

**Monkey Business in *Carajicomedia*:
The Parody of Fray Ambrosio Montesino as “Fray Bugeo”**

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Carajicomedia,¹ an anonymous parodic poem of 92 stanzas² published in 1519, tells the story of Diego Fajardo, an old man who has lost his sexual potency and searches for its restoration. The poem is attributed to a fictional author called Fray Bugeo Montesino, but it is filtered through the hands of an anonymous glosser who claims to have “corrected” *Carajicomedia*. However, both putative authors are probably the creation of the same person.³ This paper reveals why that person attributes the poem to someone named Fray “Bugeo” Montesino.

Carajicomedia begins with a letter to a “muy magnifico señor” describing the circumstances under which the glosser found the poem: “Como vn dia entre otros muchos oradores me hallafe en la copiosa libreria del colegio del señor fant estraugante / donde al presente refido leyendo vnos fermones del deuoto padre fray Bugeo montesino. Halle la presente obra que este Reuerendo padre copilo para su recreacion despues que corrigio el Cartuxano” (Varo 98).⁴ Based on the information in this letter, scholars have rightly concluded that Fray Ambrosio Montesino (1444?-1512 / 13) is the person parodied as Fray Bugeo. Besides sharing a common last name, Fray Ambrosio wrote several works that the poem attributes to Fray Bugeo. In 1502 / 1503, he published a translation of Landulphus of Saxony’s *Vita Christi* titled *Vita cristi cartuxano romanaçado por fray Ambrosio*, which was known as “el Cartuxano.” He also wrote some sermons that were later included in a 1525 edition of another of his translations, *Epistolas y evangelios por todo el año* (1512; Álvarez

¹ *Carajicomedia* is the last composition in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas prouocantes a risa* (1519), an anthology of satiric verse by various authors that reprints most of the poems of the last section of the *Cancionero general* (1511) of Hernando del Castillo. It was printed for the first and only time in this edition, which survives in a unique exemplar kept in the British Library (C.20.b.22).

² A continuation attributed to Fray Juan de Hempudia (Stanzas 93-117) follows *Carajicomedia* proper, but contains no glosses and is probably by a different author. I treat Hempudia in a forthcoming article entitled “La parodia del traductor y de la traducción en *Carajicomedia*: Fray Ambrosio Montesino y Fray Juan de Hempudia.”

³ The anonymous glosser is supposedly responsible for the poem’s dedication, the prose commentaries that “identify” the people about whom Fray Bugeo writes, and some “emendations” of *Carajicomedia*’s language. The immediate target of the parody appears to be Hernán Núñez’s edition of *Laberinto de Fortuna* of Juan de Mena (1499), which the author of *Carajicomedia* probably used. But, whereas Mena’s poem was glossed by Núñez, the glosses of *Carajicomedia* mock the practice of writing glosses to one’s own work in order to confer “auctoritas” on the text (Weiss 117-29), as is the case also with *Satira de infelice e infelice vida* of Dom Pedro of Portugal (Agnew).

⁴ Although the transcription of the text is from my forthcoming edition of *Carajicomedia*, the original can be consulted in facsimilar form in Varo. All quotes from *Carajicomedia* quote the text of my edition but are referenced to Varo’s facsimile.

Pellitero 57 and 67-73).⁵ Just as significantly, he was attached to the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes.

San Juan de los Reyes is a late-Gothic construction, built in a style known as “gótico flamígero” or “Isabelino,” with decorations that can very well be described as “eftravagante.”⁶ Among the many testimonies concerning the construction of the church / monastery is the eyewitness account of Hieronymus Münzer, who during a visit to Toledo in 1494,⁷ expressed wonderment at its decoration and talked not only about the church but also its cloister, which, we know from other sources, housed the monks that ran a school that became very prominent in the intellectual life of the city.⁸ Therefore, the identification of Fray Bugeo with Fray Ambrosio and of “fant eftravagante” with San Juan de los Reyes is quite solid.⁹ The glosser might indeed have been, as he says, at the monastery of “fant eftravagante” / San Juan de los Reyes as an “orador” (student), and Fray Ambrosio might have been his teacher at the school, for most of his works were written at San Juan. Yet, neither the name of the fictional author nor the characterization of the institution fully explains why

⁵ Some of the information about Diego Fajardo appearing in the glosses, and which is said to derive from the *Putas patrum* (On the Fathers of Whores) or the *Tripas patrum* (On the Fathers of the Gut), may also parody a lost work of Fray Ambrosio known as *Vitas patrum en romance*. It is not inconceivable that the popularity of the *Vitas patrum* encouraged Fray Ambrosio Montesino to do a Castilian translation of the work or tempted a printer to cash in on the reputation of the well-known translator of the *Vita Christi* by attributing the translation of the work to him. The evidence for this is circumstantial but tantalizing. Montesino’s Castilian translation of the *Vitas patrum* is discussed by F.J. Norton, who points to Diosdado Caballero (*De prima typographie* 1793) as his source for the existence of a work known as the *Vitas patrum en romance* printed in Zaragoza by Coci in 1511, and who also printed the *Laberinto* in the edition of Hernán Nuñez parodized by *Carajicomedia*. However, the translation has proven untraceable according to Ana María Álvarez Pellitero (64-65), who believes that Norton confuses Montesino with Gonzalo García de Santa María’s *Vidas de los SS. Padres*. (See also, Deyermond 144.) There is also the possibility that the translation was authored by someone else for there is a translation of Saint John of Climacus’s *Vitas patrum* known as the *Vitas patrum en romance* and published in Seville at the behest of Jiménez de Cisneros, and which survives in a 1520 edition.

⁶ Fray Ambrosio himself refers to San Juan de los Reyes twice in his poetry: “Todo el cielo te compañía / y te honora, / y la reina te es de España / servidora; / un templo te hace agora / en Toledo, / que no hay cosa más decora / decir puedo” (Rodríguez Puértolas 260); and again, “Todo el cielo te acompaña / y te honora, / y la reina te es d’España / servidora, / y de un templo te es agora / fabricante, / nunca visto, evangelista / más volante (Rodríguez Puértolas 267).

⁷ “Los reyes Fernando e Isabel están construyendo aquel edificio de piedra cortada y cuadrada, tan soberbia y espléndidamente, que causa admiración. La iglesia está terminada, menos el coro, que está profusamente decorado con los escudos del rey y de la reina, y las imágenes de San Juan Bautista-que es su patrono y de otros santos. El claustro será también muy hermoso. En el exterior de la iglesia, alrededor del coro, cuelgan en la parte alta de los muros las cadenas de hierro de los cristianos libertados en Granada. Creo que dos carros no las podrían transportar apenas. Todo esto, en memoria del libertador cristiano y del pueblo cautivo. Me aseguró el arquitecto de la obra que ésta muy bien vendría a costar, hasta su terminación, unos doscientos mil ducados. Los frailes son de la Orden de San Francisco de la Rígida Observancia y de una vida ejemplar” (Münzer 103).

⁸ The statutes of the school have been published by Abad Pérez (79).

⁹ See Domínguez, “La parodia del traductor.”

Carajicomedia calls him Fray “Bugeo.” For that information, we must look at contemporary history and culture.

The North-African Crusade: Bujía

In the late middle ages, North-African Moslems regularly launched annoying but not seriously injurious raids against Castilian and Aragonese shipping and towns from their coastal city-states. The danger these raids posed greatly increased after the fall of Granada, because they could encourage Muslim revolts against the kings of Spain. Fernando V, acutely aware of the threat, countered it in 1508-10 by launching a crusade against the North-African coast.¹⁰ The crusade was not spearheaded directly by the king, who was always short of cash and then enmeshed in Sicilian and Neapolitan politics, but by the Toledan church and its archbishop-cardinal, Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, a Franciscan friar from San Juan de los Reyes,¹¹ who also served as the Order’s “general.” The name of the fictional author of *Carajicomedia*, Fray “Bugeo,” is intended to recall the Franciscan involvement in the African campaign and, more specifically, the taking of the city / kingdom of Bujía.¹²

The meaning of “Bugeo” was not clear to *Carajicomedia*’s previous editors. Varo notes, “Bugeo, cuya significación se me escapa y que ninguno de los usuales diccionarios recoge, a no ser que sea voz de germanía con nada improbable intención obscena” (21). Alonso, in turn, believes that the name is probably related to “buxarra,” “bujarrón” (11, homosexual).¹³ The answer is simpler. “Bugeo” is an adjective of

¹⁰ Pope Alexander VI blessed the endeavor in 1495 with the bull *Ineffabilis*.

