WOMEN AND CARRIAGES IN 17TH-CENTURY ARAGONESE BURLESQUE POETRY

Almudena Vidorreta
The Graduate Center, City University of New York

ABSTRACT: During the 17th century, literature turned the growing number of carriages into a burlesque topic. There were countless poems written about traffic jams, accidents, or the proper way to ask a friend for a carriage, often considered a symbol of status. Literary references to carriages can tell us many things about the men and women who used them, as well as about gender stereotypes. Women and carriages were understood as interconnected elements in Early Modern Spain; carriages appear as a means to conquer feminine muses as well as a recurrent satirical topic even for women poets. This article analyzes some rarely studied burlesque poems by Aragonese writers José Navarro, Alberto Díez, José Tafalla and Ana Abarca de Bolea, among others, that can help us understand the range and extension of some oversimplified *topoi* on womanhood that have survived until today.

RESUMEN: El incremento del número de coches marcó su impronta en la literatura del siglo XVII. Testimonios poéticos de género diverso dan cuenta de temas burlescos muy acusados como el tráfico abundante, los accidentes o la forma de pedir prestado un vehículo que no todos podían permitirse. Estas referencias literarias a los coches aportan valiosa información sobre la sociedad de su tiempo y la configuración de ciertos estereotipos femeninos. En la España del Siglo de Oro, coches y mujeres llegan a entenderse como elementos interconectados: los carruajes aparecen como medio para conquistar a las mujeres que inspiran estos poemas burlescos, cuya escritura debemos incluso a una pluma femenina. Este artículo analiza en su contexto algunos poemas apenas estudiados de los aragoneses José Navarro, Alberto Díez, José Tafalla Negrete y Ana Abarca de Bolea, entre otros, que ilustran el alcance de tópicos sobre la subjetividad femenina que han pervivido hasta nuestros días.

KEYWORDS: Carriages, Women, Aragonese Poetry, Ana Abarca de Bolea, José Navarro
PALABRAS CLAVE: Coches, mujeres, poesía aragonesa, Ana Abarca de Bolea, José Navarro

Urban reforms, road construction, maintenance and paving in Spain in the 17th century went hand in hand with technical innovations that improved the comfort and sturdiness of vehicles, as can be observed in original archival material as well as in a number of literary testimonies.[1] Whereas owning a carriage in 16th-century Europe was rather uncommon, their number eventually increased and their presence became more prevalent within the aristocracy and the nascent bourgeoisie (Paulicelli 211-12; Newman 73). As María de Guevara argues in her *Warnings to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain*, around 1663 there was "no city supplier, merchant, or craftsman who does not ride around in a carriage" (61). Documents depicting the social uses of carriages can be an important and unique source of information, and the history of transportation can reveal important details about the development of urban space, social mobility, socialization, and human behavior and mores. Literary references to carriages, often considered a sign of social privilege and a symbol of status, can shed light on people's civil customs and uncover gender stereotypes.

While art history has traditionally portrayed the evolution of coaches and carriages in paintings and engravings, literature has consistently turned them into a burlesque topic. Conventional ideas about carriages and women are found in different literary genres, especially in comedies and *entremeses* (Brioso 227-36; Fernández Oblanca 105-24), but also in poetry, a genre where events, experiences, assumptions and beliefs could be quickly chronicled and shared. This is the case, for instance, with Quevedo's "Sátira a los coches," written in response to the "Pragmática en que se da la forma cerca de las personas que se prohibe andar en coches, y los que se pueden andar en ellos, y cómo se ayan de hazer, y que sean de quatro cauallos" (1611), and considered one of the most famous Spanish-language satirical poem against carriages.[2] The poem presents itself as a trial in which carriages are personified, while pinpointing many of the central issues associated with their expansion and development in the burgeoning urban spaces. The first issue described in the poem deals with role of carriages as procuress:[3] "Acúsome en alta voz / (dijo) que ha un año que sirvo / de usurpar a las terceras / sus derechos y su oficio" (vv. 17-20).[4] Ignacio Arellano has detailed several of Quevedo's enduring topics about carriages in this satire: carriages steal the procuress' prostitution business, ruin the pretentious and conceited people, sacrifice essential qualities to ostentation, and, finally, expose women's vanity and obsessions (39).

The purpose of this article is to examine the poetic implications of the carriage trope in some Aragonese burlesque poems from the 1650s in relation to some other texts by canonical writers like Luis de Góngora or Francisco de Quevedo, in order to demonstrate the range and extension of the trope all over the country. This analysis will reveal the social attitudes towards this new fashion, its gendered construction, as well as its historic and aesthetic impact. This essay will also examine unexplored poetic representations of new urban practices associated with carriage use, such as the growing ubiquity of traffic jams and accidents (Deleito y Piñuela, *Sólo Madrid* 224-5), the proper etiquette for borrowing a carriage for courtship purposes, and the laws regulating carriage ownership and maintenance. Through this analysis, I will shed light on the surreptitious presence of the feminine gaze in texts written by both male and female poets, focusing on writers such as Alberto Díez, José Navarro, José Tafalla y Negrete, and Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, among others.

