

A Proposal for a Doctoral Dissertation (revised version)

Narratives of Madness:

Scientific and Literary Representations of Madness in Golden Age Spain

תכנית מחקר לעבודת דוקטור (גרסה מתוקנת)

נרטיבים של שגעון:

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1. Main problems to be dealt with in the dissertation and their importance

The proposed dissertation aims to reconstruct the category of madness in Golden Age Spain (16th-17th centuries), by exploring the ways it was thought of, explained, conceptualized and treated in its scientific and literary representations. The research will focus on three main problems: (1) the boundaries of madness as a category and its relation to adjacent or overlapping categories (e.g., *necedad*, folly) and supposedly opposite categories (e.g., *cordura*¹); (2) the tension between discourses pertaining to competing perspectives to which this category was considered to belong, namely, *Philosophia naturalis* and supernatural (theological and demonological) disciplines and their practical branches (mainly medicine and exorcism); and (3), the ways by which these different discourses construe madness and its imaginary in relation to variables such as gender, social class, age, or religious status (e.g., heresy, religious heterodoxy, or the *converso* situation).

The unique characteristics of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain make it an extremely interesting field for a study of the construction of madness in both science and literature: this is when a systematic thinking about the human psyche emerges in Spain as a system of thought which struggles to distinguish itself from traditional perspectives on mental phenomena, e.g. theology and metaphysics. It is also the Golden Age (*Siglo de Oro*) of literary and dramatic creation, in which the presence of madness and madmen is notable.

In addition to that, what makes Spain a particularly interesting study case regarding the relation of culture and madness are its idiosyncratic preoccupations, values and taboos, whose conjugation with the category of what was considered to be mad is yet to be explored; just to

¹ The contemporary English translation for this word, "sanity", is deceiving, because *cuerto* also implies "prudent" or "having good sense", and wouldn't automatically apply for anyone who is not a *loco*.

name a few, one might mention the struggle of post-1492 Hispanic society to define a unified identity and deny its multicultural past (and present); the invisible yet unsurpassable boundary between Old and New Christians, maintained through the *limpieza de sangre* [“blood cleanliness”] statutes; the encounter with the New World and its consequences; the constant concern whether things really are what they seem to be (*ser/parecer*), present not only as one of the most recurrent literary *topoi*, but also as a “real”, extraliterary epistemological preoccupation.

2. Existing research on the subject

Though since Foucault’s *Histoire de la folie à l’âge classique* a great deal of research has been dedicated to the history of madness and its relation to cultural contexts in which it was defined as such, it seems that early modern Spain remains a neglected terrain in that respect. Many of the so-called Western or “universal” all-encompassing histories of madness², melancholy³, medicine⁴, psychiatry⁵, and psychology⁶ have paid little, if any, attention to Golden Age Spain. Reading such studies, one might get the impression that – unlike the English, French, or German cases – sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain not only had very little, if any, psychiatric thought, but also that its few reflections about madness were unworthy of being studied.

² The now classical *Madmen and the Bourgeoisie: A Social History of Insanity and Psychiatry* by Klaus Dorermer (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) is divided into three chapters: Great Britain, France, and Germany. Foucault’s very *Histoire* doesn’t contain more than a couple of almost random allusions to *Don Quijote*; Roy Porter doesn’t dedicate much more than that to Spain in his *Madness: A Brief History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³ Two major studies in the history of melancholy – Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl’s, *Saturn and Melancholy* (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1964) and Stanley Jackson’s *Melancholia and Depression* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986) – make no significant references to the Hispanic world.