¹¹ In the years immediately following Isabel’s death in 1504, the Christians took Mazalquivir (1506), Vélez de la Gomera (1508), Orán (1509), and Bujía (1510). The income of the archbishopric financed the expedition, in exchange for which, Toledo was supposed to receive the overlordship of all the Muslim cities captured, but almost the first act of the cardinal was to quell a rebellion of the men gathered in Cartagena demanding that they be paid before shipping. Their cry, “paga, paga, que rico es el fraile” (Heros 119), was an emblem of the difficult relations that the cardinal had with the military forces under his supposed command and the dim view in which friars were held by some segments of the population. Eventually, he agreed to pay the men, but not without coming into conflict with Pedro Navarro, the person selected by Fernando to actually lead the forces (Heros 113). Orán fell on the 17 of May, 1509, a few months prior to the taking of Bujía.

¹² The successful sieges of Orán and Bujía were considered the great feats of arms of the crusade and greeted with magnificent celebrations in Castile, Aragon, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Papal estates, and the island of Rhodes (see Pedro Mártir, *Epistola* 434, Lib. 23; Heros 468; García Oro 678-763; Morales Muñiz). Among the many expressions lauding the crusade was the sermon pronounced in the Vatican by Tommaso Fedra Inghirami and printed as the *Oratio in laudem Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis Catholici ab Bugie regnum in Africa capta* (Fernández de Córdoba 196). The capture of the cities was accomplished with little loss of life by Pedro Navarro, who was de facto head of the expedition (Galindez 740). Both victories have left plentiful documentation, partially summarized or printed in many places, including Bk. III.19-20 of Aranda y Quintanilla y Mendoza’s *Archetipo*.

¹³ The association of “Bugeo” to homosexuality should not be discarded off-hand given the added existence of Italian “buggerare,” “buggerone” (see, for example, the *Dubbi amorosi* numbers 8, 26, 29, and *Risoluzione* 8, 12, 29 of Pietro Aretino), and French “bougeron.” It may be correct to think that the name “Bugeo” would also have recalled Castilian “bujarrón.” However, all of the terms mentioned

nationality or provenance designating a person from the city of Bujía (or Bugia) in Algiers, following the pattern “ebreo,” “manicheo,” “guineo,” “caragineo,” “vulcanear,” etc., used in both modern Spanish and in *Carajicomedia* to indicate origin.

Bujía, a town frequently visited by Europeans (among them Raymundus Lullius), was one of the most prosperous cities of the Maghreb in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹⁴ Its trade consisted mostly of wool, leather, gold, animals, and wax in sufficient quantities for the town to be one of the spoils in the struggles between Pisa and Genoa for control of the Western Mediterranean trade. But even the identification of the fictional author of the work with the city of Bujía only provides a partial explanation for why he is called Fray Bugeo.

Both Varo and Alonso came very close to discovering why the author of *Carajicomedia* uses the name. Varo, in passing, cites Catalán “bugia o bogia, bugiot o bogiot, de origen árabe, que significan “mono” o “mico” (26),¹⁵ and Alonso says that there are several references in the *cancioneros* to the word “cuyo significado no consigo precisar” (11). One of those references is to a poem in the *Cancionero musical de palacio* on the “caza de amor” that refers to “fatigas” as “bugios alharaquientos.”¹⁶ Another, titled “Coplas que hizo el comendador Roman a su amiga por que le dixo que se fuesse para feo,” associates Román to the ugliness of a “bugio,” a scarecrow, and a hellish vision (*Cancionero general*, Dutton II, 285a [ID 0265] 11CG-247, ll. 64-69, “Yo figura de bugio... / yo espantajo de higuera, yo la visión infernal”). While neither of these two citations clearly states the meaning of “bugio,” we know from other sources that they refer to an ugly monkey that produces a confusing noise.¹⁷

Europeans knew of the existence of different types of monkeys but only one sort of monkey was generally imported, the tailless macaque or Barbary ape, which today exists in semi-freedom in Gibraltar and North Africa (Rowland 1965, 324),¹⁸ and which in Castile was called a “mono bujío,” “mono de Bujía,” or more simply “bujío,” because the city of Bujía specialized in its exportation. Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor*, for example, takes a Latin fable ultimately derived from Phaedrus’s *Lupes et*

above are derived from *Bulgarum* (a native of Bulgaria) and associated with sin in general (Pianigiani), and not with Bujía.

¹⁴ Bujía was retaken from Spain by the Ottoman Turks in 1555. It remained in their possession until captured by the French in 1833. The city was a stronghold of the Barbary pirates.

¹⁵ On “mico” see note 47.

¹⁶ Dutton II, 589b [ID 4059] MP4f-477, Madrid, Palacio. The refrain, “A la caça sus a caça / ea nuevos Amadores / todos a caça de amores” is followed by the comparison, beginning on verse 32: “Los hidalgos gavilanes | son los nobles pensamientos | y los galgos son afanes | que corren tras los tormentos | bugios alharaquientos | y podencos buscadores | son fatigas y dolores.” The meaning of the words is “chattering apes. The term “alharaca” is still part of the modern vocabulary.

¹⁷ Another example appears in the *Vision Deleytable* of Alfonso de la Torre, who says about people living in hot regions: “Esto contesçe a las vezes por causa de los lugares e regiones donde nasçen ser mal complisyonados, ca algunas vezes las regiones son tan exçesyvas en calor que los omnes de allí tyenen un grado, sobre las ximias o bugías, no llegando a ser capases de razón ninguna” (144).

¹⁸ The Barbary ape is really a tailless monkey and not an ape. I use the term ape or monkey interchangeably, because they share in the same symbolic meaning.

vulpes iudice simius (The Wolf and the Fox, with the Monkey Judge) and greatly amplifies it through the addition of local color and judicial vocabulary. Ruiz calls his monkey “don Ximio,” and he is “de Bugia alcalde” (S323c) and “ordinario alcalde de Bugia” (S325b; Corominas 1967, 150). There is also a later reference “monos de Bujía” contained in the *Colación de Juvera* in the *Cancionero de obras de burlas*:

y otras tantas de cazuelas
todas llenas de ratones
con los *monos de bujía*
y no lo hayáis por patraña
que, aunque los comió rebueltos,
los monos andaban sueltos,
tan libres y desenvueltos
trepando por sus entrañas
como en las mismas montañas.
(Domínguez, *Cancionero* 50; italics mine)

In time, the adjective “bujío” was replaced by “mono” in Castilian, although it survived in Portuguese and Catalan.¹⁹ Hernán Núñez’s *Refranes o proverbios en romance* (ca 1549) contains one saying that may be indicative of its demise in Castilian: “Xaquima de cavalo, naon enfrea bugio. / El portugués. Xáquima de cavallo no haze a la mona.” However, the term “bugio” was still understood to be a reference to a monkey during sixteenth-century.²⁰ The name reveals that not only Fray Bugeo is from Bujía but recalls the monkey’s allegorical significance and of one of its frequent attributes: the mirror.²¹ *Carajicomedia* is “vna especulatiua obra.”²²

¹⁹ The word “bujío” is also related to Sp. “buhar” (to tell or snitch), Ital. “bugiare” (lie, deceive), Port. “bugiar” (Nascentes 81, to tell lies), Port. “bujiganga” (Sp. “mojiganga”), Sp. “bujería” (trinket or gadget), etc.

²⁰ Gonzalo de Correas’s *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (1627, 302) cites the same proverb but does not use the term “bugio:” “Xákima de kavallo, no haze a la mona. Xákima de rrozino, no enfrena ximio.” See also, RAE, Banco de datos (CORDE), *Corpus diacrónico del español*, <<http://www.rae.es>>, *bugio* [10-17-05]. However, Pérez de Moya makes an indirect reference to the monkey from “Buxia” in his *Philosophia secreta*: “El entendimiento desta fictión es que porque la mona es animal que por naturaleza tiene que lo que ve hacer al hombre lo desea hacer y lo pone por obra, y porque este Epimetheo (que era estatuario) quiso por arte hacer semejanza de lo que naturaleza, dice la fábula que Iúpiter le convirtió en mona, porque tomó condición de mona en querer remedar a la naturaleza como este animal al hombre. En lo que dice que Iúpiter enojado, pertenece a la fábula, porque para haberle de convertir y desterrar, algún enojo había de haber recibido Iúpiter. En lo que dice que lo echó después de ser mona a la isla de Pitagusa (que algunos dicen Buxia), es que en aquellas tierras había gran copia de monas, o que eran hombres ingeniosos, que en sus obras imitaban a la naturaleza” (606). We learn from the *Universal vocabulario* of Palencia that “Piticusa. o phiticusa es ximia en griego.”