By imitating royal manners, customs and clothing, objects associated with women quickly came to include decorative items such as coaches and carriages. In the first decade of the 17th century, Queen Margarita added all kinds of accessories and embellishments to her vehicles, and equipped them for multiple purposes. Showing his concern for the lack of etiquette, Philip III passed a series of regulations for the use of carriages and coaches in 1603; these laws affected those allowed to accompany the Queen, and were also responsible for regulating the behavior of servants (López de José 213-4, 224; López Álvarez 488). Some decades later, in 1649, Philip IV issued almost identical regulations, which reveals the prevalence of such concerns throughout the century in Spain (López de José 227). All over the country, noblemen and women wanted to imitate the royalty in their public appearances, as reflected in the literature written at the time, and mostly studied in relation to the theatre of Tirso de Molina, Lope de Vega or Agustín Moreto (López Álvarez 490-502). This can also be observed in poems where carriages serve as a representation of wide social and financial gaps, like in the case of one of Góngora's many satirical poems, his *letrilla* "*A toda ley, madre mía*":

> Basta un señor de vasallos
> y un grave potente fraile;
> los demás los lleve el aire,
> si el aire quiere llevallos;

[…]
Solo a estos doy mi amor
y mis contentos aplico,
madre; al uno porque es rico,
al otro porque es hechor.
Llévame el fraile el humor,
el marqués me lleva en coche;
démosle al uno la noche
y al otro démosle el día. (n. 96, vv. 65-8 and 77-84)

This tendency to imitate palatial manners and customs is also present in a group of Aragonese poets writing towards the second half of the seventeenth century: Alberto Díez y Foncalda (1653), José Navarro (1654) and José Tafalla y Negrete (1706).[5] They were well known for their active involvement in the literary competitions of their time, and they collected their poetry and published it as volumes of miscellanea (Tafalla's was posthumous). Navarro and Díaz y Foncalda actively participated in the literary academy fostered by the Count of Lemos and his son, the Count of Andrade, who periodically celebrated poetry gatherings to write about wide-ranging social and literary topics. During these meetings, the business of carriages as a symbol of status and nobility was not overlooked.

José Navarro's "*Vejamen* que dio en la academia del excelentísimo señor conde de Lemos" (55-6) contains a conversation between a fool and a student who are looking at the entrance of the theatre of Nuestra Señora de Gracia Hospital, in Zaragoza. Their praise for the size and lavishness of the carriages, as well as the number of horses, highlights the importance of the theatergoers, writers, and noblemen associated with the literary academy of the Count of Lemos:

> pero, dime: ¿qué señores son aquellos que se apean de aquella carroza a quien tiran seis caballos castaños, que me admira su grandeza?". "Son," respondió el loco, y lo mismo dirán todos los cuerdos, "dos heroicos príncipes, dos esclarecidos héroes, Andrada y Híjar. (55-6)

Carriages were represented in poetry as instruments with which to conquer women, and as privileged spaces for gallant and romantic relationships. Mostly written by men, some of these poems describe how these new social practices unlocked many opportunities almost anywhere in the country,

particularly in places that were far-removed from the Court. According to Alejandro López Álvarez (486-7), the oldest Spanish testimony about a carriage's role in courtship was written by Hernando de Acuña around 1564-1565, although published in 1591. Hernando de Acuña's poetic dialogue, "A un caballero que habiendo venido de Alemania a España a visitar a la reina de Bohemia, cantó una noche en el terreno viniendo con un señor en un coche", underlines the budding topic that "para cantar de noche / fue sana invención el coche" (López Álvarez 487, n. 56). Carriages, in Hernando de Acuña's verses, were both the perfect hiding place and the absolute apology for furtive engagements:

> Si os preguntan cómo os fue
> señor con vuestra embajada,
> diréis, hecha la jornada,
> llegué, visité y canté:
> y si os pidieren porqué,
> diréis que cubre la noche
> el gesto, la voz y el coche. (López Álvarez 487, n. 56)

The emergence of male literary characters courting a lady from their carriages was at odds with conventional knightly rules and unspoken social mores that ensured the protection of a traditional social status quo. Although many noblemen preserved the symbolic value of horse riding, a growing number of them succumbed to the fashionable use of carriages for increased public exposure (Maravall 583). But the assumption that reprehensible and sinful acts could take place inside carriages was more disturbing than the potential threat that carriages could pose to the established social order. In his *Entremés del Vizcaíno fingido*, Cervantes echoed the 1610 decree that prevented lending carriages, as well as the 1611 reinstatement of a rule prohibiting women from wearing veils or covering their faces. In Cervantes' *Entremés*, when Brígida seems troubled by the new laws ("estaba un pregonero pregonando que quitaban los coches, y que las mujeres descubriesen los rostros por las calles" [195]), Cristina replies:

> según he oído decir, andaba muy decaída la caballería en España, porque se empanaban diez o doce caballeros mozos en un coche y azotaban las calles de noche y de día, sin acordárseles que había caballos y jineta en el

> mundo; y, como les falte la comodidad de las galeras de la tierra, que son los coches, volverán al ejercicio de la caballería, con quien sus antepasados se honraron. (Cervantes, *Entremeses* 195-6)

In the first half of the 17th century, there were established rules on how to properly court a lady in a carriage: for example, men were supposed to talk to women from their horses, always at a distance (López Álvarez 489). According to the royal decree issued in 1611, whose terms were repeated in subsequent decrees, women could not share a carriage with men and were only allowed to ride in them with their faces uncovered (*Pramaticas* 2v). But many of these royal measures were not fully enforced, and toward the middle of the 17th century their violation had become a leitmotif in burlesque poetry.[6] This is the case with José Tafalla y Negrete's poem "Habiendo estado en conversación con unas damas embozadas, que iban en un coche, le mandó una de ellas describiese en una décima lo que le había parecido de su prosa, y si las había conocido, glosando este verso: *La ventanilla del coche*":

> El ver que sin presumir
> luces, pudiendo ostentar
> solo en el garbo de hablar,
> mostrasteis vuestro lucir,
> claro me deja inferir,
> sin pensarlo, a troche y moche,
> que erais el Sol, pues la noche
> de vuestro manto prolijo,
> tal vez hizo Oriente fijo,
> *la ventanilla del coche.* (Tafalla y Negrete 97)

Carriages were a recurrent topic in Tafalla y Negrete's poetry, and they found their way into every poetic genre in his *Ramillete poético.* In José Tafalla y Negrete's poems, there is a very common verse association, *coche-noche*, describing the perfect occasion to carry out secret and forbidden acts, as can be read in the last of the four sacred poems devoted to Christ's birth included in his *Ramillete poético*:

> Y permitid que me espante,
> no de que vengáis sin coche,

sino que del tiempo errante
haga a vista de un infante
serenísima la noche. (186)

During the 17th century, poetry developed a taste for the particular and the circumstantial, "in praise of the specific" (Robbins 62). Even political sonnets transformed occasional and particular events into universal concepts, especially when there were no transcendental wars or military adventures to write about. Frivolous and inconsequential events are transformed into inspirational moments, and King Carlos II's "most pious act" of lending his carriage to a priest called to perform the last rites to a poor man, on January 20th 1685, is paradigmatic (Bègue 1-2).[7] Such a curious gesture transformed into poetry must have had a deep impact on the audience, not only because it was done by the king, but also because lending a carriage in itself was forbidden.[8]

Although prohibited from 1611, as mentioned before, lending seemed to be a pretty common practice: "mandamos que las personas que tuvieren coche no le puedan prestar, ni los cocheros que los traen puedan meter en ellos a persona alguna, habiéndolos dejado y apeádose de ellos sus amos" (*Pramaticas* 2v). Borrowing a carriage, however, was an essential requirement for successfully seducing a woman (Zabaleta 401-2), as can be observed in José Navarro's "A un amigo, pidiéndole su coche." The whole ballad is an apostrophe to a friend, in which the poet reveals his eagerness to enjoy life again by meeting women after recovering from an illness. The poetic voice asks a friend to lend him a carriage to woo a couple of ladies:

Generoso don Antonio,
en quien se ven por prodigio
los méritos con las dichas
hallados y no reñidos;
[…]
Las píldoras me trataron
muy mal, pero no me admiro
que en viéndome yo con plata
es el trocarla preciso.
Pero, pues somos los dos
desalados pajaritos,

que en una prisión lloramos
y en unas redes gemimos,
ir esta tarde quisiera
adonde, ciego y rendido,
voy a buscar la quietud
y siempre encuentro el peligro:
a la casa de la santa
que abrasada en fuego activo,
para apagarse sus luces
sirvió de soplo un cuchillo.
Pues iréis en vuestro coche,
que allá me llevéis os pido,
que yo empecé a ser infante
desde que empecé a ser niño.
Siempre me voy paseando
y no puedo digerirlo,
y aun si azotarme quisieran
ha de faltarme el borrico.
Y es esto tanta verdad
que aunque por las calles miro
ir tantos coches rodando,
no puedo hallar uno mío.
Ya hallé una vez una rueda
que, con sus rayos malditos,
pudo abrasarme los huesos
dejando sano el vestido.
Los dos allá nos iremos;
pero advertid que os suplico
que, para ir a donde muero,
os paséis por donde vivo.
Para con vuestra Fenisa
tendréis mi dueño benigno,
que es dama de lindo arte
y os hará buenos oficios.
Pero esto no importa cuando
vivís tan correspondido,
que si amagáis con finezas,
luego os dan con el cariño.
Hacedme este, pues os debo
favores tan repetidos

que, si me negáis el coche,
me haréis perder los estribos. (Navarro 209-12)

