

“Les bergers qui conquièrent l’Espagne”: Pastoral, Ethnicity, and Empire in Philippe Quinault’s *La gènereuse ingratitude*

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Within the history of the literary influence of Spain in France during the seventeenth century, Philippe Quinault’s *La gènereuse ingratitude, tragi-comédie pastorale* (1656) appears as a piece hard to classify, arguably because of the way it coalesces into a single text two different genres like the pastoral and the Moorish romances, two of the genres in which Spanish literature most influenced that of seventeenth-century France. In this article I will explore how this generic mixing of Quinault’s drama should be regarded, not as an aesthetic experiment, but rather as a complex ideological statement reflecting on issues of ethnicity, religion, identity, and the construction of difference within the context of imperial competition between Spain and France.

Although the pastoral romance was initiated in Italy by Sannazaro’s *Arcadia*, Jorge de Montemayor’s *Los siete libros de la Diana* (1559?) became to a certain extent the model for the development of the genre in Europe. The success of Montemayor provoked the publication of several continuations and imitations, with around thirty different pastoral romances from the end of the sixteenth century through the beginning of the seventeenth.¹ Many of them were also translated into French, such as Cervantes’ *La Galatea* and the continuations of *La Diana*, which usually were printed along with Montemayor’s.

One of the "Spanish" pastoral romances, the *Tercera parte de la Diana* (1627) by Jer nimo de Texeda, was even written and published in Paris for a French audience.²

On the other hand, the Moorish novel glorified the deeds of the Muslim inhabitants of Spain until the last Moorish kingdom of Granada surrendered to the Catholic Kings in 1492. The main texts for the development of the genre were Gin s P rez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (first part 1595; second part 1619), Miguel de Luna's *Historia verdadera del rey don Rodrigo* (first part 1592; second part 1600), the story of "Ozm n y Daraja," included in the first part of Mateo Alem n's *Guzm n de Alfarache* (1599), and the anonymous tale of *El Abencerraje*, which was symbolically diffused through its interpolation in Montemayor's *La Diana*. All of them were translated into French and served as the inspiration for a whole vogue of literary works that took the Granadian Moors as their subject, such as Georges de Scud ry's *Almahide ou l'esclave reine* (1600–1663) or Madame de Lafayette's *Zaide* (1670).³

La g n reuse ingratitude takes the traditional enmity between the Granadian aristocratic families of the Abencerrages and the Zegrys but transposes it to their descendants in North Africa. The Abencerrages live in Tlemcen (Algiers), while the Zegrys live in Tunis. The conflict between them is avoided only because the Abencerrages conceal their true identity during most of the play. Abencerage (under the fake name of Almansor), falls in love with Zaide, the sister of Zegry. At the same time Zelinde, Abencerage's sister, disguises herself as a male slave in order to pursue her beloved Zegry, who has rejected her in order to woo Fatime. At the end of the play, Almansor confesses to Zegry that he is an Abencerage and accuses him of having abducted his sister Zelinde. The fight between them is avoided only when Zelinde reveals her true identity and acquits Zegry of the accusation. As it is customary in the tragicomedy, all the confusions are finally solved and the families intermarry, leaving their immemorial enmity behind.

Despite the fact that the confrontation between the Abencerrages and Zegrys is obviously taken from the Spanish Moorish tales, the element that seems striking to almost every critic is that in this play the Moors are characterized as shepherds and are described as inhabiting an idyllic Arcadian landscape much like that found in the pastoral romances. Looking for an explanation for this unusual blending of literary motifs, Carrasco-Urgoiti (*Moro* 114) and Gros (264-68) point out that the sentimental plot is based on the story of Felismena in Montemayor's *La Diana*, and that Zelinde, like Felismena, dresses up as a man to pursue the man who has abandoned her.⁴ The intertextuality would prove that Quinault just borrowed and merged into a single plot the two different stories contained in Montemayor's *La Diana* (the main pastoral plot of the pastoral romance and the interpolated tale of *El Abencerraje*, which is precisely told by Felismena). However, this formalistic explanation of the generic mixing leaves unexplored the ideological connotations that underlie the infringement of the literary boundaries. In fact, critical reactions to the play corroborate that blending pastoral with Moorish themes is not merely an aesthetic issue and that the antagonism between these two genres is not confined to the early modern literary system.