⁴ *The Cambridge History of Medicine* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) name index, for example, enlists almost 400 names, among which only four are related to Spain: Maimonides and Al-Zahrawi, the Catalan Arnau de Villanova, which appears there as a “French physician and teacher”, and Miguel Serveto,

⁵ Though it is far from being the only critique possible of Alexander and Selesnick’s *History of Psychiatry: An Evaluation of psychiatric thought and Practice from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), it is still indicative that the only three paragraphs dedicated to Spain in the whole book are actually a digression from a discussion on 18th century asylums, provoked by Pinel’s visit to Spain. See also Hunter, Richard & MacLapine, Ida, *Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry* (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), in

Historians of medicine and psychology in Spain, however, have succeeded in showing that Hispanic sixteenth and seventeenth-century thinkers did actually produce a considerable body of medical knowledge, and – at least to some extent – also autochthonous psychological and psychiatric thinking⁷. Traditionally, scholarship dealing with psychological ideas in Spain has focused on the work of Huarte de San Juan (1529-1588), describing his contribution to psychological and related disciplines, concentrating much more on his cognitive theories, methodological novelty, or ideas about language⁸, as it did on the theoretical reflections of the Philosopher Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540) on emotion⁹, rather than on what today we would call their ideas in the realm of psychiatry or abnormal psychology. Furthermore, these studies do not engage in a fruitful dialogue with critical theory, nor do they ask what these texts can teach us about the cultural context in which they emerged.

Literary scholars, on the other hand, have been studying madness – mostly as a literary *topos* – for at least the past century. Though not without exceptions, the majority of these studies have focused on Cervantes's *Don Quijote* and on the exemplary novella *El licenciado Vidriera*, whose protagonists are considered the paradigmatic madmen of the Golden Age literature.

which not a single Spanish author is alluded to; and the more recent Micale, Mark S. & Porter, Roy (-eds.), *Discovering the History of Psychiatry* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁶ See Robinson, Daniel N., *An Intellectual History of Psychology*, New York & London: Macmillan, 1981; Ehrenwald, Jan (-ed.), *The History of Psychotherapy*, Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1976.

⁷ See, for example, one of the many works of José María López Piñero, *Medicina e historia natural en al sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007); Luis Granjel, *La medicina española renacentista* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1980).

⁸ See Vleeschauer, H. J., “Los primeros días de la psicología diferencial” [1938], in Iriarte, M., *El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su Examen de ingenios: contribución a la historia de la psicología diferencial*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948, pp. 7-10; Gondra Rezola, J. M., “Juan Huarte de San Juan y las diferencias de inteligencia”, *Anuario de Psicología*, 60, 1994, pp. 13-34; Martín Araguz, A. & Bustamante Martínez, C. “Examen de ingenios de Huarte de San Juan y los albores de la neurobiología de la inteligencia en el Renacimiento español”, *Revista de Neurología*, 38 (12), 2004, pp. 1176-1185; Virués Ortega, J., “Huarte de San Juan in cartesian and modern psycholinguistics: an encounter with Noam Chomsky”, *Psicothema*, 17 (3), 2005, pp. 436-440.

⁹ See Diamond, Solomon (-ed.), *The Roots of Psychology: A Sourcebook in the History of Ideas*, New York: Basic Books, 1974, and Zilboorg, Gregory, *A History of Medical Psychology*, New York: Norton, 1941.

Whereas some scholars have tried applying modern – and anachronistic – psychiatric diagnoses to Cervantine characters¹⁰, others have established a dialogue between Cervantes's works and psychoanalytic theory¹¹, which, albeit fruitful at times, cannot teach us much about the epoch's concepts of madness.

A different line of research, well established for over a century, and consisting of numerous studies, has investigated the influence of the epoch's medical ideas about madness and character – primarily, those of Huarte de San Juan – and their influence on or presence in literary – mainly Cervantes's – characterization of mad protagonists¹². Generally speaking, these works tend to be more descriptive than interpretive, and aim to provide the reader with evidence for the author's readings and medical knowledge¹³, as well as some of the time's ideas about psychopathology. What is often lacking in these studies, however, is a critical appraisal that goes beyond identifying possible or certain textual sources, and deals with the *relation*, perhaps even confluence of literature and medicine in the Golden Age.

¹⁰ See, for example, Kirchner, Nora. I., Laurenti, Joseph L., & Kirchner, John H., "*Don Quijote de la Mancha: A study in classical paranoia*", II Congreso Intenacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1994), pp. 43-50. For earlier studies in this line, Mauricio de Iriarte's critique of them in his section dedicated to the influence of Huarte's ideas on Cervantes's works: "El Examen de ingenios" y el ingenioso hidalgo", in *El doctor Huarte de San Juan y su Examen de ingenios: contribución a la historia de la psicología diferencial* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), pp. 311-332.