Everyone, especially those who did not own one, aspired to ride on the carriage's uncomfortable *estribos*; located on both sides of the vehicle, this privileged position allowed the rider to see and be seen (Zabaleta 336), as shown in Quevedo's *El Buscón*: "si alguna vez vamos dentro del coche, es de considerar que siempre es en el estribo, con todo el pescuezo de fuera, hacienda cortesías porque nos vean todos, y hablando a los amigos y conocidos aunque miren a otra parte" (214-5). Going back to Navarro's poem, we must note the references to the increasing number of carriages at the time: "aunque por las calles miro / ir tantos coches rodando, / no puedo hallar uno mío."[9] Also, significanlty, those references often carry feminine connotations: "lindo arte" and "oficios" are clear references to the arts of love and prostitution. As opposed to Renaissance poetry in France and Italy, "in Spain, it is almost exclusively within low, comic, burlesque genres –those that deal with the portrayal of a world upside down– the frank representation of sexuality was allowed to appear" (Quintero 56). In fact, Quevedo's burlesque poems contain references to sex and venereal diseases such as the *caballo* or syphilis:

Mujer hay en el lugar
que a mil coches, por gozallos,
echará cuatro caballos,
que los sabe bien echar.
Yo sé quien manda salar
su coche como jamón,
chitón. (*Poesía* n. 646, 652, vv. 51-64)

The reification of women goes hand in hand with the description of carriages. Clothing, women and vehicles were treated in nearly equal terms by polemicists in the debates that followed Count-Duke Olivares's *Reformación*, intended to fight vices and restore Spanish virtues in the 1620's (López Álvarez 497). Hernando de Talavera or Jiménez Patón's comments on the wide hoopskirts known as *guardainfantes* (González Cañal 78-9), show to what extent anything related to women in carriages was eroticized and considered dangerous: the movement of carriages ignited women's

lust; their tight clothes around their hips under the *guardainfantes* were especially revealing when getting into a carriage; finally, both carriages and *guardainfantes* were used to commit and cover up adultery, as well as illicit pregnancies (Wunder 134).[10] Prostitutes (and procuress, as mentioned above) were said to use carriages for their business, and wore veils and voluminous *guardainfantes* in order to hide dishonesty: clothes and carriages provided secluded and enclosed spaces of sexuality.[11]

As enclosed spaces, carriages conceded to women an independence not granted by any other space, instead of constraining them. In 1638, Philip IV issued a new set of laws intended to prevent encounters that would allow ladies and gentlemen to enjoy moments of intimacy in a carriage (López de José 218). Men were permitted to have private conversations inside carriages, but any misconduct regarding carriage etiquette was usually associated with women, as was generally the case for any other misbehavior. For instance, in Lope de Vega's *Las bizarrías de Belisa*, the eponymous protagonist is depicted as a scheming and persuasive individual, even when she disguises herself as a male.[12] Because women were generally considered the initiators of all sinful acts, in literature the misuse of carriages and its impact on society is clearly gendered. Poets exploited topics such as the frequent portrayal of women as the active pursuers of sexual encounters, whose ambition and desire knew no bounds. In this regard, 17th century poets such as José Tafalla, Alberto Díez and José Navarro were drawing on widespread motives in satirical literature, such as the fickleness and frivolity of women, and their sensuality, roguishness and love for material things (Schwartz 629-47).

Only well-educated women, the so-called "cultas," preferred social instead of material attentions like jewelry, money and carriages, as Quevedo implies in his "Burla de los eruditos de embeleco que enamoran a feas cultas" (*Poesía* n. 740, 880-1). From the very beginning, he refers to the topic of carriages: "Muy discretas y muy feas, / mala cara y buen lenguaje, / pidan cátedra y no coche, / tengan oyente y no amante" (n. 740, 880, vv. 1-4). The satirical representation of such a female flaw goes against the grain of the traditional female passivity: these alleged feminine capabilities reveal a hypothetical attack on the traditional patriarchal order (García Santo Tomás 91-2; López Álvarez 504). The possibility that a woman would choose a husband based on whether or not the suitor had a carriage, led to much questioning and disquiet. Attitudes toward women's sexuality still prevailed,

as in this Quevedo's depiction of women's obsession for carriages, and the disappointment caused by the deception of a marriage of convenience in his aforementioned "Sátira a los coches:"

> Tras éstos, se quejó un coche
> de que había persuadido
> a una doncella a casarse
> con un viejo della indigno.
> Era niña y era hermosa
> y agora pierde el jüicio,
> viendo que el coche le falta
> y que le sobra el marido. (*Poesía* n. 779, 1017, vv. 61-8)

The fascination that women supposedly had for carriages, that "female passion for carriages" in the words of José Deleito y Piñuela (*La mujer* 265-70), together with their desire to boast, moved poets to write poems on the topic. Sometimes, women were not displayed as sexual objects or erotic wonders, but they were attracted to and even erotized by carriages. Women were described as wicked, and so enthralled by the sight of a carriage they would fall to the floor or faint. The importance of sight as the trigger of love, the eye as the gateway of desire, is present in Alberto Díez y Foncalda's burlesque poem "Escribe un galán a su dama, que la vio caer en la calle por mirar a un coche:"

