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“El gran secreto del arte”: Aesthetic Considerations in the *refundiciones* of José Fernández Guerra

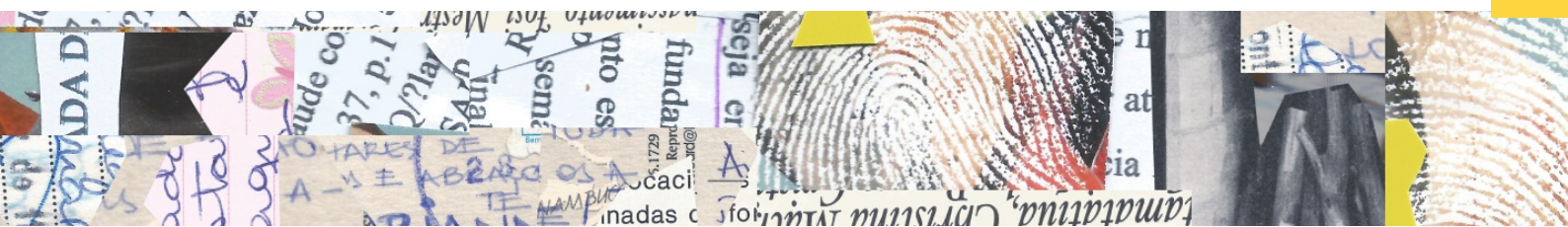
Rachel C. Williams¹

Ignacio de Luzán presents a proposition to his readers at the conclusion of the first chapter of his 1737 treatise *La poética*: “si, después, querrá alguno ejercitarse en las reglas ya aprendidas, veremos, entonces, rejuvenecer la poesía española, y remontarse a tal grado de perfección, que no tenga la nuestra que envidiar a las demás naciones” (153). Nearly a century later, the author José Fernández Guerra answers this call, thus positioning himself within an effort to “refundir” (commonly translated as *recasting* or *reworking*) the comedias of the Spanish Golden Age. With the publication of three *comedias refundidas* in 1826, Fernández Guerra joined the ranks of other *refundidores* of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who attempted to “correct” the errors of earlier plays by such authors as Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Agustín Moreto, and more. Fernández Guerra, in his own prologue to the play *Ir contra el viento* (a *refundición* of Moreto’s *Yo por vos y vos por otro*), expresses his hopes that “estos mis ensayos animen a los inteligentes a trabajar con más felicidad en este importante ramo de la literatura española” –this “ramo,” or “branch”, being the art of the *refundición* (*Ir contra*).²

This article will use *Ir contra el viento* as an example of the kinds of logics motivating the *refundidores* of the nineteenth century, particularly how their aesthetic and nationalistic considerations parried the rising popularity of English and French Romanticism. Using a neo-Aristotelian framework placed forth by Luzán, the *refundidores* brought the classics of Golden Age comedias into accordance with nineteenth century values, relying on the reputations of famous comediantes of the past to lend credence to their own attempts to revitalize a national theatre in Spain. In this way, the art of the *refundición* was also one of re-canonization for these classic works. Focusing on Fernández Guerra’s author

prologue and the changes made between his *refundición* and Moreto’s original in *Ir contra el viento*, this study builds upon earlier analyses of *refundiciones* to demonstrate, with support from the words of the *refundidores* themselves, the ultimate national-aesthetic philosophy behind this return to Golden Age *comedia* at the start of the nineteenth century.

While the practice of *refundiciones* was popular among Spanish authors at the turn of the nineteenth century and earlier, the *refundidores* themselves have largely been ignored or even denigrated in the studies of Spain’s literary history. As Charles Ganelin, one of the scholars who has written extensively on the *refundición*, writes: “a reworked *comedia* fuses the horizons within which it exists while attempting to be faithful to two moments in literary history...this double fidelity produces a view of the *refundición* as an art form which is criticized by some for the excesses it exhibits as a *comedia* and by others for not being faithful to its moment of original creation” (*Rewriting Theatre* 21-22). This lack of direction means the *refundición* often does pale in comparison to the masters of the Golden Age *comedia*, whose baroque aesthetics accounted for a multiplicity of themes, plots, and characters. For the *refundidores* of the early nineteenth century, however, the layered and lavish baroque styles of the Golden Age were incompatible with their own aesthetic principles. These authors, partly inspired by the argument put forward by Luzán’s *La poética*, wished to, in the words of Francisco Aguilar Piñal, “suprimir lo defectuoso, en una nueva versión, más acorde con los imperativos axiológicos del momento” (33). These axiological imperatives included a neo-Aristotelian desire for verisimilitude, reason, and ordered plots; in practice, this often meant eliminating secondary characters, suppressing plots deemed irrelevant to the play’s larger argument, and cutting down longer speeches into more digestible lengths.