²¹ On the iconology of the monkey or ape, see my discussion of Catamaymon and the “gato maimón” later in this paper; also Janson; Voisenet 65-67; Valdés Leal’s *Jeroglífico de las Postrimerías* (Val Valdivieso 1988, 161ff. and 224, n.165); Curtius 1984, I.750-52; and Percas de Ponseti 1975, II. 398-99).

The Allegorical Monkey

The medieval bestiary touches on all the significant details of a number of ape or monkey species, stating that they are similar to men in their mentality, rejoice at the new moon, are foul, hideous, sometimes tailless, and occur in great numbers in Ethiopia.²³ In addition, apes frequently appear in manuscript marginalia doing battle, dragging casks of wine, cavorting in a line-dance with women, or as other examples of the world turned upside down;²⁴ in other words, as engaging in human activities which, by their incongruity, occasion laughter. These marginalia, nevertheless, carry with them a serious subtext. Animals like the ape that resemble man so much that they are occasionally considered to have souls²⁵ illustrate the corruption of the will by sin and warn against vanity and lust.²⁶ This allegorical meaning is more evident when monkeys appear at the margins of full-page illuminations of devotional books, where their drolleries contrast with the peace and serenity of the main characters at the center of the illuminations. The *Book of Hours* of the Spitz Master, for example, illustrates the psalm “Deus in Adiutorum Meum Intende” (O God, come to my assistance) with a central image of the Presentation of the Christ-Child at the Temple (fol. 98v) which, as usual, shows the Virgin, Christ-Child, and priests as dispassionate figures. Marginal grotesques, including monkeys in different human roles, surround the image, and abruptly juxtapose the serious and the comic.

The activities of monkeys in marginal illuminations often concern reading,²⁷ writing, and preaching in a manner that is implicitly recalled in *Carajicomedia*.²⁸

²² The “speculations” that the poem makes possible apply to an amazingly large number of things. This paper just explores the role of the monkey.

²³ See, for example, the *Aberdeen Bestiary* (fo. 12v-13r) at <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/translat/12v.hti>.

²⁴ See, *Romance of Alexander*, Oxford, Bodleian ms. 264, fol. 72, 81r, 82r, 94v, 110r, etc. In *Lancelot du lac*, BL ms. Royal 20 D. IV, fol. 260, the master of a monkey, chained, acts out drolleries while the monkey holds the chain. Randall (6-7) and Camille (142) believe that many of the marginal illustrations in medieval manuscripts may be possible traces of lost proverbs, beast fables, or exempla involving apes or monkeys. For Randall, the illustrations represent above all, observations of daily life, while for Camille, they are more the visualization of proverbial experience (435-36). Of late, Sylvia Huot has added that marginalia may act as a visual mnemonic for written stories.

²⁵ The idea that animals have souls like men is broached by numerous writers. Sir John Mandeville, for example, talks of an island in which apes and other animal have the souls of men who have died: “And they say that these beasts be souls of worthy men that resemble in likeness of those beasts that be fair, and therefore they give them meat for the love of God; and the other beasts that be foul, they say be souls of poor men and of rude commons” (XXII). See also, Kelly 6-7. Jews were also accused of the belief that the souls of men migrated to animals after death.

²⁶ Aristotle argues that man has a rational and a sensitive soul. The rational soul is constrained by its immersion in the body, where it is subjected to the temptations of the world through the sensitive soul. St. Augustine reinterprets Aristotle by arguing that the reasonableness of human acts depend on the weakness or strength of a person’s will, which has been corrupted by the Fall.

²⁷ The ape is one of the preferred vehicles for this type of parody in medieval illustrations. Later, reading is associated with the donkey, but frequently in association with a monkey. See Goya’s

Manuscript marginalia from Catherine of Cleves' *Office of the Dead* and from a Dutch *Book of Hours*, both from the 15th century, show monkeys writing and reading:²⁹



Figure 1: *Office of the Dead*, Master of Catherine of Cleves (ca 1460), The Hague, MMW, 10 F 50, f. 157v. Courtesy of the National Library of the Netherlands.



Figure 2: *Book of Hours* (15th century), Lyon Ms 6022, f. 158. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon.

An illumination from British Library Stowe 17 (f. 109) shows a group of tailless monkeys attending school and reciting their lessons, while one is being disciplined by a teacher.³⁰

Capricho 37 (“Si sabrá mas el discipulo”), 38 (“Bravisimo”), 39 (“Asta su abuelo”), and 41 (“Ni mas ni menos”).

²⁸ *Hours of the Holy Spirit*, The Hague, MMW, 10 A 11, fol. 68v, fol. 126. For additional miniatures containing apes, see the *Luttrell Psalter*, BL MS Add. 42,130; the *Flemish Hours of St. Omer*, BL MS Add. 36,684; the *Tenison Psalter*, BL MS Add. 24,686; *Lancelot du lac*, BL ms. Royal 20 D. IV; *Romance of Alexander*, Oxford, Bodleian ms. 264.

²⁹ See Clark 26. This is actually one of three illustrations that contain monkeys. The others appear in *The Hours of the Holy Cross* (f. 101v) and *The Hours of the Holy Spirit* (f. 126v).

³⁰ The scene is repeated in the marginalia of Bodleian ms. 264, fol. 94v.

Figure 3: *Book of Hours* (14th century), Ms Stowe 17, f. 109.
By permission of the British Library.



Yet another from the National Library of the Netherlands (MMW, 133 M 82, fol. 114r) shows a monkey preaching:



Figure 4: *Book of Hours* (15th century), The Hague, MMW, 133 M 82, fol. 114r.
Courtesy of the National Library of the Netherlands.

All of the monkeys wear capes and hoods, alluding to a medieval reality: instruction was, by and large, in the hands of mendicant friars. *Carajicomedia* also evokes this connection between friars, preaching, and reading. The glosser finds the poem in the library of the friary of “fant estrauagante,” while reading some of Fray Bugeo’s sermons; therefore, on the evidence of Fray Bugeo’s name, place, and profession, we must also conclude that he is a monkey-teacher / preacher, and *Carajicomedia* is one of his texts or sermons. However, unlike devotional texts or sermons, which seek to correct men and women by providing examples of good and bad behavior and have as their objective the salvation of individuals through repentance and self-denial, this monkey seeks human perdition through temptation.

Carajicomedia associates the monkey with the sin of Lust in a manner that is not directly explained in the medieval bestiary but is entirely traditional. A fifteenth-century manuscript of St. Augustine’s *City of God* (National Library of the

Netherlands, MMW, 10 A 11, fol. 68v) contains a miniature that is divided into two sections by a frame. On the left are the sins of Luxuria, Pigricia (Sloth), Ira, Gula, Auaricia, Superbia, and Inuidia represented by seven allegorical animals. On the right are seven human figures who serve as examples of the sins represented by the animals:



Figure 5: St. Augustine, *La Cité de Dieu*, Book II.19 (15th century),
The Hague, MMW, 10 A 11, fol. 68v.
Courtesy of the National Library of the Netherlands.

While the arrangement of the people is not hierarchical, that of the animals is. Luxuria appears in the shape of a chained monkey at the apex of the side of the miniature that contains the animal allegory of the Seven Deadly Sins.³¹

A similar allegory of the Seven Deadly Sins is part of a series of frescoes depicting the “Juicio Final” that was painted by Juan de Borgoña in 1508 and commissioned by Jiménez de Cisneros to decorate the Sala Capitulare of the Cathedral of Toledo (Mateo Alemán 84). This time, the allegorical animals representing each particular sin appear directly above the naked figures of men and women that are condemned to death:

³¹ As one of the Seven Deadly Sins, Luxuria vied with Superbia as the worst of sins and the center of moral instruction since Pope Gregory the Great’s (d. 604) *Moralia of Job*. Luxuria was one of the sins the public was taught to avoid through painted and written images. For another example, see Valdés Leal’s *Jeroglífico de las Postrimerías*. The animals Valdés depicts are the peacock (Pride), the dog (Ire), the bat (Envy), the goat (Avarice), the pig (Gluttony), and the monkey (Luxuria), Guichot 1930, 30-32.