> Desgracia fue de mi suerte,
> siguiéndote mi desvelo,
> que llegases hasta el suelo,
> yo tan cerca y no tenerte;
> pero mi cuidado advierte,
> si tenerte mereciera,
> de que no te sucediera,
> porque no hay razón que halle
> que cayeras en la calle,
> Clori, si yo te tuviera.
> Luego que tus ojos vieron
> el coche, causome espanto;
> tanto le miraban, tanto,
> que hasta sus ojos se fueron;

en el delito cayeron
de mujer, porque creyera
que quien tal se condiera,
tropezara a troche moche;
pero a la vista de un coche,
no es mucho caiga cualquiera.
Ya que no basta de amante,
ni la caricia, ni el ruego,
desde hoy porque caigas luego,
te pondré un coche delante,
pues que miro en tu semblante
del gusto la hazañería
y prometo, Clori mía,
(porque obligada te vea)
darte coches, aunque sea
requiebro de porquería.
Pues daño no recibiste,
cese el disgusto y el susto,
basta que tenga el disgusto
de que a mis ojos caíste.
Pero no he de quedar triste,
que en lo que he llegado a ver,
esperanza he de tener,
que aunque ingrata a mi desvelo,
me queda mucho consuelo
de haberte visto caer. (Díez y Foncalda 79-80)

In this case, as in many others, women are often characters who do not speak but are spoken about. However, despite the poetic exploitation and representation of women as muses by male poets, there is an important corpus of poetry written by women that has not received enough attention. The case of Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, an Aragonese nun born around 1623, is exemplary.[13] She wrote in both verse and prose, including hagiographic texts and compositions devoted "to members of the royal household and high nobility, underscoring her familial connections to the highest levels of Spanish society" ("Ana Abarca de Bolea" 3-4). Her book of shepherds with interpolated stories, *Vigilia y Octavario de San Juan Bautista*, includes three poems written in Aragonese. Significant among these is a burlesque ballad with over one hundred and fifty verses describing the

religious feast of the Corpus Christi in Zaragoza (Abarca de Bolea 399-407). Transformed into a shepherd, the only literary character allowed to use the Aragonese language, Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea details, from her position as spectator, the particular festivity intended to leave the faithful crowd in awe (Mateos Royo 105; García Bernal 284-285).[14] In the last stanza, after talking about the Archbishop closing the parade, she does not fail to include her comments about women and carriages:

> No te digo de las mozas
> que por las ventanas y eba,
> porque no me han feito goyo,
> que mucho más vale Menga.
> En coches por la ciudad
> hombres y mulleres vieras:
> y a fe que no va por Dios
> qui busca sus conveniencias.[15]

We can argue that the exceptional value of her testimony lies on the expression of a feminine identity. She is not only a woman poet writing in Aragonese (no other would do so until the 20th century), but also someone who denounces the false reasons that drove people to flaunt themselves in a religious environment, and in particular women's behavior. In the final verses, she criticizes the illustrious families' ostentatious carriages parading on the streets, with men and women aboard, "hombres y mulleres." Most importantly, she observes how young women watched through the windows: "No te digo de las mozas / que por las ventanas y eba, / porque no me han feyto goyo" (Abarca de Bolea 407). When she mentions that the shepherd is looking at them, and that his wife is a better match for him, Abarca de Bolea underscores how the religious procession serves as an excuse to socialize, and how the female image is constructed through masculine eyes. In Abarca de Bolea's burlesque poem, men share the sin with women, since both are portrayed together inside the carriages, but also peeking through the windows, "ventaneando."[16]

As Abarca de Bolea could voice her opinion given the burlesque nature of the poem, other Spanish women writers also used burlesque poetry to criticize women and carriages. Such is the case with María de Zayas y Sotomayor in her novel *Amar solo por vencer*: "Que a los coches pongan

/ corozas muy altas, / por encubridores / de bajezas tantas" (Zayas 304). However, like Abarca de Bolea as well, Zayas was critical about social and gender constructs in relation to carriages, and in *Estragos que causa el vicio,* for example, she portrayed her idea of masculinity as a synonym of libertinism (Paun de García 264-70), while redeeming women: "¿Es posible […] que no os corréis de estaros en la corte ajando galas y criando cabellos, hollando coches y paseando prados, y que en lugar de defenderos nos quitéis la opinión y el honor contando cuentos que os suceden con damas, que creo que son más invenciones de malicia que verdades" (Zayas 505-6).[17] As I have argued throughout this article, women and carriages were frequently understood as interdependent elements in Early Modernity. The examples I have provided reveal one of the many forms of female reification prevalent during this period. Carriages were an excuse to issue moral judgments on women, and perpetuate their place in society. In these 17th century compositions, we can find the seed of some oversimplified *topoi* about womanhood that still survive today, for example, in modern car advertising that features women as passive adornments and men's spoils.