¹¹ See Ruth Anthony El Saffar. & Diana De Armas Wilson's *Quixotic Desire: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Cervantes* (Ithaca & London : Cornell University Press, 1993); Riley, E. C., "Cervantes, Freud, and Psychoanalytic Narrative Theory", *The Modern Language Review*, 88, 1993, pp. 1-14.

¹² Given that the bibliography is too abundant to be cited here, only a couple of representative works will be mentioned. Two pioneering works in that field are Rafael Sañillas's *Un gran inspirador de Cervantes: Juan Huarte de San Juan* (Madrid: Eduardo Arias, 1905), and Miguel de Unamuno's *Vida de don Quijote y Sancho, según Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra* (Madrid: Librería de Fernando Fe, 1905). Another study, which has become the paradigmatic study about Huarte de San Juan, as well as about its influence on the *Quijote*, is Iriarte's aforementioned book. See also Green, Otis, "El ingenioso Hidalgo", *Hispanic Review*, 25 (3), 1957, pp. 175-193; Sieber, Harry, "On Huarte de San Juan and Anselmo's locura in *El curioso impertinente*", *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 36 (1-2), 1970, pp. 1-8 ; Heiple, Daniel, "Renaissance Medical Psychology in *Don Quijote*", *Ideologies and Literatures*, 2, 1979, pp. 65-72. On other physicians, such as López de Villalobos, see Gustavo Illades Aguiar's, "Dos pacientes virtuales del médico Francisco de Villalobos: Anselmo y Carrizales", *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 19 (2), 1999, pp. 101-112; and *La Celestina en el taller salmantino* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1999), pp. 37-72.

¹³ See López-Muñoz, F., Álamo, C., & García-García, P., "Locos y dementes en la literatura cervantina: a propósito de las fuentes médicas de Cervantes en materia neuropsiquiátrica", *Revista de Neurología*, 46 (8), 2008, pp. 489-510.

In the last fifteen years, however, there has been a change in scholarship's perspectives and interest in themes related to madness, and particularly in melancholy, which has been the object of a handful of new studies. Christine Orobitg's *L'humeur noire : mélancolie, écriture et pensée en Espagne aux XVIème et XVIIème siècles* (1997)¹⁴ was a true pioneer's work. Her synthesis of diverse early modern Spanish theories – mostly medical, but also theological and philosophical – about melancholy had no precedent in critical research. She was one of the first scholars to argue that the neglected Hispanic psychiatric thinking was of considerable volume and needed to be studied¹⁵. In her work – one of the most exhaustive ones on the subject –, she shows the polysemy of melancholy as a concept, its contradictory quality, and enumerates the main semantic fields evoked by its representation. She also highlights a growing tendency towards a moral condemnation of melancholy, and offers – without elaborating – some hypotheses regarding the meaning of such tendency. What remains unclear, however, from her study is to what extent *melancolia* and *locura* are overlapping categories, and what are the boundaries of each category. Also, a final reflection explaining what these theories can teach us specifically on early modern Spanish society or culture is missing¹⁶.

Hélène Tropé's *Locura y sociedad en la Valencia del siglo XV al siglo XVII* (1994)¹⁷ provides a unique historical account of the first madhouse in the West, the *Hospital dels Ignoscents* in Valencia, from its foundation in the beginning of the 15th century to the end of the 17th century. Her study concentrates on the madhouse and its interaction with society and provides not only valuable insights into the historical reality of institutional care for the mad, but

¹⁴ Bethesda, MD : International Scholars Publications.

¹⁵ “En effet, l'un des objectifs de ce travail est de montrer qu'à côté des sempiternels Ficin, Burton et Dürer, invoqués par les études sur la mélancolie, il existe aussi un riche fonds de textes hispaniques dont le discours mérite d'être écouté.” (p. 12).