Most of the time, *La généreuse ingratitude* is mentioned only in passing in the overviews of the literary influence of Spain in France and even in the critical works that deal with Quinault's oeuvre.⁵ Nevertheless, all the summaries remark on the exceptionality of mixing the pastoral and the Moorish theme. Thus, for Turbet-Delof, Quinault's play "met en scène des Grenadins devenus pasteurs dans les forêts de Tunis et d'Alger" (43), and Carrasco-Urgoiti similarly comments that the play "funde tópicos moriscos y pastoriles . . . desarrollándose la acción en Argel, donde nobles moros granadinos, huidos de su patria, hacen vida de pastores" (*Moro* 114). Most of the critics confront the generic hybridity with suspicion, such as Powell, who labels it "exotic" and an "unusual pastoral experiment" (190).

It is significant that, in spite of their agreement on the exceptional mixing of pastoral and Moorish themes, each of them finds the "pastoral" in very different traits. Thus, whereas Cioranescu considers the use of sentimental twists as the "properly pastoral" trait (430 n.117), Gros on the contrary seems unable to find anything "properly pastoral" in this play and wonders about the futility of Quinault's invention: "Quinault crut-il avantageux de costumer ses personnages en bergers, de leur donner pour demeures des cabanes de feuillage et d'accoler au soustitre de son oeuvre une  pith te qui pouvait  tre un gage de succ s?" (264), only to respond to his own question in negative terms: "C'est tr s possible et tr s probable. Mais,   vrai dire, les  l ments pastoraux proprement dits sont peu nombreux dans sa pi ce . . . N' tait le soin qu'ils mettent   indiquer leur qualit ,   rappeler qu'ils habitent des cabanes et qu'ils portent des costumes rustiques, on ne voit pas tr s bien en quoi les Almanson, les Z gri, les Adibar, les Ormin et les Za ide se distinguent des personnages ordinaires de la tragi-com die" (264-65). By implying that it is a fake superficial pastoral, Gros involuntarily ignores that the distinctive features of European early modern pastoral are precisely the huts and the shepherd costumes which he labels as merely accidental, pointing instead to an essential trait that would be missing but that he fails to define. It should be clarified at this point that, in contrast to our modern sense of the term "pastoral" as a broad synonym for "bucolic," early modern pastoral is mainly defined by the presence of the shepherd and the material culture of shepherding (Marx 45). But even in bucolic terms, the play begins precisely with the sentimental description of Algiers as a *locus amoenus* in the words of Z linda: "Charmante solitude, agreable sejour, / beaux lieux o  i'ay receu ma vie, et mon amour, / vieux arbres, clairs ruisseaux, dont l'ombre et le murmure / marquent de la piti  pour ma triste aduventure, / Zephirs, Echo, Rochers, et vous sombres Forests, / soyez les confidents de mes ennuis secrets" (1-2). Therefore, what Gros is reluctant

to acknowledge is that there is nothing missing in Quinault's play in order to qualify it as a pastoral, even in a broad sense. If I take his otherwise excellent study as the target of my critique, it is because Gros takes great pains in presenting the failure of *La généreuse ingratitude* in terms of what it lacks, whereas the problem is, quite the opposite, one of "excess": that the Moor, as I will argue, does not belong to the pastoral Arcadia in the early modern Franco-Iberian pastoral imaginary.

Following a different line of analysis, Sasu finds the exceptionality of the play in the location of Arcadia in "la forest d'Alger": "ce qui fait note à part dans la production des pastorales, c'est qu'il ai choisi l'Orient [. . .] et non la Sicile [. . .], l'imprécise Arcadie ou le pays de Candie" (323). Sasu's comment underlines that, despite the pretended a-topia of the pastoral Arcadia, there is an implicit convention which vaguely circumscribes it within a geographic limit: a figurative European space which would be coincidental with Christianity. It is this displacement that prevents us from considering the play as participating in the articulation of Orientalism in seventeenth-century French drama as a way of constructing a sense of collective identity within the context of colonial and economic expansion (Longino 1-8). Although the religious difference is constantly underscored by depicting the characters as unmistakably Muslim,⁶ their potential otherness is diminished or at least complicated by the fact that they are shepherds of European origins.