These texts give us a glimpse of the underpinnings of social and gender distinctions through the lens of carriages. Warnings, cautionary tales and laws against their uses and abuses can be interpreted as the anxiety and unease of a society that saw these growing type of fashionable vehicles as a potential space in which women could acquire a power previously denied to them, and how such apprehensions extended across the Hispanic territory. As reflected in the poems that we have analyzed, for women the carriage symbolized social empowerment since it provided them a privileged place for enjoyment and prosperity. If carriages were considered dangerous, women inside carriages and women writing about carriages were even more threatening. Fortunately, there were open windows in houses and carriages for them to peek through; there were comedies for them to play unconventional roles; and there were burlesque poems, both written by men and women, to expose an inconvenient truth.

NOTES

[1] See López Álvarez's bibliography on Early Modern Spain, 1550-1700, previously studied by Rodríguez Marín in *Don Quixote* (102-11). For the history of carriages in Madrid see Leralta.

[2] This is not, however, the only place where Quevedo wrote about "coches", for his *Sueños* also contain many references to them. James O. Crosby worked extensively on carriages in his complementary notes for the edition of Quevedo's satirical prose (Quevedo, *Sueños* 2, 1163-69).

[3] For another case of the analogy of carriages and procuresses, see Cervantes' *The Novel of the Glass Lawyer*: "If you said they were taking procuress out to be flogged, I would understand that they were going to flog a carriage" (*Exemplary Novels* 185).

[4] For Quevedo's poetry, I follow José Manuel Blecua's edition. Quotations from Quevedo's poetry include the number of the poem, page and lines.

[5] See María Rosario Juste's unpublished dissertation at the University of Zaragoza for José Tafalla y Negrete (1991); for José Navarro's life and works, see Vidorreta (2014); Alberto Díez y Foncalda is being studied by Elena Cano Turrión (Universidad de Córdoba). For an introduction to all these poets, see Egido (1979).

[6] Also exemplified in novels such as *La carroza con las damas. Novela segunda escrita sin la e a lo burlesco* by the Portuguese Alonso de Alcalá Herrera (1641). The author discovered two men "parados junto a la carroza y como por brújula hablando," "las cortinas casi tapadas, por no dicir corridas," talking with four trickster women, his fiancée among them: "así con la mano la Cortina, y vi cuatro disfrazadas damas, tapadas con los mantos las caras" (636-7).

[7] Among many other testimonies, there was a printed *Academia a que dio asunto la religiosa y católica acción que el rey, nuestro señor, ejecutó el día 20 de enero deste año de 1685* (Bègue 17-113). There were numerous accounts and many poems to celebrate the event, sometimes dated on January 23rd, as in Bances Candamo's poetry (168-74).

[8] The central figure of the King was still "a quasi-divine monarch," also in terms of transportation, as evidenced by testimonies of the time: "An observer noted as late as 1655 the survival of the Castilian custom by which no one could ride a horse once it had been ridden by the king" (Elliot 145).

[9] In another poem entitled "Habiéndole pasado un coche por una pierna, cuenta su desgracia a la academia" (172-5), Navarro alludes to the rising number of accidents produced by the amount of carriages circulating in the streets and recounts his own misfortune in a scene where he is run over by a car, resulting in a broke bone.

[10] Wunder analyzed several satirical verses written by "a noblewoman named Francisca Páez de Colindres [who] interpreted the movement to enforce the law against the *guardainfante* as a genuine threat": "The *guardainfantes* / do not cause so much damage; / it is caused by wickedness / and the failure to administer good justice." As Wunder stated, "she insists that women's hoopskirts cannot be blamed for the problems plaguing Castile" (Wunder 158). The poem was included in a women poets anthology

by Manuel Serrano y Sanz: "Cuando España perdida / y de tantos pecados ofendida / está a civiles guerras entregada, / […] / dais en los guardainfantes; / no causan ellos / daños semejantes, / cáusalos la malicia / y que no se administra bien justicia" (Páez de Colindres 56).

[11] For more details on the prohibition of *guardainfantes*, considered an attire of prostitutes, and brothels ("casa llana") in Aragón at the time, see Egido ("La Academia" 253-4).

[12] See García de Santo Tomás (105-9) for the importance of carriages in *Las bizarrías de Belisa.* Another clear example of the association of carriages and women is presented in Castillo Solórzano's *Las harpías de Madrid* (1631).

[13] Abarca de Bolea's literature was exceptionally well considered at her time by Baltasar Gracián and Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz, chronicler of Philip IV of Spain, among others (Marín Pina 600, 603, 605, 612). Her relative Luis Abarca de Bolea, the Marquis of Torres, also attended the literary academy of the Count of Lemos, together with José Navarro and Alberto Díez y Foncalda. For her life and works, see M. Ángeles Campo Giral's edition of her *Vigilia y octavario de San Juan Bautista.*

[14] Aragonese was typically used in Early Modern theatre to characterize the speech of rustics (Castañer 274).