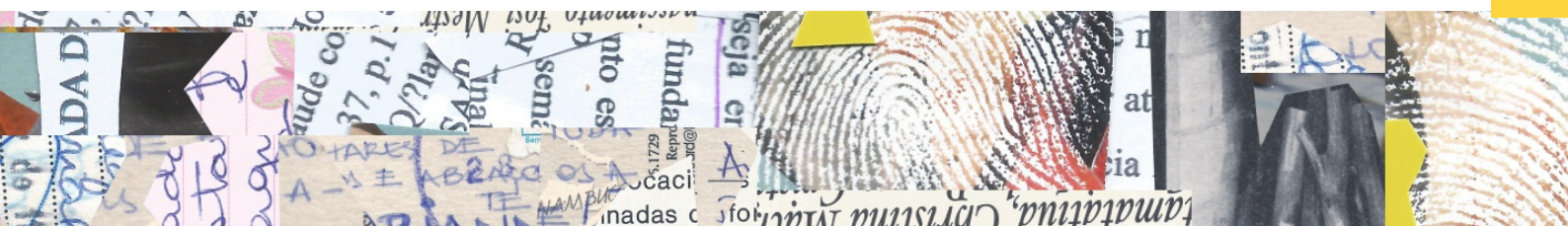
The essential project of a *refundidor* was to use recognizable tropes of the Golden Age to make a moral argument that more closely aligned with the interests of the nineteenth century and was specifically vested in establishing Spanish national theatre as an alternative to the rising popularity of English and French Romanticism, as made clear by the prologues to Fernández Guerra's own works.

Many of these *refundiciones* were published as *comedias sueltas*, unbound printings of plays that, along with other forms of *literatura de cordel*, "brought the purchase of wildly popular comedia texts within reach of readers of almost all walks of life" (Hernández 5).³ These ephemeral pieces of literature, first popularized in Spain during the early printing booms of the seventeenth century, continued to be printed into the nineteenth.⁴ All three of Fernández Guerra's 1826 *refundiciones* were printed as bound *suestras*; each one attempts to update a Golden Age original for nineteenth-century audiences. These include *La dama duende*, originally by Calderón de la Barca; *Cuántas veo tantas quiero*, a medley of three plays from the seventeenth century (along with some of Fernández Guerra's own additions); and finally, *Ir contra el viento*, a rewrite of *Yo por vos y vos por otro* by Agustín Moreto. Fernández Guerra was not the only author of his time attempting to update the Golden Age comedias for a contemporary audience (other notable names of the *refundidores* are Cándido María Trigueros, Dionisio Solís, and Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch), but particularly fascinating in these works is the author's use of the prologue to defend his project, an explanation not afforded in other *suestras*, in which the text of the play often utilized all of the limited page space.

Before diving into the analysis of this moral argument, I will briefly summarize the *refundición* that is central to this article, *Ir contra el viento*, and its original text, *Yo por vos y vos por otro*. The original play, written by Agustín Moreto⁵ in the seventeenth century and published posthumously in his second collection of *comedias* in 1676, takes the form of a classic romantic comedy, in which a mix-up of portraits leads the

two main male characters to think up a plot to trick their desired women into loving them back. The men, don Enrique and don Íñigo, returning from their time in the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, sent along portraits to the two daughters of a fellow captain they had met there—with the intention that don Íñigo would marry doña Margarita, and don Enrique would marry doña Isabel. Unfortunately, the women received the wrong portraits, and doña Isabel fell in love with the appearance of don Íñigo, and doña Margarita with that of don Enrique. The men are looking for a solution to these crossed wires, and, after confiding in the servant Motril, come up with the idea to act against the desires of the woman who currently loves them, thus making them more desirable to the actual woman they love. The plot, like many of the *comedias de enredo* of the Golden Age, may not be unfamiliar to modern-day viewers of a romantic comedy film, with similar farcical scenes of misunderstanding and comical mix-ups. Eventually, the ladies' servant Inés discovers the men's plan to trick the women, and the women decide to give the men a taste of their own medicine. Despite the fact that she has already been turned off by don Enrique's shows of jealousy (which were really meant to attract doña Isabel), doña Margarita declares that she truly loves him and wishes to marry him. The men are essentially scared into revealing the truth of their plan: that they were faking all along in order to turn the ladies' feelings around. Doña Margarita reveals her own fiction and tells don Íñigo that she wishes to marry him because she loves him and wants no other; doña Isabel declares the same to don Enrique, and the two couples are happily married.