¹⁶ That is, in spite of her awareness of the fact that the construction of melancholy can lead us to conclusions, or at least to some questions, about the construing subject (“l'étude de la conception de la mélancolie nous éclaire sur la société qui la produit”, p. 13), her final reflections are wanting in that area.

¹⁷ Valencia: Diputació de València.

also some significant indications that can lead us towards a cultural category of madness as well as a social role of the mad. Medical discourse, however, is far from being her main focus.

Another investigation which casts light on the categorical problem of madness, though – again – without making any significant reference to the time’s Spanish medical corpus, is Dale Shuger’s recent study (2008). Shuger has examined over a hundred Inquisitorial trial protocols, in which the court had to determine whether the defendant was truly mad or a punishable heretic feigning madness. She shows that “The activities of the Inquisition created a space where theological, legal, medical, and political discourses were directly placed into contact and, often, conflict.” (p. 278), and concludes that the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Inquisitors had no agreed upon criteria for determining what madness was, nor had they a consistent methodology of obtaining information that could help them make such a decision¹⁸.

Belén Atienza has studied the historical referents and the literary representations of madness, melancholy and madhouses in Lope de Vega’s plays¹⁹. Though she provides several interesting insights into Spanish sixteenth century madness and its relation to theatricality, her work seems to be impregnated with contemporary notions and assumptions about madness, which are not made explicit, and consist – in my opinion – of a major interpretive flaw, when what is pretended is an archaeology of the concept of madness *à la* Foucault. One is that the category of *locura* and that of *cordura* cover the whole range of being, an assumption that can be questioned only by looking up the entry “cuerdo” in a dictionary of the time; the other is her constant references to *locos* as “*enfermos mentales*” (mentally ill). Also, in various moments, it is quite unclear to the reader whether Atienza is writing about madness as a social phenomenon,

¹⁸ See Dale Shuger’s “Madness on trial”, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 10(3), 277-297, 2009, based on her doctoral dissertation, *A Thousand and One Quijotes: Madness in Life and Literature in Early Modern Spain* (New York: New York University, 2008).

¹⁹ *El loco en el espejo: locura y melancolía en la España de Lope de Vega* (Amsterdam & New York: Rodopi, 2009). Based on her doctoral dissertation: *¡Cata el loco! Locura, melancolía y teatro en la España de Lope de Vega* (Princeton University, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, June 2000).

as an essentially medical or mental disturbance, as an idea, as a cultural category, or as a literary topic.

Two exceptionally illuminating investigations dedicated to the study of melancholy as a concept, as a disease, and as a state of mind, in the social, political, cultural and religious context of Golden Age Spain are *Cultura y melancolía: las enfermedades del alma en la España del Siglo de Oro* by the Mexican anthropologist Roger Bartra²⁰, and the Italian Hispanist Felice Gambin's *Azabache: el debate sobre la melancolía en la España de los Siglos de Oro*²¹. Gambin offers us a relatively close reading of five medical treatises from Golden Age Spain, in which he explores medical, religious, and to some extent also literary debates about melancholy in their cultural and political contexts. Bartra, through a series of highly suggestive reflections on humor theory and its metaphorical potential, proposes a panoramic view of early modern Hispanic culture through the lens of the evolving myth of melancholy, which – according to his analysis – gives rise to a modern, individual, identity-oriented subjectivity. Both texts offer a relatively comprehensive account on black bile from various perspectives, but leave many questions regarding madness as a category and its relation to *atra bilis* relatively unattended.

To conclude, the topic of madness in Golden Age literature has been so far either studied on a strictly literary level, or, when treated in relation to medical knowledge, has been – more often than not – limited to pointing out the “influence” of the latter on the former, or noting the affinity of psychological or medical ideas in a given literary text with those of its medical precursor. What these studies usually haven't done was a critical examination, for example, of the implicit author's position regarding his medical referents and their situation in comparison

²⁰ Barcelona: Anagrama, 2001. Bartra's book was recently translated into English under the title *Melancholy and Culture: Diseases of the Soul in Golden Age Spain* (translated by Cristopher Follett, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2008).