La généreuse ingratitude actually manipulates from the very beginning the ethnic and geographical expectations of the audience. The first scene introduces Zegry preparing for his departure: "Zegry: Apprends que des demain nous partirons d'icy. / Ormin: Quoy, Seigneur, vous quittez si tost vostre Patrie, / Ces Cabanes, ces Bois, cette belle Prairie" (2). Although the stage directions announce that this scene takes place "dans la Forest d'Alger" (n.p.), this information is not explicitly stated by the actors until later. Therefore, any spectator trained in the literary tradition of the gallant Spanish Moors, after hearing the

names of Ormin and Zegry and watching them preparing for their departure, would immediately assume that the Arcadia being praised is the last Moorish kingdom of Granada, and that the exile is due to its fall in 1492.⁷ However, as we immediately find out, Zegry is not in Spain at the beginning of the play, but in Algiers, and nobody is forcing him to leave, because he is just traveling back to Tunis in order to pursue his beloved Fatime. Furthermore, they do not even belong to the first generation of Moorish exiles from the fall of Granada in 1492, because all of them were born in North Africa (Almansor "Je fus n  dans ces lieux" 78),⁸ but they certainly preserve the memory of their Iberian origins, to which they make constant references. Thus, Alabez praises Zegry in front of Fatime alluding to his origin: "Cet illustre heritier de ces braues Guerriers, / qui jusques dans l'Espagne ont cueilly des Lauriers" (6). The question of their origins becomes even more prominent in the first encounter between Almansor and Zegry in Tunis. Right after Almansor praised the nobility of Zegry ("Toy dont la race est noble" 14) beyond their humble shepherd clothing, Zegry himself will underline the prestige of his lineage by referring both to their Iberian origin and to their resistance to Spanish expansion in North Africa:

Les Bergers de ce bois et de cette campagne,
 Descendent des Heros qui conquirent l'Espagne;
 De ces Mores fameux de qui les grands exploits
 De cent peuples Chrestiens firent trembler les Rois,
 Et que voyans Thunis par Charles-Quint conquise,
 Conseruent dans ces lieux leur gloire, et leur franchise. (14)

Whereas their exile is presented as an actual return to their original lands after a "momentary" stay of eight centuries in the Iberian Peninsula, the phrasing itself conveys the anxieties about genealogical continuity. Of course, the "genealogical purity" of these Moorish shepherds conceals the fact that the Muslim and Christian populations of medieval Iberia had intermingled

and converted in both directions to such extent that, even if such a certainty would ever be possible, the statement that the Moors expelled in 1492 (or 1609) are the descendants of those Muslims who arrived in 711 reveals as a fantastic genealogical fiction.⁹

It is not by chance that the first moment in the text that these Moors call themselves shepherds and discuss their pastoral garments is coincidental with the praising of their lineage. In order to fully appreciate the role of clothing in the construction of difference, we have to look back at the Spanish pastoral imaginary, in which the shepherds' disguise is clearly conceived as an essential trait of ethnic identity that grants Christians the illusion of a sharp opposition to the Moor. A characteristic that distinguishes the Spanish pastoral mode from the rest of its uses in Europe, is that it articulates the classicism of the genre as an opposition to the Moorish culture that had influenced the Iberian Peninsula during the Muslim presence from 711 to the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, and even beyond.¹⁰ In addition, the literary figure of the shepherd is usually identified with the caste of the "cristianos viejos," those who, in opposition to the nobility, boast of not having mixed their blood with Moors and Jews (Surtz 230–32; Hermenegildo 40–45). Such an implicit attachment of the image of the shepherd to Christianity will be so pervasive that the phrase "Moorish shepherd" would become an oxymoron in the linguistic ideology of early modern Spain, even though historiography shows that Iberian Muslims had always engaged in shepherding to an extent similar to that of their Old Christian counterparts (Vincent). When the Moor appears in pastoral literature, it is never as a shepherd but as a clearly distinct identity and even in a different diegetic layer, as is the case in the tale of *El Abencerraje* in Montemayor's *La Diana*, in the anonymous *La pastora de Mançanares* (v.7609–7800), in the Moorish ballads included as appendix to Covarrubias Herrera's *Los cinco libros de la Enamorada Elisea* (1594), or in a short Moorish tale about the conflict between the Zegrys and

the Abecerrajes included in the *Tercera parte de la Diana* (1627) by Jerónimo de Texeda (2: 79–88).