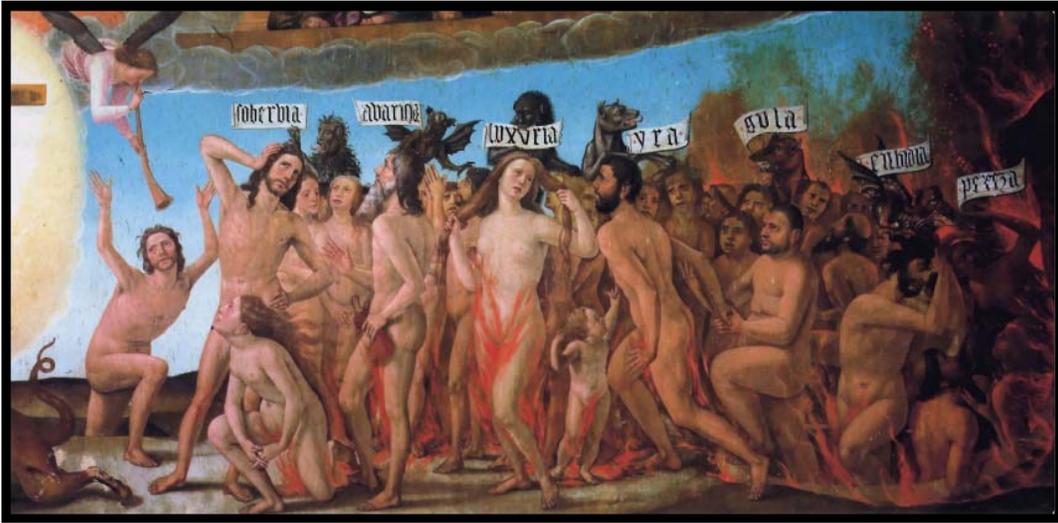


Figure 6: *El Juicio Final*, by Juan de Borgoña (1508), Sala Capitular, Toledo Cathedral.

We are meant to look at the picture from left to right (Soberbia, Avaricia, Luxuria, Yra, Envidia, and Pereza), but to linger on the woman representing Luxuria, who appears in the geometric center of the fresco, its most important position. She is shown playing with her hair, in a manner that is slightly reminiscent of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (1485) or some of Signorelli's (1499-1503) female figures in the frescoes at the cathedral of Orvieto, below a caption that identifies the sin that they represent. In Luxuria's case, the caption is held by an ape or monkey³² was therefore common and should be kept in mind when reading the invocation of Diego Fajardo in *Carajicomedia*:

O tu luxuria: me sey fauorable
 dando me alas : de ser muy furioso
 y tu no confientas / tal caso injurioso
 eneste tan tuyo / y tan amigable
 questoy tan perdido / inrecuperable
 que ya no seespera / de mi mas simiente
 foy aborrecido / de toda la gente
 que no ay enel mundo coño *que* me hable.

Así como los poetas acostumbra inuocar las musas les ayuden en sus obras
 allí fajardo no conociendo otra mufa inuoca la luxuria en su vejez (Varo
 100)

³² Martínez de Toledo refers to women as “monicas” and speaks of their receiving advice from “el monico” a few times. See, II.1, III.9, and IV.1.

Fajardo, as the second gloss in *Carajicomedia* says, was born under the sign of Venus / Luxuria and is her devotee. Luxuria sends Maria de Vellasco to serve as his guide, and Fray Bugeo records his “vida y martirio” in *Carajicomedia*. In other words, the work is to be viewed as the “vita” of a saint of the religion of Lust, created by Fray Bugeo as the record of Fajardo’s life and for his consolation.

Monkeys and Conversos: Fray Bugeo and El Catamaymon

Although the iconology of the monkey explains its metaphoric meaning in art, the animal was often employed to characterize people without necessarily recalling its allegorical significance. Fadrique Enríquez, Admiral of Castile when *Carajicomedia* was composed, for example, was frequently compared to a monkey, because of his diminutive stature.³³ Less obvious, and more important for *Carajicomedia*, is the possible use of the monkey to imply that Fray Bugeo is a converso friar.

Spanish society was composed of people of three different confessional faiths, all of whom had particular ways of characterizing persons of a different religion. Arabs considered the monkey to be a symbol of the Jews, and it is not impossible that the author of *Carajicomedia* knew this. The classical texts that associate the animal with the Jewish people appear in Suras 2:65,³⁴ 5:60-65, and 7:166. In these passages of the Koran, God tells a Sabbath-breaking people to turn into monkeys as a punishment. Although it might have been Mohammed’s intention all along for the injunction to

³³ Francisco López de Villalobos or Antonio de Velasco describe Fadrique Enríquez diminutive stature and possibly his sexual endowment, by saying: “De gatilla tiene el tono | *quando* más alto se entona | de la sinta abaxo es mona, | de la sinta (abaxo#:aRiba) es mono” (Dutton IV, 324; [I2083] TP2-49, 397v); Sebastián de Horozco attributes his monkey-like appearance to his mother’s thoughts at conception, “Así que, considerando / vuestro gesto y mal hechizo, / yo estoy agora pensando / en qué debí estar mirando / vuestra madre quando os hizo. / Pensarí en alguna mona, / pues de mono tenéis gesto, / y aún otra cosa os abona, / que tenéis muy ruin persona, / mal tallado y mal dispuesto,” Horozco 69); and, the *Coloquios de Palatino y Pinciano* comments on the legendary forbearance of the Admiral, which cause Pinciano to remark: “los que se motejan en coplas han de ser iguales en la licencia del decir, como lo son en el juego del esgrima y en otros de competencia. Cuanto más que don Fadrique de su condición era tan humano y cortesano que pasaba por todo graciosamente, sin tomar enojo de cosa que le dijese” (Arce de Otárola II, 777). The matter, however, sometimes got serious, as when the Admiral called out the count of Ureña to a duel and the latter mockingly replied: “Muy ilustre Señor: vuestra carta resebí, que ni quiero matar mono, ni que mono mate a mí” (Pineda 99). The Admiral also comes to the attention of don Francesillo, who says of him, “Este almirante fue buen cavallero, esforçado, animoso, pareció higo cozido en agua de doliente o mona oservante” (81). Francesillo makes fun of the Admiral’s devotion to Observant Franciscans and also alludes to his size (Sánchez 71, 113, 137). See the discussion of “gato maimón” for other examples referring to ugliness.

³⁴ The most extensive in Sura 2:65: “Yusufali: And well ye knew those amongst you who transgressed in the matter of the Sabbath: We said to them: ‘Be ye apes, despised and rejected.’ / Pickthal: And ye know of those of you who broke the Sabbath, how We said unto them: ‘Be ye apes, despised and hated!’ / Shakir: And certainly you have known those among you who exceeded the limits of the Sabbath, so We said to them: Be (as) apes, despised and hated.” For discussion of the association of the monkey with the Jews see Lichtenstaedter and Cook.

refer to the Jews, it was al-Ṭabarī's (d. 390 A.H. / c922 A.D.) *Tafsir* or *Commentary*, the traditional and oldest gloss of the Koran, that made the connection explicit. The symbolic significance of the ape or monkey continued to develop until it became identified with beastliness, desecration, and corruption in general (Rubin 101), but it never lost its association with the Jews, even as it widened its application to cover the spread Judeo-Christian and other heresies in Islamic societies.

When the Castilians advanced into North Africa, they conquered a territory in which this association between the monkey and the Jew had special significance. The North-African Aghlabid dynasty, which controlled Western Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria (and Bujía), seems to have made the Jews wear a distinctive patch with a picture of an ape on the shoulder of their garb after Ibn Ṭālib, judge of Qayrawān, decreed that Jews should wear patches in the shape of a monkey and Christians in the shape of a pig to distinguish them from true believers.³⁵ *Carajicomedia* was composed shortly after the capture of Orán and Bujía, two of the cities that sought to impose this distinctive badge on the Jews.³⁶ The name Bugeo may therefore allude to the Jewish / converso origins of its fictional author.