²¹ Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2008 (translated by Pilar Sánchez Otín). The original was published in Italian a couple of years earlier: *Azabache. Il dibattito sulla malinconia nella Spagna dei Secoli d'Oro* (Florence: Edizioni ETS, 2005).

with other perspectives or discourses. Though during the last years scholarship has been increasingly looking at the category of madness from a more socio-cultural than literary perspective, it has either done so without heeding to the rich medical corpus Golden Age Spain has to offer, or has left madness secondary to melancholia, without clarifying the relation between the two.

3. Conducting the research

(a) *Corpus*

The primary sources are of three sorts: (1) scientific (especially medical) texts dealing with madness from Golden Age Spain; (2) lexicographic and encyclopedic texts not dedicated exclusively to madness; (3) literary narrative texts in which there are significant representations of madness or madmen. Whereas the scientific and lexicographic parts of the corpus are defined and will be enumerated below, the literary texts will be chosen in a more advanced phase of the work, and are therefore not enlisted. Also, given the extent of the scientific texts enlisted, the feasibility of including all of them in the research will be reevaluated in the process of the work. In such a case, some works might be excluded.

(i) Medical and scientific texts

FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE VILLALOBOS. *SUMARIO DE LA MEDICINA. CON UN TRATADO SOBRE LAS PESTÍFERAS BUUAS* (SALAMANCA, 1498)²². This *Sumario*, composed by the *converso* physician of

²² *Algunas obras del doctor Francisco López de Villalobos* (ed. of Antonio María Fabié, Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1886). There is also an English translation made by George Gaskoin, *The Medical Works of Francisco López de Villalobos, the Celebrated Court Physician of Spain* (London: John Churchill & Sons, 1870). See also Friedenwald, Harry, "Francisco López de Villalobos: Spanish Court Physician and Poet", in *The Jews and Medicine: Essays*, vol. I (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1967, originally published by the Johns Hopkins Press in 1944), and the aforementioned studies of Gustavo Illades Aguiar.

the Royal Family, is one of the most peculiar medical texts: written in verse, it deals mainly with *bubas*, more known to us today as syphilis. Also, it contains a part dedicated to the diagnosis, prognosis and treatment of *amor hereos* (lovesickness).

JUAN LUIS VIVES. *DE ANIMA ET VITA* (1538). This humanistic work, though not dedicated to madness in particular, contains a conceptualization of the human soul and its faculties, as well as a detailed study of emotions, which is considered to have influenced both Huarte de San Juan and Sabuco (see below).

PEDRO MERCADO. *DIÁLOGOS DE PHILOSOPHÍA NATURAL Y MORAL* (GRANADA, 1558/1574)²³. This text consists of seven dialogues dealing with various subjects, the sixth of which is titled “Diálogo de la melancolía”, in which a physician and a theologian discuss their respective views on melancholy and madness.

JUAN HUARTE DE SAN JUAN. *EXAMEN DE INGENIOS PARA LAS CIENCIAS* (BAEZA, 1575)²⁴. This is one of the most known medical texts, not only within the boundaries of Spain²⁵. Though it is dedicated primarily to the problem of individual cognitive differences, it provides some of the most studied theories about madness and character illustrated by case descriptions of madmen.

OLIVA SABUCO DE NANTES. *NUEVA FILOSOFIA DE LA NATURALEZA DEL HOMBRE* (MADRID, 1587)²⁶. This book, and especially one dialogue from it - “Diálogo del conocimiento de sí

²³ Oña Guil, Eva María (-ed.). *Los diálogos de filosofía natural y moral de Pedro de Mercado: estudio y edición anotada*. Almería: Editorial Universidad de Almería, 2009.

²⁴ Ed. Guillermo Serés (Madrid: Cátedra, 1989).

²⁵ The vast divulgation of Huarte’s treatise transcended both the time and the place in which it was written; it was translated into French, Italian, English, Dutch, Latin and German, and has had at least 82 different reprints or editions during the 17th and 18th centuries. See Iriarte, *El doctor Huarte de San Juan...*, pp. 63-134, and Guillermo Serés’s introductory study to his critical edition of the *Examen*, pp. 108-122.