The most explicit account of this opposition occurs in the apocryphal *Segunda Parte de la Vida del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache* (1602) by Mateo Luján de Sayavedra. While the pícaro Guzmán is working for a company of comedians, he meets an eccentric playwright who is preparing “una jornada pastoril a la morisca de allá de África, que es una maravilla; porque los poetas aún no habían advertido que entre los moros hay pastores” (422). The comedians laugh at him, although it is not evident whether they mock him because his remark is either obvious or absurd within an imaginary in which the shepherd stands for a Christian identity opposed to stereotyped caricatures of Moors and Jews. Guzmán and his companions question the project in sartorial terms: “¿Cómo se habrán de vestir esos pastores, que los pellicos que usamos en España no les podrán convenir?” After a brief hesitation, the playwright responds that “bien nos podríamos informar en Valencia de muchos que han estado cautivos en Argel, qué vestido usan por allá la gente serrana y pastoril” (Luján de Sayavedra 422). In spite of the apparent reasonableness of the playwright’s observations, the rest of the characters deride him and go on their way.

Forty-four years later, Quinault will write a play that materializes the blatant idea “that there are shepherds among the Moors.” His play will face in its turn in the twentieth century a reception in the critical discourse similar to that of the “eccentric” playwright in Luján de Sayavedra’s fiction.¹¹ Although critics are right in departing from the premise that the Moorish and the pastoral were two distinct idealistic literary genres in the early modern period, they end up paralleling Guzmán’s scorn of the playwright in that, while they underline the artificiality of each genre separately, none of them questions the artificiality of the generic divide. Thus, even though the pastoral romance is widely recognized as one of the most idealizing genres, it is

nevertheless considered “fake,” “artificial,” and “experimental” when it comes to including the Muslim other within it, as if there were anything “natural” in the literary pastoral world in the first place. The reluctance to accept that the Moor may participate in the same symbolic community of shepherds is neither limited to the early modern period nor to the Iberian Peninsula. The “pastoral difference” is a trans-European cultural unconscious of the literary and critical traditions, which react as if this distinction were natural and not a historically determined ideological construction, as if the incompatibility between Moors and shepherds were ontological and not an effect of the discourse, and, therefore, as if the generic hybridity meant in fact a symbolic miscegenation.¹²

When Quinault confronts the question “¿Cómo se habrán de vestir esos pastores?”, he addresses it in an elusive way, making it central to the characters’ dialogue but at the same time avoiding it in the stage directions. The sartorial element will be made explicit upon the arrival of Almansor in Tunis, when Zegry greets him: “Te voila donc enfin habillé comme nous: / Cét habit est bien fait” (13). In this allusion to the dress, the text creates in the reader the expectation about the characteristic Moorish costume.¹³ And yet, what we immediately find out is that Almansor (and by extension the rest of the Moorish characters) is not wearing the expected and all-pervasive flamboyant Moorish clothes, when Zegry comments “Cét habit de Berger te sied infiniment: / Mais pour un Almansor, c’est trop d’abaissement” (13). To the self-deprecation of Zegry regarding the humility of the shepherd dress, Almansor replies with the conventional praise of the pastoral life: “L’habit n’obscurcit rien de l’éclat du merite; / Et ie ne puis faillir alors que ie t’imite: / Toy dont la race est noble, et dont le coeur est tel” (14). The effectiveness of clothing to convey class identity is a central issue of pastoral, as Lavocat points out: “L’évolution de la signification du travestissement s’accompagne de la possibilité d’une dégradation du costume et

par cons qu nt du statut social du berger [. . .]. La question de savoir si le berger est un prince entra ne en effet in vitablement celle de savoir s'il n'est pas un paysan" (405). However, it would be necessary to include a third variable in this set of oppositions, since "shepherd's disguise" in the pastoral imaginary opposes both courtly clothing and Moorish costume. By focusing on the problems of representing class difference in the dialogue between Zegry and Almansor, the play avoids, on the one hand, addressing the thorny ethnographical question of "qu  vestido usan por all  la gente serrana y pastoril," thus dispelling the rather imaginary sartorial difference between Christians and Muslims; but on the other hand, and more importantly, the discussion on the "pastoral transvestism" projects upon the Other the same social divisions of the Christian camp, sweeping away the essential and immutable stereotype of the gallant aristocratic Moor transmitted by the literary tradition. The sartorial self-reflexivity serves thus to conceive that the Moor is not an immanent category, but that it is analogous to the Christian precisely because they share a similar social heterogeneity.