This might be a wild conjecture except for a tantalizing fact that has just come to light. Although Álvarez Pellitero, the principal biographer and critic of Fray Ambrosio, was not able to find out much about his early years, he has been long-considered as one of the principal exponents of the Christian religion. However, Fray Ambrosio was recently identified as one of the most prominent conversos at the court of the Catholic Kings, belonging to a recently converted Jewish family of Huete.

According to Parada y Luca de Tena, Fray Ambrosio entered the Franciscan Order either in Cartagena or in San Juan de los Reyes, but like many other conversos, his status did not put him or his family beyond the reach of the Inquisition (11). Around 1490-91, his father was accused of being a judaizer and an apostate after his death. The initial accusation was probably made by Jews, then engaged in a struggle for survival with conversos, who were envious and fearful of Fray Ambrosio's position at court (Parada 25).³⁷ Nonetheless, Fray Ambrosio prevailed and the case was stopped in 1499 through the intercession of the Franciscan Provincial, Juan de Tolosa, before a final sentence was issued.

At about the same time, Fray Ambrosio was named in a case brought by the Inquisition against the "beata de Huete" who, among other things, was accused of casting an amorous spell over the friar to satisfy her desires.³⁸ While there is no proof

³⁵ "The conventional epithets are apes for Jews and pigs for Christians," Lewis 33; see Cook 53ff for other texts that treat the transformation into a monkey as a punishment for heresy.

³⁶ The association of the monkey with the Jew may also stand behind Jessica's exchange of a turquoise ring for a monkey in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (3.1: 108-23), which has been taken as a symbolic substitution of the parent-daughter relationship (Boehrer 158).

³⁷ *Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca*, Inquisición. Procesos criminales. Legajo 18. Expediente 330. Pedro del Monte. Judaísmo y palabras heréticas. Año 1491. Suspense (Parada 12, note 13).

³⁸ In 1499, Fray Ambrosio was named in the trials of Isabel Álvarez, "la beata de Huete," as the object of one of her love conjurations (Parada 13-14). Apparently, Isabel was in love with Fray Ambrosio. In spite of the secrecy that surrounded inquisitorial trials, the fact that Ambrosio's father was being tried

that the author of *Carajicomedia* or his audience knew of Fray Ambrosio's converso status, of the Arab association of the Jew with the monkey, or of his mention in a trial involving questions of "hechizeria" and lust, he might have been ripe for the type of anti-Semitic insult present in many satirical writings of the period. The name "Bugeo" might have been one such insult.

Calling someone a monkey, however, was not limited to Jews. Ethnic slurs involving a monkey were also directed against Moorish conversos. This is the case of Catamaymon and his wife Francisca de Saldaña in Stanza 49 of *Carajicomedia*:

☉ El catamaymon : luego fue patente
y francisca faldaña : region de paganos...

☉ Este catamaymon. Vulgarmente dizen los poetas y yo allí lo creo y confieso fer vno de talavera llamado Luys daça en quien bien cabe este nombre que el poeta le atribuye. ☉ Esta francisca de faldaña. Es allí mismo de Talauera y de buen linaje / La qual embiudando de vn buen hidalgo antes de tres meses se caso con este Luys daça al qual yo conoci moro / y avn fu padre murio llamandole ali maymon de donde le vino este nombre o sobrenombre pues sabido por onrados parientes della el tal casamiento y reprehendiendo la sobre ello ella con desuergonçada cara les respondia / dexad me señores que mas quiero año que me lleue que cauallo que me derrueque / muchos enxemplos desta se podrian escreuir que callo por no fer enojoso a prolixidad. (Varo 118)

Varo comments that Catamaymon is a humorous corruption of Mena's "Catabathmón" (185), and Alonso, who agrees with him, calls the name a "Deformación de Catabathmón, montaña de la región de Cirenaica" (113); but, while this is true, it is not all that the author wants us to understand when he calls his character Catamaymon. The real name of Francisca's husband is Ali Maimón before he converts to Christianity as Luis de Haza,³⁹ a name that was kept alive as an almost paradigmatic designation for "Moor," because one of the kings of Arab Toledo was named Ali Maimón at the time of the Cid (*Crónica popular del Cid*, CXII-CXIII, etc.).⁴⁰ However, the name Ali, one of the variants of Allah meaning "holy" or "exalted," when combined with the word "maymo" can maliciously mean something else. "Maymo (from the Persian-Arabic "maimun") is also the word for "ape" and the origin of Fl. "monekin; Engl. "monkey;" Prov. "maimun;" and, Med. Lat.

by the Inquisition, that he involved the Provincial of his Order to successfully stop the trial, and that he was mentioned in another trial involving love conjurations must have made him the subject of rumours.

³⁹ The phonetic similarity of Ali and Luis is obvious. Haza or Aza, of course, is a place name, but I wonder whether as is often the case the author is making a joke on the fact that he lives on his wife's work, based on the derivation of "haza," a unit of land that is worked by a farmer, and which is connected to "hazaña," "hazañar," and "hazañería."

⁴⁰ The name Maimón is also used by Jews, for example, Maimonides or Rabbi Moshe ben Maimón.

“mamonetus” (Janson 37). The meaning of Ali Maimón therefore can be “exalted” or “blessed ape.”

This association of the name Maimón with an ape recalls a specific tale about an ape / human hybrid recorded in the eleventh century *De bono religiosi status et variorum animantium tropologia* of Peter Damian (Janson 268).⁴¹ The exemplum tells the story of Count Guglielmus of Liguria, who is said to have owned an ape that had sexual relations his wife. One day, the ape saw the count with his wife, and attacked and killed him in a jealous rage. Peter Damian adds that Pope Alexander II showed him the offspring of the ape and the woman, which he kept in a cage. The child was called Maimo.⁴²

As a compound of Maimón and the verb “catar,” Catamaymon also means “beware,” “watch out for,” or “consider” the example of Maymon, referring to what people say when they see him coming down a street, or when they recall the humorous story of lusty Francisca de Saldaña, Maimón’s wife. The name has the weightiness of a promythia followed by a “sententiae,” or moral tale, that explains it. In this case, the tale concerns the propriety of an “old Christian” widow marrying a Moorish “converso,” and with unseemly haste at that, as her relatives complain.⁴³ Francisca replies to their criticism by quoting a Spanish saying that contrasts the gait of sure-footed ass to that of a horse: “mas quiero afno que me lleue que cauallo que me derrueque” (its modern form is “Más quiero asno que me lleve que caballo que me tire”). Then as now, the proverb expresses approval for the choice of the steadier mount over a faster but uncertain one. The author, however, maliciously contrasts the verb “llevar,” which implies forbearance and repetition, to “derrocar,” its opposite. This makes possible the interpretation –probably correct– that Francisca is really talking about the fact that her converso husband condones her philandering, whereas a Christian would kill her.⁴⁴ In any case, Francisca’s saying fully justifies her

⁴¹ PL 145, 763D-792A. Janson derives this story from *The Thousand and One Nights*. It seems to belong to a genre of stories in which a monkey intervines in a sexual liaison either as an interested party or as a guard set there by the husband (see Buzurq ibn Shahriyar’s 10th century *Kitāb ‘ġā’ib al-Hind* [Book of the Marvels of India] and Mattock 181ff).

⁴² Janson correctly assigns the story of Maimo a Near-Eastern origin because of the name, but he is wrong in saying that it has no other echo in European literature, because *Carajicomedia* clearly has a character named Maymón, who is also associated with the same type of transgressive hypersexuality. The *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana* (1589, I: 329) of Juan de Pineda and Antonio de Torquemada’s *Jardín de flores curiosas* (1569, p. 591ff) allude to other offspring of a women and monkeys, and Alonso del Castillo in *Donaire del Parnaso* uses some of the same images evoked by Rojas’s *Celestina* to warn women: “Guárdate, Filis, despierta, / que si atropella imposibles, / te espera una tarquinada, / si no es gozo de Pasife; / que si en la tal calabriada / inadvertida concibes, / nos darás un filimono / por esos bajos países” (322).

⁴³ The *Siete Partidas* (IV.9.18 and IV.12.3) stipulated that a year had to pass before a remarriage could take place to avoid precisely the type of criticism that is made of Francisca (see also *Libro de buen amor* 759-60).