²⁶ Full title: *Nueva filosofía dela naturaleza del hombre, no conocida ni alcançada de los grandes filosofos antiguos: la qual mejora la vida y salud humana. Compuesta por doña Oliva Sabuco* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1587). For the last century, there has been an unsettled debate concerning the authorship of the book: whereas some scholars attribute it to Oliva’s father, Miguel Sabuco, other still hold is was written by the daughter. The editors of the recent, long waited for critical edition of the *Nueva filosofía*, have published it under the father’s name. See Sabuco Álvarez, Miguel, *Nueva filosofía* (García Rubio, Samuel & Henares, Domingo – eds., Albacete: Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses “Don Juan Manuel”, 2009). There is a partial English translation of Sabuco’s text, published

mismo” [a dialogue of self-knowledge or knowledge of oneself], contains a theory and an exhaustive classification of affects, their causes, and their consequences on one’s physical health and spiritual wellbeing (*salud*). A recent study highlights the notion – though quite different of how it would be perceived today – of a talking cure (“*curación por la palabra*”) in Sabuco’s text²⁷.

ANDRÉS VELÁSQUEZ. *LIBRO DE LA MELANCHOLÍA* (SEVILLA, 1585)²⁸. This book, published ten years after Huarte’s *Examen*, is the earliest known text in Renaissance medicine, written in a vernacular language and dedicated exclusively to theoretical and clinical treatment of melancholy. It was written as a critique of Huarte’s ideas.

ALONSO DE FREYLAS. *SI LOS MELANCOLICOS PUEDEN SABER LO QUE ESTÀ POR VENIR, Ò ADIUINAR EL SUCESSO BUENO O MALO DE LO FUTURO, CON LA FUERÇA DE SU INGENIO, Ò SOÑANDO*, (JAÉN, 1606). This text was annexed to a book written by the same author on disease prevention, dealing with the supposed supernatural capacities of melancholic subjects.

ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ. *DIGNOTIO ET CÙRA AFFECTUUM MELANCHOLICORUM* (MADRID, ca. 1569/1622)²⁹. This text, written in form of a dialogue, contains not only theoretical reflections about ailments attributed to black bile and their corresponding treatments, but also nineteen considerably detailed case descriptions.

with the daughter’s name, titled *New Philosophy of Human Nature* (translated and edited by Mary Ellen Waithe, Maria Colomer Vintró, and Angel Zorita, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007). On the authorship controversy, see the doctoral thesis of Cruz-Sotomayor, Beatriz, *Tan extraño es el libro, quanto es el autor: autoría y recepción en la Nueva filosofía de Oliva Sabuco* (Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 2008); and Balltandre Pla, Mònica, “La Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre de Oliva Sabuco”, *Athenea Digital*, 10, 2006, pp. 263-275.

²⁷ Balltandre Pla, Mònica, *La curación por el alma: la medicina anímica de Oliva Sabuco (siglo XVI)* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2006).

²⁸ Full title: *Libro de la melancholia, en el qual se trata dela naturaleza desta enfermedad, assi llamada Melancholia, y de sus causas y simptomos. Y si el rustico puede hablar Latin ò philosophar, estando phrenetico ò maniaco, sin primero lo auer aprendido*. A reprint of the facsimile with a low-quality modernized transcription of the original was published by Jansen Farmacéutica (Madrid, 1996).

²⁹ This work was published posthumously by the author’s son, Antonio Ponce de Santa Cruz, a physician himself, as a tribute to his father who died in 1569. There is a recent Spanish translation of Latin text, realized by Raúl Lavallé and annotated by Juan Antonio Paniagua, titled *Sobre la melancolía: diagnóstico y curación de los afectos melancólicos* (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2005).

TOMÁS MURILLO Y VELARDE. *APROBACIÓN DE INGENIOS Y CURACION DE HIPOCHONDRICOS, CON OBSERVACIONES Y REMEDIOS MUY PARTICULARES* (ZARAGOZA, 1672)³⁰. This book, written by the physician of the Royal Chamber, was practically ignored by most of the scholars due to the fact that it was based on a plagiarism of Velásquez's aforementioned *Libro de la melancholía*³¹. Murillo, however, reedited and significantly augmented Velásquez's text, and thus provides us with a unique source for understanding the reception of both Velásquez's and Huarte's treatises in the second half of the 17th century.