[15] "No te digo de las mozas / que había por las ventanas / porque no me han causado gozo, / que mucho más vale Menga [a rustique feminine name]. / En coches por la ciudad / hombres y mujeres vieras: / y a fe que no va por Dios / quien busca sus conveniencias."

[16] The act of *ventanear* was described by Mira de Amescua in some of his plays (Muñoz Palomares 295-6) and condemned by moralists such as Luis Vives, Alonso de Andrade or Juan de la Cerda, because of the complete lack of decorum it entailed.

[17] According to Susan Paun de García "in María de Zayas's construction of masculinity, that which is foreign becomes that which is deficient and (by a familiar leap of logic) that which is feminine" (265).

WORKS CITED

Abarca de Bolea, Ana Francisca. *Vigilia y Octavario de San Juan Baptista* (Zaragoza, Pascual Bueno, 1679). Ed. María Ángeles Campo Giral. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses ("Larumbe" Col.), 1993.

Alcalá y Herrera, Alonso. *La carroza con las damas*. Ed. Óscar Medina Pérez. *Lemir* 13 (2009): 633-42. Web.

Arellano, Ignacio. "Estudio preliminar." *Poesía burlesca. Tomo I. Romances*. By Francisco de Quevedo. Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2007. 1-102. Web.

Bances Candamo, Francisco Antonio de. *Obras líricas.* Ed. Fernando Gutiérrez. Barcelona: Selecciones Bibliófilas, 1949.

Bègue, Alain. "*Academia a que dio asunto la religiosa y católica acción que el rey, nuestro señor, ejecutó el día 20 de enero deste año de 1685*: Literatura cortesana y representación político-religiosa de Carlos II, último monarca de la Casa de Austria hispana." *Libros de la Corte* 14 (2017): 7-121. Web.

Boyce, Elizabeth S. and Julián Olivares. "Abarca de Bolea, Ana Francisca." *The Feminist Encyclopedia of Spanish Literature*. Ed Janet Pérez and Maureen Ihrie. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002. 3-4.

Brioso Santos, Héctor. "Vélez de Guevara y la sátira barroca: el tema de los encochados." *Luis Vélez de Guevara y su época. IV Congreso de Historia de Écija (Écija, 20-23 de octubre de 1994)*. Ed. Piedad Bolaños and Mariana Marín Ojeda. Ecija, Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Écija / Fundación El Monte, 1996. 227-36.

Castañer, Rosa María. "Textos dialectales de los Siglos de Oro." *II Curso sobre Lengua y Literatura en Aragón (Siglos de Oro)*. Ed. Tomás Buesa, Aurora Egido and José María Enguita. Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1993. 255-74.

Castillo Solórzano, Alonso de. *Las harpías en Madrid y coche de las estafas.* Ed. Pablo Jauralde. Madrid: Castalia, 1985.

Cervantes, Miguel de. *Entremeses*. Ed. Nicholas Spadaccini. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007.

——. *Exemplary Novels.* Ed. Roberto González Echeverría. Trans. Edith Grossman. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016.

Deleito y Piñuela, José. *La mujer, la casa y la moda (en la España del Rey Poeta)*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946.

——. *Sólo Madrid es corte. La capital de dos mundos bajo Felipe IV*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1953.

Delitala y Castelvi, Ioseph. *Cima del Monte Parnaso Español con las Tres Musas Castellanas Caliope, Urania, y Euterpe. Fecundas en sus assumptos, por las varias poesías de Don Ioseph Delitala […].* Caller, 1672.

Díez y Foncalda, Alberto. *Poesías varias*. Zaragoza, 1653.

Dixon, Victor. "Lope's *La villana de Getafe* and the Myth of Phaeton; or, the *Coche* as a Status-Symbol." *What's Past is Prologue: A Collection of Essays in Honour of L.J. Woodward*. Ed. Salvador Bacarisse et al. Edinburgh: Scottish Academy Press, 1984. 33-45.

Egido, Aurora. *La poesía aragonesa del siglo XVII. Raíces culteranas*. Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" 1979.

——. "La Academia de los Anhelantes de Zaragoza y la casa llana." *De moneda nunca usada. Estudios dedicados a José M.ª Enguita Utrilla*. Ed. Rosa María Castañer and Vicente Lagüéns. Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," 2010. 251-61.

Elliot, John H. *Spain and its World. 1500-1700*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.

Fernández Oblanca, Justo. "La pasión por los coches en el siglo XVII y su reflejo cómico en los entremeses barrocos." *Archivum* 41-42 (1991-1992): 105-24.

García Bernal, José Jaime. *El fasto público en la España de los Austrias*. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2006.

García de Santo Tomás, Enrique. "Tráfico espectacular, avenidas ruidosas: poéticas del coche en primavera." *Espacio urbano y creación literaria en el Madrid de Felipe IV.* Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2004. 88-114.

Góngora, Luis de. *Poesía.* Ed. Antonio Carreira. Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, LABEX OBVIL, 2016. Web.

