back to the desert to share John's ascetic life. Back in the wilderness, both John and the Peregrino will wait for Christ to return from Egypt. The play ends with the apparition of the Angel to Joseph and the departure of the Holy Family for Judea.

The Auto not only thematizes movement through the constant comings and going of its

characters, but also through its sustained use of music. The play contains a relatively high number (five) of strophic songs, which are conventionally sung in the early Spanish theater while characters enter or exit the playing area. Here, it appears that they are performed while the characters move from one hermitage to another.¹⁵ So music, too, calls attention to the thematization of movement as enacted through pilgrimage. Did the audience join in singing the chorus of each villancico, thereby providing another dimension to its participation as it processed from hermitage to hermitage?

Thus, the Auto, in addition to its representation of sacred histories that involve flight and pilgrimage, thematizes movement, especially pilgrimage. Barring some calamity, pilgrims return to their place of origin. This explains why the beginning of the trajectories of both the Holy Family and John the Baptist anticipates their future return. The Turners observe that pilgrimage is a transformative experience, for a pilgrim “is an initiand, entering into a new, deeper level of existence than he has known in his accustomed milieu.”¹⁶ The Auto not only enacts a mimetic pilgrimage, but especially in the case of the character known as the Peregrino, that movement is transformative. In a more general sense the play is also about its spectators and their engagement in the pilgrimage of life. Life was a journey whose ultimate goal was the celestial Jerusalem. Pilgrimage may have had an earthly goal like Jerusalem, but ideally, as the Turners point out, the effect of pilgrimage was transformation. How is the Auto to effect this transformation?

At the end of the play its two plots seemingly diverge: the Peregrino remains in the desert with St. John, while the Holy Family leaves Egypt for Judea but is not seen arriving there. The spectators are left with one model of identification with the ascetic life (St. John) and, to the extent that Judea symbolizes Paradise, one model of the promise of future salvation. But it is not an either/or choice, for the spectators would also know that, according to such impeccably Franciscan sources as Meditationes vitae Christi, the Holy Family will meet St. John in the desert on its way back to Judea, thus joining the two plots, albeit outside the borders of the play.¹⁷ Why do the two plots remain separate? Why is that ultimate encounter between St. John and the Holy Family not part of the play? The answer, I believe, lies in the figure of the Peregrino and his function as the double of each spectator.¹⁸ The Peregrino through his constant movement between Egypt and the wilderness functions as, let us say, the hyphen that joins the Holy Family sequence with the John the Baptist sequence. The Peregrino was a neighbor of the Holy Family in Egypt (16) but failed to recognize the Child Jesus as the Messiah. Therefore, the Auto teaches that God is omnipresent and that it is sufficient to recognize that presence and to convert to a holier life in order to achieve salvation. The refrain of Joseph’s final song is: “Alegrarte has tierra mía, / porque a visitarte va / el que te redimirá” (29) [You will rejoice, my land, because He who will redeem you is coming to visit you]. “My land” obviously refers to Judea, but Judea is not mentioned explicitly in the song’s lyrics. Therefore, when, as it is likely, all the nuns--actors and spectators--joined in singing that refrain, all celebrated the coming of their Redeemer to Santa María de la Bretonera.

Thus, the play does more than dramatize a conversion or a series of conversions; it is also intended to effect such a conversion in the spectators. As we have seen, the Peregrino provides an exemplary reaction to his encounter with the divine by becoming a hermit. In this way the Auto also teaches its audience how to “read” sacred history. The Peregrino reads the living text of St. John’s ascetic behavior in the wilderness and resolves to imitate his lifestyle. The Holy Family’s return to Palestine occurs beyond the borders of the Auto. Neither is the Peregrino plot

resolved in the course of the play, for it can only come to its inevitable conclusion with the encounter in the desert between the Holy Family on the one hand and the Peregrino and St. John on the other. Thus, the sequence involving the Peregrino ends with his return to St. John's desert cave where both will await Christ's return, their final exchange highlighting the verb esperar (wait) (25-26). If the Peregrino is the dramatic double of the spectators, then the play will only reach its definitive closure with the encounter of each sister with her Lord, an encounter that must necessarily take place outside the confines of the play in the desert of this world.¹⁹ Ideally, as the Turners see it, the faithful return transformed from the experience of pilgrimage. Here, it is the vicarious experience of the desert that transforms the spectators, for the nuns, too, are waiting for their encounter with Christ and their departure for "Judea"/Paradise.