(ii) Lexicographic and encyclopedic texts

SEBASTIÁN DE COVARRUBIAS Y HOROZCO. *TESORO DE LA LENGUA CASTELLANA O ESPAÑOLA* (MADRID, 1611)³². This is considered to be the first monolingual dictionary in Spanish and the most complete reference we have of Golden Age Spanish. Its encyclopedic articles, together with the supposed etymologies of words, provide us with a unique peek into the knowledge and associative imaginary of the time.

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, *DICCIONARIO DE AUTORIDADES* (MADRID, 1726-1739). Though published in the 18th century, this dictionary is considered to reflect to a considerable extent also Golden Age Spanish, and thus can serve both as a complement to Covarrubias' *Tesoro* and as a diachronic point of comparison.

UNIERSAL VOCABULARIO EN LATIN Y EN ROMANCE COLLEGIDO POR EL CRONISTA ALFONSO DE PALENTIA (SEVILLA, 1490); and ELIO ANTONIO DE NEBRIJA, *VOCABULARIO ESPAÑOL-LATINO* (SALAMANCA, CA. 1485). These Latin-Spanish dictionaries are an early point of comparison for

³⁰ There is no modern edition of this book.

³¹ According to Iriarte, "no es sino una mala copia del libro de Velázquez" (p. 287-288).

³² Arellano, Ignacio & Zafra, Rafael (-eds.), Madrid: Universidad de Navarra e Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2006.

Covarrubias's *Tesoro*, and can cast light on the translation of many medical or other terms from Latin to Spanish.

GONZALO DE CORREAS, *VOKABULARIO DE REFRANES I FRASES PROVERBIALES* (1627)³³. This text is a collection of Spanish proverbs, with commentaries regarding their meaning and use, made by Gonzalo de Correas, head of the Hebrew and Greek cathedra at the University of Salamanca.

(b) Methodological and theoretical considerations

Given its interdisciplinary nature, the reading and interpretation of the texts will incorporate both a philological approach and a hermeneutic one. The first chapter of the dissertation will be dedicated to the rich yet unexplored vocabulary of madness, based on the lexicographical and encyclopedic sourced above mentioned. On the one hand, the quantity and variety of words and expressions related directly and explicitly to this category in Golden Age Spanish is striking³⁴; on the other hand, the absence of a term equivalent to *normal* is suggestive. Though this is by no means a merely linguistic matter, the lexical enterprise of mapping the possibilities of naming madness must be the starting point.

Reconstructing a category as complex as that of madness from its linguistic, literary, and scientific representations requires an approach that would integrate readings of quite different sources into a coherent discussion of madness in its cultural context. It also implies several assumptions about madness and its relation to culture and scientific knowledge, as well as assumptions about literary representation which are made explicit in the following paragraphs.

³³ Combet, Louis (-ed.). *Vokabulario de Refranes i Frases Proverbiales, i otras Fórmulas komunes de la lengua kastellana, en ke van todos impresos antes, i otra gran kopia ke xuntó el Maestro Gonzalo Korreas, Katredátiko de Griego i Hebreo en la Universidad de Salamanka. Van añedidas las deklaraciones i aplikazió adonde parezió ser nezesaria. Al kabo se ponen las frases más llenas y kopiosas*. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1967.

³⁴ Just to name a few other than *loco*: *mentecato, tonto, bobo, furioso, estulto, orate, falto de juicio, maniaco, necio, melancólico, frenético, sañudo*.

Assuming a constructivist approach implies, among other things, not imposing contemporary psychological or psychiatric theories on past “real”, imaginary or fictive madness, but rather interpreting it within and from its context. The philologically-oriented reading of the texts can help, to some extent, to avoid “presentism” and to map of the epochal linguistic possibilities (and impossibilities) of thinking about madness.