Fernández Guerra's version of the play, renamed *Ir contra el viento* in a reference to the difficulty of the task that lays before the two men, retains the general plot of the original, though there are several changes, including a change in the protagonists' names. In his version, don Diego (a renamed don Enrique) is in love with doña Isabel, and don Enrique (formerly don Íñigo) loves doña Margarita. Fernández Guerra also removes the second trick played by the ladies, instead having don Diego reveal the trick

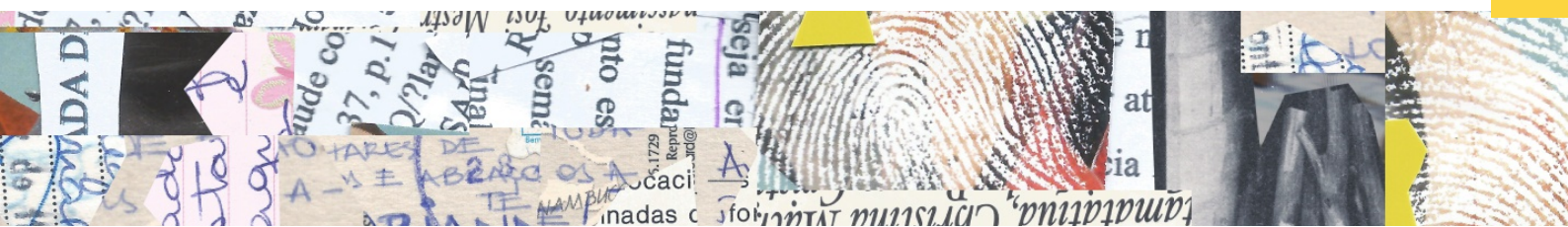


right before the end of the play, after the women had decided amongst themselves that they each got along better with their sisters' betrothed (which was, of course, the point of the men's ruse). Carmen Santana Bustamante has performed a categoric comparison of the two texts, exploring in detail the specific changes made to Moreto's play; while such a schematic comparison is beyond the scope of this article, a brief examination of certain changes will illuminate the aesthetic and political concerns of Fernández Guerra in his re-writing process.⁶ These were changes to the roles of the servants Motril and Inés: Motril was made much more central to the plot of the play, casting him as the mastermind of the entire plot, while Inés's participation in the discovery of said plot was suppressed.

In his prologue, Fernández Guerra writes that "el plan de Moreto es tanto menos natural cuanto menos relación tiene con el desenredo" and that Moreto's original play represents a "defecto clásico contra la razón y contra el arte" (*Ir contra*). He lays out Moreto's defective plot thusly: "a don Diego y a don Enrique no les bastaba para conseguir su objeto, el hacerse odiosos a aquellas de quienes se veían amados apesar suyo: les era necesario además hacerse amables e interesantes a los ojos de las que ellos adoraban" (Fernández Guerra, *Ir contra*). Not so outlandishly, he believes that there should be scenes added that make clear the attraction and shared values between the couples who end up together at the end. And while it can be argued that the ending of Moreto's play was not so unexpected as Fernández Guerra makes it out to be when he writes that "el espectador no espera de modo alguno la determinación de doña Isabel y doña Margarita," it is interesting to note that the author's argument rests on the centrality of reason and the viewer's (or reader's) ability to make sense of a plot that, to the nineteenth-century sensitivities of Fernández Guerra, lacked necessary verisimilitude (*Ir contra*). In this way, Fernández Guerra reaches back in time to the mid-seventeenth century to pull out the basic plot points of Moreto's work, re-presenting them

according to the preferences of the neo-Aristotelian mode of the early nineteenth century.