While conversion to a holier life is always desirable for a religious, historical circumstances may have lent greater urgency to that experience, for the period in which the Auto was probably copied and performed--late fifteenth to early sixteenth century--coincided with that in which Fernando and Isabel were in the process of reforming Spain's convents as part of their on-going effort to correct abuses, foster greater austerity, and--for female religious--enforce claustration.²⁰ Since 1460 the convent of Santa María de la Bretonera had been subject to the so-called "second rule" that pope Urban IV had given to the Poor Clares.²¹ Among other things, this mitigated rule allowed the sisters to own property, both in common and individually. Indeed, in 1476 the convent purchased the town of Arcercedillo with the concomitant seignorial rights that included the privilege to name a justice of the peace and officers of the law.²² Was such involvement in real estate and temporal jurisdiction--concerns so distant from the evangelical poverty desired by St. Francis--a source of anxiety for the nuns? Did the sisters seek to offset activities seemingly at odds with the spirit of their order with an impeccably austere lifestyle, such as that celebrated in the Auto in the characters of St. John the Baptist and the Peregrino? Were visitors sent by the superiors of their order pressuring the sisters to reform? The nuns may have been expected to identify not only with the Peregrino, but also with John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary. St. John was viewed as a precursor of hermits in particular and of the monastic life in general. Furthermore, patristic and medieval commentators viewed him as a symbol of virginity,²³ thus providing another model for nuns. The Meditationes vitae Christi portrays both Mary and Joseph as earning a living in Egypt, Mary through her needlework, Joseph through his carpentry.²⁴ However, in the Auto de la huida a Egipto the Virgin Mary appears to be the sole support of her family in Egypt, for the Peregrino reports that she sews day and night, while Joseph engages in adoring the child (24). That anomaly may be intended to inspire the nuns to imitate the Blessed Virgin and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the handiwork that was one of their typical occupations. The Auto further promotes work when the Virgin Mary tells the three thieves to stop stealing and get a job so as to achieve God's glory (10).

The Auto "works" as a conversion mechanism only if the spectator identifies with the model provided by the Peregrino and translates that identification into the resolve to convert to a life of greater asceticism. Certain methods of reading practiced in medieval monastic communities may have predisposed the nuns of Santa María de la Bretonera to interpret the Auto in accordance with the identification model I have proposed. Van 't Spijker observes that the monastic life can be construed as a work of art, but less as a creation than as an "imitation of examples," since monks (and I think we can include nuns) "followed saintly models, written guides, 'scripts'."²⁵ Thus, certain monastic texts "can be seen as scripts to be performed by their

readers” (11).

It seems to me than this observation is applicable to the Auto de la huida a Egipto in two ways. The actor nuns who perform the play are quite literally performing the play’s script and, as in the life of St. Genesius,²⁶ the performance of conversion in the play can in theory effect a real-life conversion. The spectator nuns also realize a script through their performative “reading” of the play. Ideally, of course, the performance of the play and concretely the sisters’ imaginative identification with the characters would inspire a transformative experience in them. But that experience of conversion could also occur after the performance, that is, off stage.

Friars and nuns were in a sense trained to read this way, for thanks to the reader’s imaginative participation in the process, spiritual reading was a kind of journey. St. Bonaventure, in the final chapter of his Journey of the Mind to God--he calls his contemplations “steps”--states that he who “beholds Christ hanging on the cross, such a one celebrates the Pasch, that is, the Passover, with Him. Thus, using the rod of the Cross, he may pass over the Red Sea, going from Egypt into the desert, where it is given to him to taste the *hidden manna*; he may rest with Christ in the tomb, as one dead to the outer world, but experiencing, nevertheless, as far as is possible in this present state as wayfarer, what was said on the cross to the thief who was hanging there with Christ: *This day you shall be with me in Paradise.*”²⁷ Bonaventure’s Journey involves both the figurative journey of reading and the journey of ascent to the contemplation of God. Paradise is the goal of Bonaventure’s readers, as it is of the Peregrino and of those watching the Auto de la huida a Egipto. The spectator nuns watch the pilgrimage of others, enact pilgrimage through their movement from hermitage to hermitage, and thereby make a mimetic pilgrimage to the Holy Land. So both Bonaventure’s Journey and the Auto figure an itinerary that leads to an eventual encounter with God.

Another Franciscan text, the late thirteenth-century Meditationes vitae Christi, not only recreated episodes of Christ’s life in novelistic detail, but also invited the reader to, as it were, step into those “novelized” scenes. Thus, for example, after evoking the Virgin Mary’s ministrations to the new-born Child at the Nativity, the narrator states: “Every faithful soul and especially a religious should visit the Lady at the manger at least once daily in the period between the Nativity of the Lord and the Purification, to adore the infant Jesus and His mother, thinking affectionately of their poverty, humility, and benignity.”²⁸ Elsewhere, the participation of the reader is even more intense. With respect to Jesus’ return from Egypt, the Meditationes instruct:

And now pay attention to the facts concerning the return of the Lord, for they lend themselves to very pious meditation. Go back to Egypt to visit the child Jesus. Perhaps you will find Him outside among boys, but when He sees you He will eagerly come to you, for He is benign, kind, and courteous. Kneel before Him and kiss His feet, then take Him in your arms and repose with Him (78)

The act of reading the Meditationes was interactive for those who followed the textual cues and used their imagination to enter into the events of Christ’s life; the sisters of Santa María de la Bretonera engaged in a similar interactive participation during performances of the Auto de la huida a Egipto.