González Cañal, Rafael. "El lujo y la ociosidad durante la privanza de Olivares: Bartolomé Jiménez Patón y la polémica sobre el guardainfante y las guedejas." *Criticón* 53, (1991): 71-96.

Guevara, María. *Warnings to the Kings and Advice on Restoring Spain. A bilingual edition.* Ed. and trans. Nieves Romero-Díaz. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Juste Navarro, María Rosario. *Edición y estudio de la obra de José Tafalla y Negrete*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1991.

Leralta, Javier. *Madrid. Villa y coche.* Madrid: Ediciones La Librería, 1993. López Álvarez, Alejandro. *Poder, lujo y conflicto en la Corte de los Asutrias. Coches, carrozas y sillas de mano, 1550-1700.* Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2007.

López de José, Alicia. "*Sobre el modo en que los caballeros han de galantear a las damas y entrar en Palacio en el aposento de la Reina.*" *La Década de Oro en la Comedia Española, 1630-1640. Actas de las XIX Jornadas de Teatro Clásico. Almagro, 1996.* Ed. Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez and Rafael González Cañal. Almagro, Ciudad Real: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 1997. 213-28.

Marín Pina, María del Carmen. "Juan Francisco Andrés de Uztarroz y el Parnaso femenino en Aragón." *Bulletin Hispanique* 109.2 (2007): 589-614.

Maravall, José Antonio. *La literatura picaresca desde la historia social.* Madrid: Taurus, 1986.

Mateos Royo, José Antonio. "Teatro religioso y configuración escénica: los entremeses del Corpus de Zaragoza." *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa* 52-53 (1997): 103-115.

Muñoz Palomares, Antonio. "El ventanear y otras prácticas de galanteo en el teatro de Mira de Amescua." *Ronda, cortejo y galanteo en el teatro español del siglo de oro. Actas del I Curso sobre teoría y práctica del teatro, organizado por el Aula Biblioteca Mira de Amescua y el Centro de Formación Continua, celebrado en Granada (7-9 noviembre, 2002).* Ed. Roberto Castilla. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2003. 277-99.

Navarro, José. *Poesías varias*. Zaragoza, 1654.

Newman, Karen. *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris.* Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Páez de Colindres, Francisca. "Sátira en ovillejo en tiempo de Felipe IV y el Conde-Duque, siendo presidente de Castilla Castejón, en ocasión de querer quitar el uso de los guardainfantes. Año de 1651." *Antología de poetisas líricas.* Vol. 2. Ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz. Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1915. 52-8.

Paulicelli, Eugenia. *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire.* London: Ashgate / Routledge, 2016.

Paun de García, Susan. "Zayas's Ideal of the Masculine. Clothes Make the Man." *Women in the Discourse of Early Modern Spain.* Ed. Joan F. Cammarata. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003. 253-71.

Pramaticas que han salido este año de mil y seyscientos y onze años, publicadas en cinco dias del mes de Enero del dicho año: demas de las quales se mandan guardar otras que estauan hechas antes: y se da la orden que se ha de tener para la execucion, y obseruancia dellas. Madrid, 1611.

Quevedo, Francisco de. *La vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos.* Ed. Domingo Ynduráin, Madrid: Cátedra, 1992.

——. *Poesía Original Completa.* Ed. José Manuel Blecua. Barcelona: Planeta, 2004.

——. *Sueños y discursos.* 2 vols. Ed. James O. Crosby. Madrid: Castalia, 1993.

Quintero, María Cristina. "The Rethoric of Desire and Misogyn in *Jardín de Venus.*" *Calíope*, 2.2 (1996): 51-69.

Robbins, Jeremy. *Love Poetry of the Literary Academies in the Reigns of Philip IV and Charles II.* Rochester, NY: Tamesis, 1997.

Rodríguez Marín, Francisco. "Los coches." *El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*. Vol 10. Madrid: Atlas, 1949. 102-11.

Schwartz, Lía. "*Mulier… Milvinum Genus:* La construcción de personajes femeninos en la sátira y ficción áureas." *Homenaje al professor Antonio Vilanova*. Vol. 1. Ed. Adolfo Sotelo. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1989. 629-47.

Tafalla y Negrete, José. *Ramillete poético de las discretas flores del amenísimo, delicado numen del dotor D. Joseph Tafalla Negrete, abogado de los Reales Consejos de Aragón.* Zaragoza, 1706.

Vidorreta, Almudena. *Estudio y edición de las* Poesías varias *de José Navarro (1654).* Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014. Web.

Wunder, Amanda. "Women's Fashion and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*." *Renaissance Quarterly* 68.1 (2015): 133-86.

Zabaleta, Juan de. *El día de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde (1654 / 1660).* Ed. Cristóbal Cuevas García. Madrid: Castalia, 1983.

Zayas, María de. *Desengaños amorosos.* Ed. Alicia Yllera. Madrid: Cátedra, 2009.

Date of Reception: April 3, 2017
Date of Acceptance: August 15, 2017

Copyright of Calíope is the property of Society for Renaissance & Baroque Hispanic Poetry and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.