Fernández Guerra's prologue makes clear his commitment to the neo-Aristotelian aesthetics promoted by Luzán and shared by several other playwrights and *refundidores* at the time. As Javier Vellón Lahoz writes, "la comedia hispana alcanzó un nivel de codificación interna, cuya latencia dramática únicamente exige una actualización guiada por la regularización y la verosimilitud" (102). Fernández Guerra was among those most concerned with both the regularization of the *comedia* and the centrality of verisimilitude. In his prologue, he argues that Moreto's work "no prepara el desenlace, no da caracteres a los personajes, ni trazó una marcha natural y verosímil" (Fernández Guerra, *Ir contra*). Fernández Guerra seeks to remedy this in his *refundición*, following the neo-Aristotelian aesthetics promoted by Luzán and others in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Spain. Luzán named his treatise after Aristotle's famous *Poetics* and argued that Spain's poets and playwrights must return to the Aristotelian structure (distilled through Christian morality) in order to rectify the moral damage done by baroque playwrights. Aguilar Piñal writes that Luzán "como racionalista, quiere luchar contra el absurdo; como político cristiano, contra los abusos y el desenfreno de la moral" (36). The connection between literary aesthetics and Luzán's larger political project is explicit, and a clearer morality is just as important as a streamlined plot. According to Luzán, Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo*, surely the most influential instructional text on *comedia*-writing in the seventeenth century, directly and flagrantly opposed the rules put forward by Aristotle, which then caused "daños gravísimos al público" (152). Fernández Guerra echoes this argument in his prologue when he writes that "ni la filosofía, ni el buen gusto, ni el conocimiento de las reglas reinaban en aquel siglo [XVII]" (*Ir contra*). This focus on "good taste" echoes Luzán's own political project rooted in Christian morality. In his *refundición*, Fernández Guerra hopes to rectify these faults by adding more verisimilitude,



removing several characters he views as extraneous to the plot, and adjusting the morality of the play to more closely align with the ideals of the early nineteenth century.

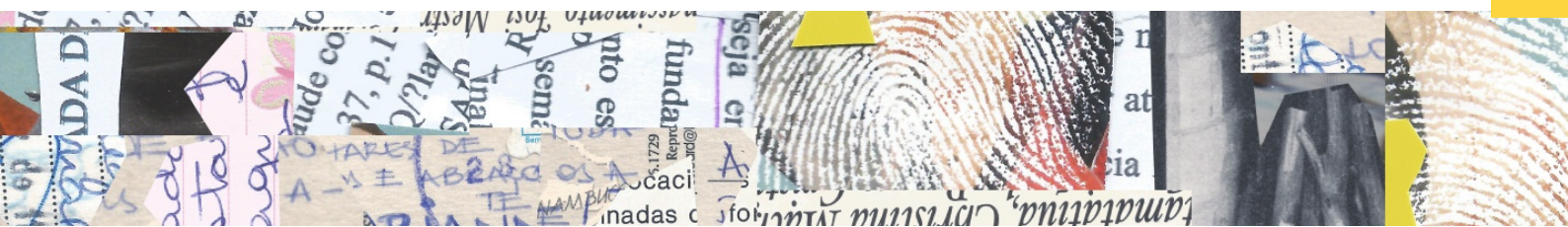
Notable in this attempt at further verisimilitude is the change Fernández Guerra makes in the role of the servant Motril. In Moreto's original, Motril plays the traditional role of the *gracioso*: a servant character who makes comical comments on the *comedia*'s action and the behavior of the protagonists for the general amusement of the audience. In the opening scene of Moreto's work, Motril hears the plight of Íñigo and Enrique and initially suggests that they pretend to love the women they are paired with, "con tanta demasía / que ellas se hallen con vosotros / hartas de verse queridas" (I.452-4). Once bored with the men, Motril claims, the women will then be easier to persuade love their "correct" counterpart. Fernández Guerra maintains this conversation, ending the scene on Motril's question that "en habiéndolas cansado, / ¿no os será, pesia mi vida, / más fácil de inclinarlas?" (*Ir contra* act 1, 11-12). However, he suppresses the continued conversation in Moreto's work, in which Íñigo tells Enrique "yo he de añadir una industria / que remedie nuestra vida," later revealed as the decision to act against the preferences of each woman ("en que es nuestra condición / contraria a la suya misma") to ensure that the women would not only bore of them, but be so disgusted as to refuse marriage entirely (I.473-4; I.483-4). In his efforts to streamline the play, Fernández Guerra makes the servant the sole mastermind of the plot, ignoring that it was the rich nobleman Íñigo who suggests acting against type to further repulse the women. The class implications of this change are notable; while Motril certainly plays the *alcahuete* in the original work, the gentlemen are culpable in designing their own inventions to move the women's feelings and utilize Motril in this plan, rather than merely following the servant's tricks.