The dialectics of identity and difference are complicated even more when we consider the changing ideological connotations that Granadian Moors occupy in the French imaginary. Whereas the Moorish novel was initially regarded as a merely aesthetic attachment to Oriental refinements (Cazenave 610–12, Munari 77–91), critics tend now to perceive how the confrontations between Zegrys and Abencerrages might have been interpreted as an allegory of the French religious wars of the sixteenth century (Fosalba "Abencerraje" 111; Sanz 293; Turbet-Delof 43–44), as an appraisal of aristocratic values against the rising of the absolutist monarchy of Richelieu (Casc n Marcos 286–87), or as an indirect way to underline their alignment with the Other of the Spanish empire within the context of European confrontation (Turbet-Delof 43–44; Hur  7). Among the many possible subjective positions available through the figure of the

Spanish Moor for the seventeenth-century French audience, *La généreuse ingratitude* seems to exploit the identification with the Moor as a way of opposing the Spanish empire of Philip IV (1621–1665). Although there is no mention of France throughout the play, its opposition to the Spanish empire emerges in an oblique but significant way when Zegry alludes to Charles V's campaign of Tunis in 1535 (14). Since the most the Habsburg emperor had captured and imprisoned Francis I of France in the battle of Pavia in 1525, by evoking such a figure, the play presents the Spanish as a common enemy of both the North African Moor and the French empire. This opposition is stressed from the very beginning of the text in the dedication to Armand de Bourbon, Prince of Conti, who, as Buijtendorp remarks, was known at this time for his victories over the Spanish army in the battles of Villafranca and Puigcerdà (14 n.3) during the French participation in the Catalan revolt.¹⁴ Not by chance the publication of this play happens at the moment when France is replacing Spain as the hegemonic power in Europe, between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, which consecrated the territorial losses of Spain in Central Europe and the Roussillon. If we follow the logic of exclusion implicit in pastoral, we may infer that, if the Moors were “the Shepherds that conquered Spain,” it follows that the repression of the Moorish legacy promoted in the Iberian Peninsula paradoxically precludes the very possibility of the materialization of Arcadia in the space of the Spanish empire. *La généreuse ingratitude* thus turn on its head the ethnic connotation of the Spanish pastoral by capturing its “pastoral uncanny” and inverting its representational system of identity and difference.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the indirect attack on the ethnic and political instrumentalization of the pastoral of Spanish literature has consequences as well for French rhetorical commonplaces. Regardless of whether Quinault actually knew Luján de Sayavedra's text or was even conscious of the rarely made

explicit way in which Spaniards refigured the shepherd as the antithetical image of the Moor, a similar rhetorical opposition between Christians (shepherds) and Moors and Jews (non-shepherds) can be found in the French imaginary. We should remind ourselves here that two of the most violent popular revolts in medieval France were the Shepherds' Crusades of 1251 and 1320. According to the accounts of the revolts, the "crusade" of 1320 started with the excuse of organizing a crusade against the Moorish kingdom of Granada, but it was soon transformed into an anti-Semitic pogrom when one Jew allegedly laughed at the shepherds' aim. In spite of its name, the popular uprising comprised many heterogeneous social classes (Weakland 73), so the question is why the rioters decided to take the "shepherd" identity as an umbrella for justifying their actions.¹⁶ As Barber suggests the banner might have been borrowed from the perceived association of Christian identity with the figure of the shepherd in medieval drama ("Pastoureaux" 162). But it could as well be suggested that the populace might have been inspired by an episode of the Iberian "reconquista" for the construction of their rhetorical justification. Although the definite defeat of Muslim Spain takes place with the fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada in 1492, the balance of power had already shifted in favor of the Christian kingdoms in the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), which opened strategic access to most of what is nowadays Andaluc a and marked the end of Al-Andalus as a rival. However, the defeat of the Moorish army was not achieved solely by Christian military prowess. According to medieval sources, many of them written by first-hand witnesses of the battle, the mountainous topography benefited the Moorish defenders, and the course of events was only reversed thanks to the intervention of a humble shepherd who guided the Christians on a secret path through the mountains. French troops did not participate in the final battle due to their differences with Castilians on how to deal with the conquered population, but the success of the

crusade and the decisive intervention of the rustic shepherd had ample repercussions beyond the Pyrenees, and might have inspired popular masses to regard it as a model story that would legitimate their socio-political claims against aristocratic appropriations of the crusade project.¹⁷