⁴⁴ The saying makes reference to the inferior social status of Moorish conversos, who were often not permitted to ride horses. This story perhaps could be profitably read together with the story of the marriage of an old hidalgo to a young woman in the *Corbacho*, and her wish for a young poor shoemaker (frequently a converso profession) to be her husband and for her rich husband to die (ch. 9).

characterization in the poem as a “region de paganos,” for she is served by more than one person under the benign eye of her husband, El Catamaymon, who is given the same appellation as the prostitutes.⁴⁵

The name El Catamaymón also alludes to another type of monkey and through it comments on the ugly physical appearance of Luis de Haza. According to Palencia, “gato maimón” is a compound of Lat. “cattus” (cat) and “maimón,” and also associates it with “cato” (< Lat. “cautus”) and the verb “catar,” because of the presumed acumen of cats.⁴⁶ However, a “gato maimón” is not a cat at all (at least, at this time), but a monkey. Huerta in his translation of Pliny’s *Historia natural* (1599) says: “cercos significa ‘cola’ y pitecon ‘mona’, como si dixeran ‘mona con cola,’ aunque otros dizen que cercofiten quiere dezir ‘burlar’ y ‘escarnecer,’ y por ser este animal tan burlador, que parece estar mofando de todo, le llamaron con razón assí, y por la mesma causa suelen por translación dar a este nombre a los hombres burladores, y a los que por tener su rostro juzgan tener sus costumbres. Son éstos, aunque tienen cola, muy semejantes a los hombres, y assí dixo Marcial: Si mihi cauda foret, cercopitecus essem. ‘Si yo tuviera cola, fuera cercopiteco.’ A éstos llaman los italianos gatos maymones, los franceses marmot y los españoles micos.”⁴⁷

Spanish Medieval references to a monkey or ape known as a “gato maimón” are numerous. Don Juan Manuel’s *Libro de caballero y el escudero* counts “maymones” among minor prey in a hunt (88), and the Spanish translation of John Ketham’s *Compendio del alma* considers “gatos maymones” among the gentler animals, except when they are in heat (para. 10).⁴⁸ This association between the “gato maimón” and sex is⁴⁹ behind Diego de Acuña’s characterization of a person as being monkey-faced

Juan Ruiz contrasts the horse (a symbol of pride) to the ass (a symbol of humility) in stanzas 237-45, and makes a similar sexual reference in stanza 565, but this is a subject for another paper.

⁴⁵ For another treatment of the Moorish converso, see the Bachiller Moreno in Stanza 72.

⁴⁶ “Catus. es denominado del can como dezir enseñado: sabio: agudo: ingenioso. dende se dize cato. Catus es bestia marina. / Catus se dize a catat: que en griego dizen veer. dende se dixo catus gato” (*Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance*, par. 533). The association of cats with sex is amply documented in medieval literature, see *Liber de proprietatibus rerum* (Ch. 74).

⁴⁷ “Gato maimón” seems to eventually become restricted to cats. The term exists in modern It. “gatto maimono” and the dialectal “gatto maimone” or “maimone.” “Mico” was introduced from the New World in the mid-sixteenth century to designate a small-tailed monkey (sometimes also called a “gatopaus” or a “gato paús”), which became a rage as a pet among women. In this manner it appears in Covarrubias (803). However, it shares the same associations with “mono.” Lope, for example, refers to the sexual relations of a woman and a “mico” in *Rimas humanas* (1410): “Quien a ninguno amó cuando podía / tantas veces querer cuantas fue amada, / de un mico, inútilmente enamorada, / su fiereza por ídolo tenía. / Fatal llegó del dicho mico el día, / y ella, de su desdicha lastimada, / la piel vellosa, en pardo hollín tiznada, / colgó llena de paja en su armería. / ¡Qué hermoso salchichón, qué lindo empleo / qué Adonis bello, oh capitán robusto, / si no el mismo retrato de Asmodeo!” To a seventeenth-century Spaniard “mico” was an equivalent to “gato maimón” (*DRAE* 1734, 563).

⁴⁸ Marco Polo finds “gatos maymones, qui han quasi tal visage como hombre” during his voyage (Fernández de Heredia, *Libro de Marco Polo* 109r).

⁴⁹ For example, in Fernández de Heredia’s translation of the *Vidas paralelas*, makes reference to the transgressive sexuality of men who carry “gatos maymones.” “Cesaro, uidiendo en Roma algunos hombres estrangeros que leuauan en sus braços & en sus espaldas perricos & gatos maymones

(“Déjate, déjate deso, / jesto de gata maimona, / que pareces un pendejo, / la cara como de mona,” *Coplas del Segundo Provincial*, 1546-47) and of Diego Duque de Estrada’s fear that his wife has died during delivery or has given birth to a “gato maimón,” that is, an ugly or ape-like child (“¿Qué ha parido? ¿Es algún gato maimón o algún cernícalo?,” *Comentarios*, 1614 and 1645, 230).⁵⁰ To his relief, Duque de Estrada finds out that she has only given birth to a daughter. In any case, *Carajicomedia* both warns us satirically with the example contained in the story of Catamaymón and alludes to his ugliness as a “gato maymon.”

A similar hidden racial slur may also lie behind Sempronio’s retort to Calisto’s description of Melibea as a golden-haired goddess in *Celestina*. Sempronio likens Melibea’s inexhaustible sexual desire to that of Pasiphae and Minerva, who both had sex with animals:

SEMPRONIO. — Dixe que tú, que tienes más corazón que Nembrot ni Alexandre, desesperas de alcançar vna muger, muchas de las quales en grandes estados constituydas se sometieron a los pechos e resollos de viles azemileros e otras a brutos animales. ¿No has leydo de Pasife con el toro, de Minerua con el can?
CALISTO. — No lo creo; hablillas son.

Calisto’s response to the first two stories is “hablillas son” (i.e. “fablillas” or fables). To which Sempronio replies with a story that seems to refer to Calisto’s grandmother, whose tryst with a “ximio” was ended by the knife of his grandfather:

SEMPRONIO. — Lo de tu abuela con el ximio, ¿hablilla fue? Testigo es el cuchillo de tu abuelo.
CALISTO. — ¡Maldito sea este necio! ¡E qué porradas dize! (Cejador 46-47)

Sempronio obviously takes the story to be true, but in what manner? While all three stories have to do with the inordinate sexual desire of women, Menéndez Pelayo might have been quite close to the meaning of Sempronio’s reference when he says “Aquellas horribles palabras de Sempronio, ocultan probablemente alguna monstruosa y nefanda historia en que no conviene insistir más. Acaso la venganza del judío converso se cebó en la difamación de la *limpia sangre* de algún mancebo de claro linaje, parecido a Calisto” (III, xxxix). What could have been the story of Calisto’s

mostrando deues ellos grant amor, demandoles si las mulleres les fazien fillos. La qual demanda pareçie reprehension & maestramjento de senyor contra tales hombres qui se maestran & semellan en el amor natural a las bestias & no a hombres de semblant natura” (f. 164R).

⁵⁰ Possibly the same association with a “gato maymon” lies behind the poem by Francisco López de Villalobos or Antonio de Velasco cited in note 32 describing Fadrique Enríquez diminutive stature and possibly his sexual endowment: “De gatilla tiene el tono | quando más alto se entona | de la sinta abaxo es mona, | de la sinta (abaxo#:aRiba) es mono” (Dutton IV, 324; [I2083] TP2-49, 397v).

“abuela” and the “ximio” if not the same type of relationship Francisca enjoyed with the converso Catamaymón, but not necessarily directed at a Jewish converso? Sempronio may be alluding to a variation of the Peter Damian story⁵¹ to indicate the existence of a relationship between the “abuela” and a converso that ended in the death of one or both at the hands of her husband. However, because Calisto would have severely punished Sempronio if he had thought that the servant was insulting his family, it is likely that he does not take Sempronio’s remarks as referring to his “abuela” or “abuelo” but to allegorical characters.