Additionally, in removing the servant Inés's discovery of the plan and subsequent revelation to the women, as well as their return

trick upon the men, Fernández Guerra suppresses the women's opportunity to assert their own feelings about the trick played upon them. While Fernández Guerra claims in the prologue that he has made Inés "jugar en el enredo, y saco de ella algún partido, mientras que Moreto la olvidó como inútil e insignificante," he appears to erase the important role Inés played in revealing the trick to Isabel and Margarita (*Ir contra*). Indeed, Inés insists that the women retaliate against the men in Moreto's original: "la obediencia os niego / si no tomáis venganza de contado, / que hago en Madrid más ruido que un quemado" (III.2646-8). The layering of tricks and reveals—*engaños* and *desengaños*—frequent in the Golden Age are replaced in the *refundición* by a more logical denouement, in which don Diego simply reveals that "todo hasta aquí ha sido traza / de nuestro amor" (Fernández Guerra, *Ir contra* act 3, 117). The replacement of the layers of *engaño/desengaño* with a commitment to verisimilitude throughout ensures that Fernández Guerra's work aligns with Luzán's recommendations for the national theatre, which Aguilar Piñal describes:

En definitiva, lo que Luzán pretende es introducir en la vida teatral española un nuevo gusto artístico, exento de exageraciones, hipérboles y situaciones inverosímiles, en el que dominase la sensatez, la proporción y la moderación, ajustándose a unas normas precisas, hijas de la razón y enemigas de la fantasía desbordada. Pero también un teatro moral y educativo, al servicio de la sociedad estamental. (36)

The aesthetic modes of the baroque, which set out to entertain audiences with wordplay, reveals of hidden truths, musical interludes, and introductions of "low" humor, would not serve the moral and political goals of Luzán and his followers. Instead, the *refundidores* would align the content of these classic plays with the more enlightened aesthetic considerations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, adapting the



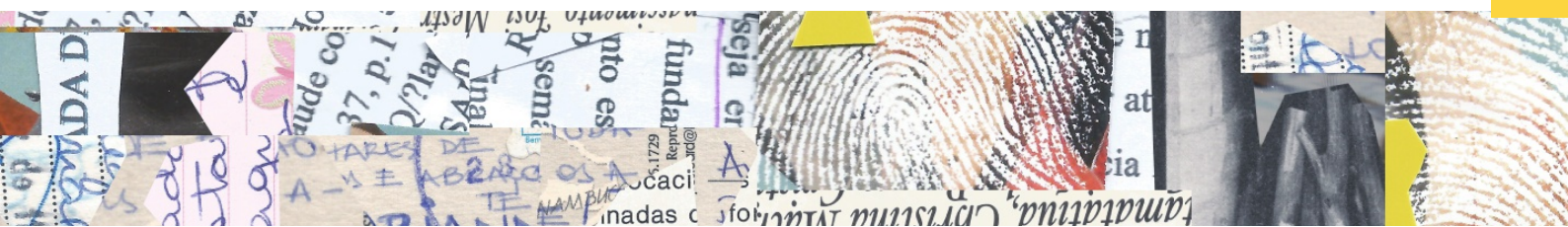
baroque masters into neo-classical educative works.

Part of this alignment involved an assumption, on the part of the *refundidor*, for what exactly a viewer (or, as was often the case by this point, a reader) of a *comedia* truly wishes to see. Most of Fernández Guerra's primary critiques of Moreto's original work hinge upon the expectations and wants of "el espectador." As mentioned above, he argued that Moreto did not do enough to establish the positive relationships between the couples, to the effect that the viewer does not expect the ladies to change their minds about the men until it occurs at the play's conclusion. Later on in the prologue, he rails against the characters that he sees as adding very little to the plot, writing that "uno de los principales defectos de los autores de siglo XVII consiste en la multitud de personajes que solían introducir en las comedias, los cuales, como inútiles, solo servían para entorpecer y embrollar la acción" (Fernández Guerra, *Ir contra*). He continues to inveigh against these useless characters, claiming that they bother the viewer, distract from the "fin principal," and that the presence of musicians in particular cause a loss of "una gran parte del tiempo que el espectador quiere ocupar en lances cómicos e interesantes nacidos de la acción" (Fernández Guerra, *Ir contra*). This concern for the viewer's experience and how they may dedicate their time comes in conjunction with the neo-Aristotelian aesthetic interests that shape the project of the *refundición*. Santana Bustamante concludes that Fernández Guerra removes the musical pieces from the play because "la consideraba innecesaria y de poco agrado para el público decimonónico, que prefería ver diálogo y acción que escuchar melodías antiguas ajenas a su contexto" (123). This concern amplifies the arguments made by the *refundidores* that their projects served to streamline baroque plots, claiming the interests of the spectator as their primary reasoning. The shifting interests of a more lettered society meant that the musical interludes and additional characters (who often took on comedic sketches) from Golden Age plays were suppressed in favor

of more logical plotting. With these changes, Fernández Guerra brings his work closer to the "fin principal" that he seeks—one which follows both "reason" and "good taste" and serves to counteract the perceived damages done to public morality by baroque aesthetics.