The wide circulation of these images on both sides of the Pyrenees suggests that the common Franco-Iberian mentality of religious crusade has collaborated in reshaping the metaphor of the pastoral community into an ethno-religious trope of identity. During the rise of nationalism in the Renaissance and the Baroque, this oppositional connotation would be reformulated by the humanist culture which transforms the pastoral romance into a pseudo-historical narrative to render a poetic ethnogenesis –an Arcadian account of the origins of the nation and the genealogy of its people. The association between nationalist historiography, ethnographic fictions, and Arcadian myth will be pervasive in the Spanish pastoral novel, in which the Spanish shepherds pretend to be living in an idealized country in which the Muslim invasion of 711 has simply never occurred and therefore lacks any trace of Moorish cultural and genealogical influence. By the same token, Honoré d'Urfé will also associate in *L'Astrée* (1607–1627) Gaul ethnicity, nationalism, and Arcadian myth (Lavocat 357). The implicit ethnic content of early modern pastoral explains why it is that, precisely when the word “berger” is pronounced in *La généreuse ingratitude*, Zegry delivers the fantastic genealogy of the Moors who conquered Spain. On the one hand, the pastoralization of the Moor is an act of literary cannibalization of the Other –for them to be able to speak about origins and genealogy, they have to pass through the literary means and tropological filters available for it in the European literary system. On the other hand, this cannibalization conveys some sense of similarity to the Muslim Other that had been compulsively negated by the same pastoral mode. Although Spanish and French Arcadias competed in the idealization of their respective national

communities, they shared the tropological language in which such idealization is expressed and through which the Islamic Other is simultaneously absent and negated. Therefore, if Quinault conceived *La g n reuse ingratitude* as a critique of the Spanish imaginary, he infringed at the same time on a common Franco-Iberian attachment to the image of the shepherd as the bearer of the pretended foundational origins in a vague mixing of classical culture and Christianity. Such paradoxical redrawing of the pastoral dialectics of identity shows to what extent the aim of denouncing the rhetorical spins of the European imperial Other is only made at the risk of exposing shared conventionalities of symbolic exclusion.

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Notes

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1. For the development of the genre in Spain, see Avalle-Arce and López Estrada.

2. On the influence of Spanish pastoral in early modern French literature, see Cioranescu (413–21), Gonzalo Santos, Fosalba (*Diana* 199–272) and Teixeira Anacleto.

3. There is an abundant bibliography on the influence of the Moorish novel in France; see Matulka (382–88), Carrasco-Urgoiti ("Imagen" 190–95), Carrasco-Urgoiti (*Moro* 101–114), Cazenave, Munari (156–75), and Huré. On the French translations of *El Abencerraje*, see Fosalba (*Diana* 229–30).

4. For the possible literary sources of Quinault, see also Losada Goya (578) and Gros (265–68).

5. For an overview of Quinault's biography and the place of its oeuvre within seventeenth-century French drama, see Gros, Buijtenorp, Norman, and Brooks. The only one to devote a specific article to *La généreuse ingratitude* is Sasu.

6. The references to Muhammad are ubiquitous in the text: Fatime "Nous sommes tous mortels: le Prophete ait son ame" (7); Adibar "Le Prophete qui sçait combien je vous réuere" (25); Ormin "l'atteste le Prophete honnoré parmy nous" (34); Almansor "Je iure le Prophete" (67). At the end of the play, Zegry proposes to celebrate their intermarriages by attending the Mosque "Allons dans la Mosquée ensemble rendre graces; / a la bonté du Ciel qui finit nos disgraces" (83). Sasu, who gives more emphasis to the geographical displacement than to the religious difference, considers that the Arabic

names and the references to the practice of Islam are elements that merely reinforce the verisimilitude of the Algerian location and convey some sense of "couleur local" (323). She does not take into account that the Moorish names are borrowed from the Spanish literary tradition.