The Monkey-Friar

As we have seen, Fray Bugeo should be understood to be a monkey-friar in the service of the goddess Luxuria and, through her, in the service of the Devil. This association was supported by a bit of medieval etymological legerdemain.⁵² Etymologists related Gk. “simia” (“monkey” derived from “flat nosed”) to “similitudo” and characterized the Devil as “simia Dei” (Janson 76).⁵³ Among the

⁵¹ A lot has been written on *Celestina*’s “ximio.” The roots of the comparisons in *Celestina* were well-studied by Green based in Janson’s exhaustive study of the ape in the middle ages. Green has not found a source for the mention of Minerva and, for him, the source of the comment is likely the result of an incorrect reading of “el can” for Vulcan. This has been challenged by Marciales (112-13), who argues that the original text would have to have two lacunae, one on either side of “can,” because in Spanish the name of the god is always spelled Vulcano, but this has been proven to be incorrect. Blecua Perdices, on the other hand, believes that it is a misreading of the original ms of the first act. However, the intent of all of the citations is to exemplify the same type of transgressive sexuality through the stories of Pasiphae and the bull, a real or fictitious story of Minerva and the dog, and the story alluded to as “Lo de tu abuela con el ximio,” which, as Garci-Gómez has recently claimed, really provokes the laughter of Calisto, because it reveals Sempronio’s ignorance of mythology in alluding to an nonexistent fable. Sempronio’s comparisons are repeated in Cristóbal de Villalón’s *El Scholastico* (264-65) with the same intent and probably borrowed from *Celestina*: “Pues si viniessse con ellas a descendir en particular, contaros hía hazañas [y] inçestos abominables. Ni penséis que començaría por Pasiphe, que tuvo açeso con el toro, ni por Minerva, que se juntó con el can, ni por la otra, que se llegó con el ximio.” Armistead and Silverman quote examples of the sexual liaison between a woman and an ape, but they postdate *Carajicomedia*. An intimation of sexual misdemeanors must also hide behind Cervantes’s characterization of Dorotea / Princess Micomicona (Herrero). See also Armistead, von Richthofen, Forcadas, Severin, and others.

⁵² Unlike Fadrique Enríquez (see note 32), most people who looked like an ape or monkey would automatically recall the Devil. For example, Alfonso de Palencia’s *Crónica de Enrique IV* describes Enrique in this evocative manner: “sus ojos eran feroces, de un color que ya de por sí demostraba crueldad; siempre inquietos al mirar, revelaban con su movilidad excesiva, la suspicacia o la amenaza. La nariz bastante deforme, ancha y remachada en su mitad a consecuencia de un accidente que sufrió en su primera niñez, le daba gran semejanza con el mono; ninguna gracia prestaban a la boca sus delgados labios; afeaban el rostro los anchos pómulos, y la barba larga y saliente, hacía parecer cóncavo el perfil de la cara, cual si algo se hubiese arrancado del centro del rostro” (I: 12-13).

⁵³ Bernard Sylvestris, qtd. from Kelly 13: “Prodit et in risus hominum deformis imago / Simia, naturae degeneratis homo” (The ape, a deformed image, a man of degenerate nature, elicit’s man’s laughter). The imitative nature of the monkey is denoted by its frequent depiction with a mirror (an emblem of lust or vanity when held by an ape or monkey) to warn humans against sin. It is also captured by Gonzalo de Correas in two of the proverbs of *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*: “Lo ke

features that Barbary apes and the Devil were supposed to have in common was their lack of a tail. God created all creatures with a tail except for man, who was free to choose his own “end,” while the Devil and the ape arrived at their condition as a result of violence. The Devil lost his appendage as a sign of his rebellion in Heaven, when he attempted to imitate God by replacing Him, while the ape lost his by self-mutilation in his desire to imitate man.⁵⁴

Most monkeys represented in medieval miniatures are generally tailless macaques, brown in color and ugly, an apt symbol for the Devil, who often appears as an ape or monkey-like figure. For example, a mid-fifteenth century miniature of St. Dominic of Calerueja in a *Book of Hours* by the Moerdrecht Master (or a follower) shows the saint standing on a devil depicted very much like a Barbary ape to represent the vanquishment of heresy:

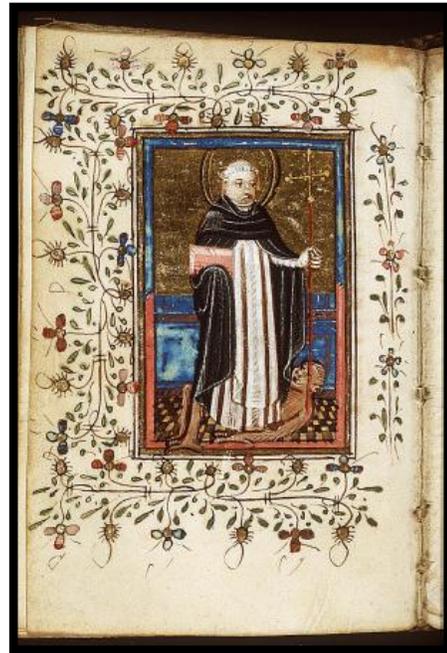


Figure 7: *Book of Hours*, Prayer to St. Dominic of Calerueja (1440-50)
The Hague, KB, 133 E 15, fol. 189v
Courtesy of the National Library of the Netherlands

haze un mono kiere hazer otro; i una mona, lo ke otra” (220) and “Es un mono. / El ke imita a otros” (624).

⁵⁴ Jansen (25, note 37) quotes Hugh of St. Victor as saying “Diabolus enim initium habuit cum angelis in coelis, sed quia hypocrita fuit et dolosus intrinsecus perdidit caudam, quia totus in fine peribit...” (*De bestiis*, MPL CLXXVII 62f, The Devil had his beginning among the angels in heaven, but being full of hypocrisy and guile, he lost his tail, as he will perish completely in the end). Commentators also explained Leviticus XXII.23, which said that the tail of animals determined their aptness for sacrifice, as meaning that the end of the animal (i.e. its tail) had been ordered there by God, and that any animal that was tailless was “against nature” for only man was free to choose his own “end” (Janson 18-19).

Textual instances are also common.⁵⁵ Given the low opinion in which friars were sometimes held, the image of Dominican or Franciscan dominance over the forces of evil used by the Moerdrecht Master is also used in writing to express its opposite—the dominance of evil over friars. The *Libro de buen amor*, for example, directs some of its most vitriolic criticism to the behaviour of “frayles,” Juan Ruiz included (441, 505-07, etc.), and Boccaccio’s *Decameron* shows the friar as a fool (I.1), venal (I.2, III.1), cunning (VI.10), etc. However, some writers, like Chaucer and Marlowe, go a step further. In his “Prologue” to *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer calls friars representatives of avarice and minions of the Devil, who swarm around the unsuspecting like bees.⁵⁶ Likewise, the friar is the Devil par excellence in Marlowe’s *Dr. Faustus*,⁵⁷ and the *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* (1600) of Fray José Sigüenza tells of how the demon once appeared to Saint Jerome “en figura de ximio, imitando los gestos y monerías deste animalillo.”⁵⁸ There are many references as well to how the simple

⁵⁵ Luisa María de Padilla, to give a late example, begins Chapter 38 of her *Elogios de la verdad e invectiva contra la mentira* (1640) by comparing priests to the monkey and the Devil “Pretende el demonio confervando la foberuia que le arrojò del cielo al infierno, contrahacer con sus embuftes y apariencia la grandeza y Mageftad de Dios, y como mona fuya imitar las ceremonia y culto de la Iglefia santa; y viendo que no les es pòsible vfurparle (como quifiera) la Deidad, fe haze adorar de los infelizes y ciegos que fe dexan de èl engañar” (537).

⁵⁶ Chaucer’s Summoner says of friars: “And ere that half a furlong wey of space, / Right so as bees out of a swarmen from a hyve, / Out of the develed ers ther gone dryve, / Twenty thousand freres on a route, / And thurghout helle swarme all aboute, / And comen again as faste as they may gon / And in his ers they crepten everychon” (ll. 1692-98).

⁵⁷ “Go and return an old Franciscan friar; / that shape becomes a devil best” (364-65).