Refundidores like Fernández Guerra found fundamental defects with the *comedias* of the Golden Age, which could only be remedied by a rewritten version in accordance with the neo-Aristotelian preferences of the early nineteenth century. The question remains, however, as to why they felt the need to rewrite seventeenth century *comedias* rather than create new, original plays, which could conform more easily to their aesthetic preferences. As authors like Ganelin and David Gies have noted, there was a "furor de refundir" occurring in Spain in the early nineteenth century, which were "con frecuencia, la única forma en que ven los aficionados al teatro las obras del antiguo repertorio español" (Gies, "Furor de refundir" 120). And despite the ready criticism the *refundidores* launched at the original *comedias*, "the energy that the *comedia*'s detractors spent denouncing Golden Age theatre lent even greater impetus to the *comedia*'s persistence and its ability to withstand incursions" (Ganelin, *Rewriting Theatre* 17). The seeming contradictions in the project of the *refundidores* is captured in Fernández Guerra's explanation of why he deemed it necessary to recast Moreto's original play: "el pensamiento sobre que gira es de suyo tan cómico, tan interesante, que habría sido una lástima dejarle confundido entre los defectos con que Moreto manchaba y oscurecía sus mismas bellezas" (*Ir contra*). Underneath these baroque defects lay a basic argument that remained relevant to a nineteenth century audience, which the *refundidor* could improve with neo-Aristotelian re-imaginings. In addition, the return to Golden Age plays marked an important step in the (re)construction of a national literature that had floundered in the late eighteenth century.

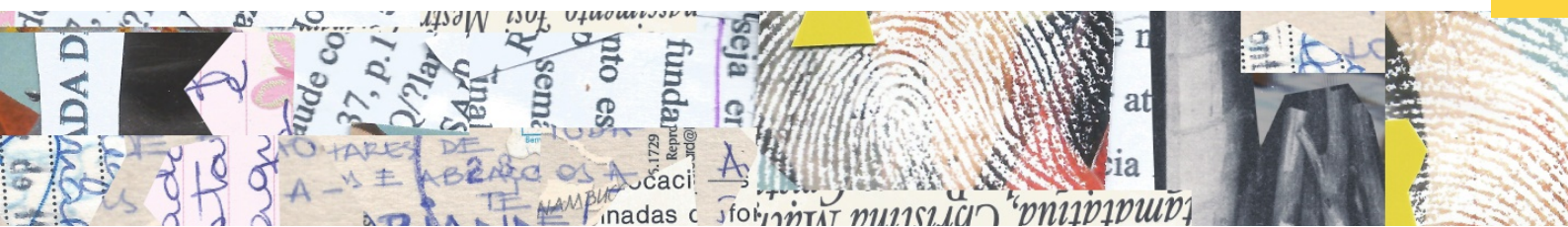
Luzán clearly makes the argument for a stronger national literature in the mid-eighteenth century, writing that, had there been more alignment with Aristotelian values during the



Golden Age, “tendríamos en España tan bien escritos comedias, que serían la envidia y admiración de las demás naciones” (150). More than a century on from Spain’s Golden Age, the authors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were deeply concerned with presenting Spain as a strong literary presence, especially fighting against the increasing popularity of Romanticism in the rest of Europe. While Romanticism would arrive in Spain in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when Fernández Guerra wrote in the 1820s, Spanish theatre mostly consisted of “translations, melodramas, magical comedies, operas, and *refundiciones*” (Gies, “Romantic Spain” 350).⁷ In the prologue to Fernández Guerra’s *refundición* of Calderón de la Barca’s *La dama duende*, also published in 1826, Fernández Guerra’s friend Antonio de Miguel writes that “ahora, en el siglo de la filosofía y del buen gusto, está infestando a la Europa con composiciones monstruosas, contrarios a un mismo tiempo a las reglas del arte y a la razón” (*Dama duende*). These words, interestingly echoing Fernández Guerra’s own analysis of the faults of Golden Age comedias, refer to Romantic works: Miguel specifically makes reference to *El vánpiro*, perhaps a translation of the 1819 John William Polidori work *The Vampyre*, which arose out of the same story contest (between Polidori, Lord Byron, and Mary and Percy Shelley) that produced *Frankenstein*. These “monstrous” compositions presented a threat not only to the ordered, logic-forward, neo-Aristotelian sensibilities of many *refundidores*, but also a danger to Spanish national literature itself.