In the same line of Gaines, who has argued that a “nosological enterprise is a discourse that embodies and expresses the central conceptions of the ethnopsychology”³⁵, I think it useful to think of madness and especially of (any) theoretical knowledge about it as socio-cultural constructions. Interpreting these constructions of normalcy and abnormality is to expose implicit – or, in Gaines’s terms, unconscious – assumptions of their creators about self and about other.

Literature, too, construes madness whenever it makes one of its characters go mad; explanatory models for madness (medical, supernatural, or perhaps a totally different model) or elements of them can be revealed – among other things – through the analysis of character construction. In Iser’s “literary anthropological” terms we can therefore say that literary madmen provide us with fictionalized versions of imaginary madness³⁶.

The analysis and comparison of literary texts will be carried out from a semiotic-narratological perspective, and will integrate notions from reader’s-response theories. Focusing on each text’s idiosyncrasies and the common features of characterizing the mad, the analysis will try to answer questions such as: Who is the madman? Is he truly mad, is he faking madness, or simply taken for a madman? Is madness a temporary condition, something that came upon him, or simply what he is? Is it reversible? How is he characterized? Is he made of the same materials as non-mad characters? What kind of rapport does the narrator establish between

³⁵ Gaines, Atwood, “From DSM-I to DSM-III-R; Voices of self, mastery and the other: A cultural constructivist reading of U.S. psychiatric classification”. *Social Sciences & Medicine*, 31 (1), 1992, p. 3.

³⁶ Iser, Wolfgang, *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

himself and the madman? What kind of relation does the implicit author establish between the narrator and the madman? What reactions does the madman wish to provoke? What reaction does the implicit author want the madman to provoke in the reader? Are we to identify with the madman? Does the madman have a subjective quality? Is he given voice?

On a different level, special attention will be paid to semantic fields associated with madness, leading metaphors used to describe madness, and the metaphorical functions of madness in a given text.

Intertextuality and interdiscursivity are other important aspects the analysis will have to account for: i.e., texts, theories, discourses alluded to by a given text, and the position the latter assumes in relation to them.

Most of the texts in the medical corpus contain not only theoretical discussions, but also various case descriptions and other narrative passages intended to illustrate the concepts, symptoms, etiology or treatments of madness. The narrative qualities of these pathographical passages permit us to subject them to literary analysis that can both add a significant dimension to our understanding of madness representations in medical texts, and establish a richer dialogue between medical narratives and fictional-literary texts, thinking of both in terms of intentionality.

4. Possible structure of the dissertation

(1) Introduction

- (a) The centrality of madness to Golden Age Spanish literature and scientific discourse
- (b) A review of research on the subject
- (c) Methodological and theoretical considerations
- (d) A presentation of the epoch's main perspectives on madness

- (2) **A vocabulary of madness:** A study of the main words, expressions, and proverbs related to madness in Golden Age Spanish, etymologies attributed to them, and their pragmatics. Several hypotheses can be proposed parting from vocabulary.
- (3) **Medical narratives of madness**
- (a) An introductory review of the main theories and controversies of the Hippocratic-Galenic theories predominant in Spanish Golden Age medicine, with a special focus on controversial topics concerning madness (e.g., the relation of madness and *ingenio*).
 - (b) An analysis of case descriptions and other narrative passages from the medical corpus.
- (4) **Literary narratives of madness** - A semiotic-narratological analysis of several literary narrative texts, which will be chosen according to the categories or hypotheses established based on (2) and (3).
- (5) **Summary and conclusions** - A discussion of madness as a category, and a final reflection on Golden Age Spanish culture in light of its construction of madness through language, medical discourse, and literature.

5. Expected contribution of the research

The rich scientific and literary corpus referring to madness, as well as the unique social, cultural, and religious characteristics of Golden Age Spain, offer us a rich terrain for a study of madness from a hermeneutic, constructivist perspective, a study which is yet to be undertaken. Such a study can contribute both to our understanding of Golden Age Spanish ethnopsychology, and to a reexamination of the category of madness in relation to the cultural context in general.

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