⁵⁸ Sigüenza goes on: “regañaua con la boca y dientes, saltaua a vna y otra parte, y cocaua: pusose de vn brinco en vna ventanilla que estaua bien leuantada en la pared, encima de donde estaua el sieruo de Dios. A todas estas mudanças, nunca pudo hazer ninguna en el alma del santo, ni distraerla. Como se le puso tan cerca, y delante de los ojos, dixole con animo sossegado, y despreciandole: Qual tu eres, tal figura tomaste, y tales gestos hazes” (191-92). The identification of the friar with the monkey sometimes relies on the phonetic similarity between “monachus” and “mono” that continues to modern times. See, for example, the burlesque Latin pamphlet called *Monachologia*, printed in 1783 in Germany under the pseudonym Joannis Physiophili (Baron Ignaz von Born), and also printed in England (London, 1783) and translated into French (Paris, 1784) and Italian (as early as 1801). Born defines “monk” as “Animal antropomorphum; cucullatum; noctu ejulans; fitiens” (London, 1783, 12: An antropomorphic animal, hooded, a night-crier, bound to one place) and later describes him as a species between a monkey and a human, but closer to a monkey: “Homo loquitur, ratiocinatur, vult. Monachus mutus nonnumquam, ratiocinum & voluntate caret, regitur enim tantum arbitrio superiorum. Hominis caput erectum . . . monachi caput depreffum, oculis in terram dejectis. In fudore vultus panem quærit homo; monachus otiofus faginatur. Homo inter homines habitat; monachus folitudinem quærit, & fefe abscondit, lucifugat. Unde patet: monachus genum esse mammalium distinctum ab homine, medium inter hominem & simiam, huic proximior, a qua vix non voce & victu differt, *Simia quam similis turpiffimam bestia vobis!*” (London, 1783, 13-14: Man speaks, reasons, wills. The monk is sometimes mute, lacks reason and will. He is ruled only by the authority of his superiors. Man’s head is held high, the friar’s (head) is bowed, and his eyes cast down. Man procures his bread by the sweat of his brow; the monk grows fat in idleness. Man lives among men; the friar seeks solitude, hides, and shuns the light of day (the idea is that he turns night into day). Whence it is obvious that the friar is a different sort of mammal from man, midway between man and monkey, closer to the latter, from which he differs barely as to voice and lifestyle. *How similar to you is the monkey, that beast most foul!*).

dress of a friar hides an unpleasant reality: “The monke putte en mannes hood an ape, / And in his wyves eek, by Seint Austyn” (CT, B2 440-41, qtd. Rowland 1967, 161), and the *Colloquio de Erasmo* likewise warns against a monkey hidden under a monkish garb when describing a “paramento.”⁵⁹

In light of this identification of the Devil with the friar and the monkey, one can not stress enough the importance of one of the most biting satires of late fifteenth-century Castile as an antecedent to the friar-narrator *Carajicomedia*: The *Coplas del Provincial* (1465-74, “El Provincial es llegado / A aquesta Corte Real, / De nuevos motes cargado, / Ganoso de decir mal”). Admittedly, the poem’s “Provincial” is not a monkey or compared to one. He is a “visitador,” a friar who inspects monasteries to make sure that they are in good repair; that their friars are orthodox in their faith; and, that they adhere to their monastic rule.⁶⁰ The monastery the “Provincial” visits, however, is a thinly disguised allegory of the kingdom of Castile, and its corrupt friars are members of the court. *Carajicomedia* continues the *Coplas del Provincial*’s satire of the friar by creating Fray Bugeo Montesino and by amplifying what is implied but not developed in that work.

Fray Bugeo’s religion is a specular distortion of Christianity that extends beyond his name. The monastery where he resides, “fant estravagante,” is more than a mere description of the architectural details of a building. It describes the friars who live in it. The word “extravagante” at first designated the papal letters or bulls known as *Decretales extravagantes*, because they fell outside of the *Decretum Gratiani* (ca. 1140). These letters and bulls were gathered in two often-used collections, the *Extravagantes Ioannis XXII* and the *Extravagantes communes*, and formed part of most important library collections. “Extravagante” entered the Castilian and Italian vernaculars in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries to describe texts that were outside of any gathering⁶¹ and quickly extended its meaning to cover anything or anyone that deviated from a norm. Don Francesillo de Zúñiga, for example, uses the word to characterize himself, saying that he is: “enemigo del erético Lutero, ynquisidor de neçios, amigo de ombres livianos, *estravagante* [italics mine] de hombres en seso, geníçero saltatriz, reformador de las casas y ospitales de los locos”

⁵⁹ “Mes.- ...Desse otro cabo esta vn simio vestido en habito de Sant Francisco, sentado a la cabecera de vn enfermo: con la vna mano le da la cruz y la otra le esta metiendo, debaxo de las almohadas, en la bolsa.

Con.- No negamos andar cubiertos deste nuestro habito algunos lobos, raposos o ximios, e avn sabemos que debaxo del se encubren puercos, perros, leones, serpientes.⁵⁹ Pero este mesmo habito, que dissimula algunos malos, cubre a muchos buenos; la vestidura, ni nos haze mejores, ni por ella somos peores” (227-28).

⁶⁰ The *Coplas del Provincial* is characterized by Brodey as “un compendio de todo lo más desvergonzado. No hay un límite, ni siquiera el de la blasfemia; las 149 coplas caben en la forma poética tradicionalmente reservada para los graffitti” (42). The *Coplas del Provincial Segundo* (ca. 1547) builds on the *Coplas del Provincial* and straightaway enters into another allegory of the court and the men and women in it.

⁶¹ See Lucena, *Repetición de amores*: “El texto que por el presente acto delibero examinar, salió del libro del pensamiento de Torellas, y dize más propiamente estravagante por no estar encorporado en el derecho” (44).

(*Crónica burlesca* 1525, 29). Therefore, the “colegio” houses “oradores” who have strayed from the true path onto the path of “sant eſtravagante.”

In addition to its own church-monasteries, the religion of Fray Bugeo has counter-texts (the *Putas patrum* or *Tripas patrum* and the *Reportorio delas putas*), and burlesque counter-saints, including “sant eſtravagante,” Santilario, and the other unnamed exemplary figures contained in the *Putas patrum*, the *Tripas patrum*, the *Reportorio delas putas*, the *Carajo de confolacion*, as well as the *Vida y martirio* of Fajardo and Pompeyo. The god of this religion is Venus / Luxuria, who accepts women into her “Orders,” that is, convents that are really houses of prostitution.⁶² These women goad men in their pursuit of sexual pleasure, but as avatars of the Devil, they really seek men’s ultimate destruction.

While the narrators of the *Coplas del Provincial* and the later *Coplas del Provincial Segundo* are both simply called friars, *Carajicomedia* subtly directs its criticism at Observant Franciscans, who wielded piety as a weapon against Conventual Franciscans in their zeal to reform the Order, and were consequently disliked for their influence at court and their participation in the African crusade.⁶³ Although Cisneros’s involvement in the crusade was brief (he returned to Castile after the initial victory in Orán), *Carajicomedia* calls into question the power of the cardinal, the faith of Fray Ambrosio, and the new spirituality advocated by the Observant reform movement. After all, what is a North-African monkey doing in Castile but spreading corruption? Who better to inspire the writer of a parody dedicated to Luxuria than a converso Fray Ambrosio turned into the symbol of lust itself, Fray Bugeo, a monkey from Bujía?⁶⁴

⁶² The idea that the Devils sets up a counter-religion in imitation of the Christian is implicit in many of the texts we have seen and many that we have not. For example, when talking about the feast days of the Indians of New Spain, Jerónimo de Mendieta says: “Que en esto parece haber tomado el maldito demonio oficio de mona, procurando que su babilónica y infernal iglesia ó congregacion de idólatras y engañados hombres, en los ritos de su idolatría y adoracion diabólica remedase (en cuanto ser pudiese) el órden que para reconocer á su Dios y reverenciará sus santos tiene en costumbre la Iglesia católica” (*Historia eclesiástica indiana*, ca. 1604; I.14).

⁶³ See my forthcoming edition of *Carajicomedia* for a discussion of the influence of the Franciscan Conventual / Reform controversy on the work. While I have not come across any mention that would connect Fray Ambrosio Montesino with the extensive entourage that accompanied Cardinal Cisneros during his brief appearance in North Africa, the possibility remains that he accompanied the cardinal on his trip or that he was closely identified with the mission of the cardinal in some way. He is certainly represents the type of spirituality that the cardinal was promoting in Spain.

⁶⁴ The matter, however, may have one final twist. We know that the author of *Carajicomedia* was a resident of Toledo at some point. We also know that the composition of the poem postdates that of the 1508 frescoes of the *Juicio Final* of Juan de Borgoña, and those he painted in celebration of the taking of Bujía in 1510. In my opinion, these frescoes could well have been known to the author of *Carajicomedia* and may have motivated his characterization of Fray Ambrosio as Fray Bugeo.

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