To counteract the dangers of Romanticism threatening the morals of the Spanish public, Fernández Guerra embarked upon his project of rewriting the classic Spanish plays. While moral concerns may have been one reason for the *refundiciones*, there was also the importance of combatting Spain’s bad reputation within European literary circles. Antonio de Miguel also complains of the fact that other countries in Europe look down on Spain, including that “nos comparaba con los habitantes de los desiertos del África”—a complaint mirroring the famous quote,

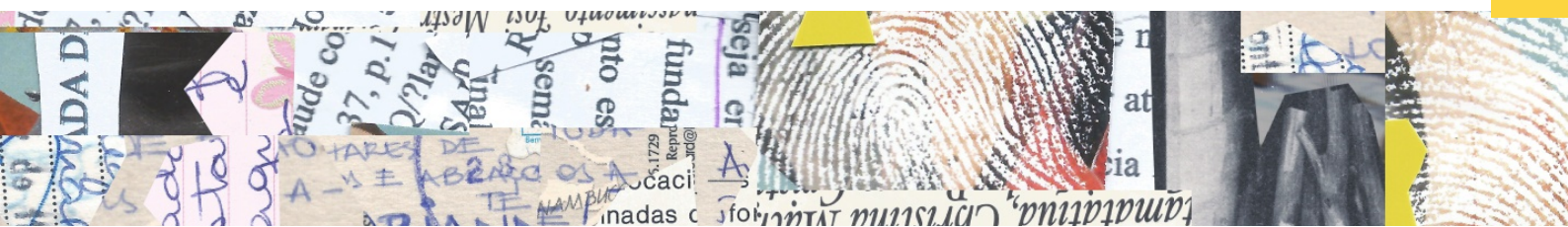
of various attributions, that “Africa begins at the Pyrenees” and continuing a racist and anti-Muslim anxiety around Spanish identity that began in the early modern period (*Dama duende*).⁸ While the *refundidores* saw defects within the works of the Golden Age, they nevertheless recognized this period as a time of extreme literary, artistic, and political power for Spain. In an effort to revitalize Spain’s national theatre and defend its artistic abilities against the denigration of French and English authors, Fernández Guerra and his contemporaries wished to simultaneously call back to this historical success and fundamentally change the works themselves. In the words of Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos: “el trabajo del refundidor supone la existencia de una consideración previa y generalizada, según la cual se valora el pasado nacional pero, a la vez, se entiende necesaria su revisión, su regularización, para que ese pasado (y esos valores) puedan ser absolutamente aceptados y apropiados en el presente” (287). Ganelin concurs that “each interpretation offered by a *refundición* of a specific text adjusts a society’s cultural currency” (“*Refundición Redux*” 47). The dual considerations of the past and the present bridge the space between the original *comedia* and its *refundición*, drawing out the shared cultural touchstones between texts written centuries apart. As Fernández Guerra writes in his prologue, Moreto’s original play remained an interesting enough premise to deserve a reconsideration in front of a nineteenth century audience, despite its many aesthetic faults, demonstrating that “the horizons that condition a staging are influenced both by the period that produced the text as well as by the play’s individuality and inherent ability to transcend its period” (Ganelin, “*Refundición Redux*” 51). Despite the *refundidores*’ critiques of the Golden Age comedias, the authors ultimately idolized this period of Spanish cultural dominance, wishing to revitalize the genre to establish a new national theatre. This national theatre would not only bring up Spain’s reputation in the eyes of other European countries but also serve as a mode of education for the viewing public, reviving the country’s most famous playwrights with the appropriate moral messaging for a nineteenth-century viewer.



Much like the original works of the Golden Age, the *refundiciones* of the early nineteenth century presented moral and political arguments to their audiences. The political realities of the time—perhaps most especially Spain's declining imperial power—pushed the *refundidores* to look backwards, to attempt to bridge the gap between past and present to retain some of the former glory of the empire, even as they pushed against its baroque aesthetics. The playwrights of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were controlled by rules and regulations upheld by officers of the Church and the Inquisition; the *refundidores* (still nominally under Inquisitorial control, though the power held in the Holy Office was limited throughout the late eighteenth century and was officially disbanded eight years after Fernández Guerra's publications) applied neo-Aristotelian philosophy to their works to manage these moral and political questions. While suppressing the baroque aesthetics that brought Golden Age authors to fame, the *refundidores* wished to weaponize this form of celebrity in order to combat arguments that Spain's literary output paled in comparison to other European countries. Their nationalistic tendencies (which again replicated the proto-imperial and colonial drive of Golden Age authors) work alongside their aesthetic modes to change the classic plays and to promote this project to other authors. As quoted at the beginning of this article, Fernández Guerra wished for his project to inspire others to follow in his footsteps, a project that would presumably, eventually, rewrite all of the famous plays of the Golden Age, until Spanish writers had once again proven themselves capable of establishing a strong national theatre.