So certain monastic practices could have influenced the ways in which plays like the

Auto were interpreted and experienced by their audiences. Interactive reading encouraged religious and lay people to become armchair participants in the events of sacred history. The Stations of the Cross and other devotional practices combined imaginative participation in the events of the Passion with actual movement from place to place as the space of the convent or monastery was transformed into the holy places of Jerusalem. Perhaps the spectators of the Auto likewise combined participation in the biblical episodes of the Flight into Egypt and St. John's desert penitence with actual movement from hermitage to hermitage. In so doing, whether actors or spectators, their participation was performative.

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Notes

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1. Auto de la huida a Egipto, ed. Justo García Morales (Madrid: Joyas Bibliográficas, 1948), xii. Quotations from this edition will be indicated by the page number in parentheses.
 2. Juan de Ribas, Vida y milagros de el B. Fray Alvaro de Córdoba (Córdoba, 1687; fac. ed. Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987), 144.
 3. Santa Teresa de Jesús, Obras completas, ed. Efrén de la Madre de Dios, O.C.D., and Otger Steggink, O. Carm., 7th ed. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1982), 178.
 4. Henry Suso, The Exemplar, With Two German Sermons, ed. and trans. Frank Tobin (New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1989), 84.
 5. June L. Mecham, "A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen," in Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 139-160.
 6. See my Teatro medieval castellano (Madrid: Taurus, 1983), 31-33.
 7. According to pious belief, the place where St. John did penance was near the site on the Jordan where he baptized. See Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, trans. Isa Ragusa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 84.
 8. Around twenty-five [choir] nuns were likely to be living in the convent at a given moment. See María José Lanzagorta Arco, "La cultura de la pobreza en la vida conventual femenina: dos ejemplos de la orden clariana. Santa María de la Bretonera (Belorado) y la Santísima Trinidad de Bidaurreta (Oñate)," Sancho el Sabio 16 (2002): 31-46, at 37. So if the Auto required ten actors for its ten roles (not counting the Child Jesus), then there would have been sufficient sisters left--with the possible addition of novices and lay sisters--to form an audience.
 9. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 2.
 10. Image and Pilgrimage, 4.
 11. Image and Pilgrimage, 6-7.
 12. Image and Pilgrimage, 33.
 13. "por la distancia, gasto y peligro de los caminos" (Quoted in Nieves Baranda, "El camino espiritual a Jerusalén a principios del Renacimiento," in Medieval and Renaissance Spain and Portugal: Studies in Honor of Arthur L-F. Askins, ed. Martha E. Schaffer and Antonio Cortijo Ocaña [Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006], 23-41, at 25).

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14. At one point a rubric mistakenly refers to the Peregrino by the alternate “Romero” (26).
15. Plays by contemporary authors like Juan del Encina and Lucas Fernández normally had but a single villancico that was sung at the conclusion of the play while the players left the playing area.
16. Image and Pilgrimage, 8.
17. Meditations on the Life of Christ, 81-84.
18. See my Teatro castellano de la Edad Media (Madrid: Taurus, 1992), 39-40.
19. See my Teatro castellano de la Edad Media, 41.
20. For the reform of convents in Castile, see José García Oro, La reforma de los religiosos españoles en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos (Valladolid: Instituto “Isabel la Católica” de Historia Eclesiástica, 1969), 121-124.
21.
Lanzagorta, 36.
22. Lanzagorta, 40.
23. Gregorio Penco, “S. Giovanni Battista nel ricordo del monachesimo medievale,” Studia Monastica 3 (1961): 7-32, at 8-9.
24. Meditations on the Life of Christ, 75-76.
25. Ineke van ‘t Spijker, Fictions of the Inner Life: Religious Literature and Formation of the Self in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 10-11. Van ‘t Spijker observes that although the pertinent writings were authored by males, “many writing circulated widely in all sorts of monasteries, including women’s communities” (11).
26. St. Genesius, while performing an anti-Christian play before the Emperor Diocletian, suddenly converted to Christianity.
27. Bonaventure, The Journey of the Mind to God, trans. Philotheus Boehner, OFM (Indianapolis and Cambridge: Hackett, 1993), 37-38.
28. Meditations on the Life of Christ, 55-56.