7. The fact that the characters are members of the nobility makes more plausible that their ancestors left Granada in 1492, and not in the expulsion of 1609, since by that date, the Moorish Granadian aristocracy which had chosen to remain in Spain was fully integrated in the Spanish nobility and were not affected by Philip III's decree. However, by the 1650's any reader and spectator would have both events in mind, since many Moriscos passed through southern France in their expulsion and some of them probably stayed there (Cardaillac).

8. The only historical reference is the conquest of Tunis by Charles V (14), which would date the argument at any time after 1535.

9. For the most ardent apologists of the expulsion in Spain, there was no doubt that the Moriscos belonged to a different lineage than the Spaniards: "de los dichos Moros, por naturaleza Africanos, que en Espa a entraron entonces, decienden estos que nosotros deziamos aora Moriscos, y han durado hasta oy por sucession en esta forma" (Aznar Cardona 2:17r). But the opposite view is no less abundant. The Bishop of Calahorra held that the evangelization of the Moriscos should proceed with non aggressive means, since they were "tan antiguos espa oles y muchos dellos descendientes de christianos" (Janer 233). Luis de la Cueva argued in his *Di logos de las cosas notables de Granada* (1603) that "Los moriscos del Alpuxarra eran tenidos por decendientes de Christianos" (66). Even Juan de la Puente, who is one of the defenders of the expulsion contested such genealogical fictions and considered that the Moriscos were "Moros en lo secreto, en lo publico Christianos, y Espa oles en la sangre" (3.3: 22).

10. On the influence of Moorish culture and the anxieties about its extent, see Fuchs. Milhou studies in some detail the process of cultural cleansing, which he labels as "desemitization." Wulff (50) comments on the conscious use of classicism as an alternative to the Moorish legacy.

11. Whether Quinault could have known this work or not is something that would be hard to prove, although it is not implausible. The apocryphal second part of the *Guzm n de Alfarache* had ten reprints between 1602 and 1604 (Ma ero Lozano 51-57), but it was not translated into French and was soon clouded when Mateo Alem n released his own second part of Guzm n's life.

12. The pervasiveness of the ethnic and nationalist use of the pastoral Arcadia in our current times has been explored by Twiddy, for whom "The

pastoral vision is one of an artificial view of nature, of real conditions, and in 'Known World' it is present in the nationalist desire to make an artificial vision of a country real. The desire to make real the disturbing illusion of ethnic or blood purity in order to establish freedom, prosperity and harmony involves genocide" (65–66).

13. We may also wonder what could have been the reception of the performance, which probably took place two years earlier in 1654 (Brooks 52). For the spectator, the effect would have been the other way around: they would have found actors disguised as shepherds in the first place, only to be informed afterwards that they are Moors. Or maybe Quinault ordered a mix of both clothing styles or decided to disguise all the actors with Moorish garments, maintaining that they were wearing "habits de berger" anyway. Unfortunately, the stage directions do not address this issue, and the only sartorial instruction appears in the list of characters, which states that Zelinde (disguised as Ormin) has to wear "l'habit d'un esclave" (n.p.). Brooks (54) speculates about the names of the actors who would have played each character, but does not address the sartorial issue. The only modern performance of this play that I know of was held in the garden of New College, Oxford, in 2008, directed by Ruth Vorstman. As she has kindly told me in personal communication, she addressed the sartorial uncertainty by combining seventeenth-century French dress with Moorish-like garments, which seems a plausible recreation of the original effect.

14. On the actions of the Prince of Conti as Viceroy of Catalonia between 1654 and 1656, see Sanabre (557–66).

15. It would explain also why only three years after the publication of *La généreuse ingratitude*, William Lower published in The Hague his translation *The Noble Ingratitude* (1659).

16. For a detailed account of the Shepherds' Crusade in 1251, see Barber ("Crusade"). The Shepherds' Crusade of 1320 showed a more evident anti-Semitic trend (Barber "Pastoureaux"; Nirenberg 43–68).

17. For the medieval sources on the shepherd of Las Navas de Tolosa, see Rosado Llamas and López Payer (251–59), who include an appendix with many of the historiographical texts that treat this episode and the correspondence between Iberian and French authorities (322–71). For the socio-political background of the Shepherds Crusade in 1251, see Barber ("Crusade" 13–15).