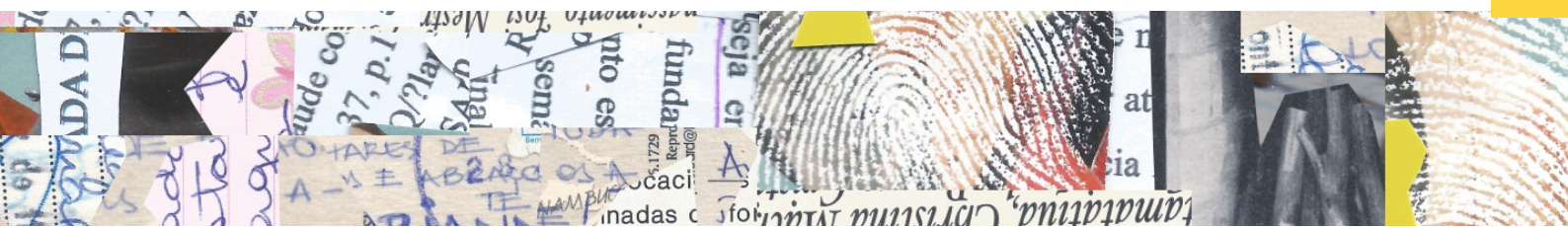
For modern readers and researchers, the *refundiciones* of the nineteenth century provide an interesting look at the history of reception in the Spanish context, particularly in the views of Golden Age authors held by the *refundidores*. The mass production of these *refundiciones* informs us of their popularity in the time, and indeed of the continued popularity of Golden Age works, changed as they might have been. In the early nineteenth century, a rewritten Calderón or

Moreto was as much of a draw to the theatre as the originals were to the *corrales* in the seventeenth century. Unraveling the threads of the *refundición* is fascinating not only from the perspective of cataloging plot changes, but also to consider the political, social, and moral shifts that influence the *refundidor's* decisions. In a tradition of reception and adaptation studies, the period of the *refundición* in the nineteenth century stands as an important step towards modern day adaptations and recastings of Golden Age plays, which again adjust the baroque aesthetics to match a modern viewing experience. Rather than continuing to elide this moment of Spanish literary history, further analyses of the *refundiciones*, including of the *refundidores'* justifications as in Fernández Guerra's prologues, will illuminate the strong social, moral, and political ambitions of these works, including their desires to rebuild a canon of plays renowned throughout the literary landscape of their time and beyond.



Notes

1. Research for this article was completed under a Denis Curatorial Fellowship at the Winston Tabb Special Collections Research Center of the Sheridan Libraries at Johns Hopkins University in the summer of 2022. A version of the paper was presented at the “Contextualizing Comedias sueltas” masterclass at the Peabody Library in April 2023. Many thanks to Mackenzie Zalin for his support and feedback during the fellowship term, and to Paul Espinosa for facilitating my access to materials at the Peabody Library. Additional thanks to Earle Havens, Szilvia Szmuk-Tanenbaum, and the other participants at the masterclass for their comments on earlier versions of this project.
2. Quotes taken from the 1826 copy, published in Málaga by the Imprenta de Quincozes. The prologue of the play lacks pagination. Modernization mine.
3. Literatura de cordel refers to the popular and inexpensive offerings that printers would hang on strings outside their stores. Common genres included poems, songs, relaciones de suceso, and folk novels.
4. For more on the history of sueltas and their cataloging in libraries today, see Szmuk-Tanenbaum and Zalin (2021).
5. Moreto (1618-1669) was a popular subject for the refundidores, though not as popular as Calderón, Tirso de Molina, or Lope de Vega. Gies calculates that from 1820-1833, half of the representations of Moreto’s plays in Madrid were refundiciones (“Furor de refundir” 114).
6. Santana Bustamante notes that Fernández Guerra’s changes were made “a conseguir una obra más natural y verosímil, una de las normas fundamentales de las refundiciones neoclásicas y decimonónicas” (125).
7. Gies later writes that “it was not until the end of the decade [1820s], and then, more rapidly following the death of King Fernando VII in 1833, that the Spanish theatre managed to stage imported or home-grown plays that reflected the collective energy and European angst called Romanticism” (“Romantic Spain” 350).
8. Often attributed to Alexandre Dumas, the phrase also appears in early nineteenth century writings by the Count of Funchal and Dominique Dufour de Pradt. Barbara Fuchs explores the paradoxical creation of Spanish national identity in relation to its racially and culturally diverse heritage in *Exotic Nation* (2009).



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