

◆ CHAPTER THREE

Confined Conversion: Critiquing Institutional Care for Women in Seventeenth-Century Madrid

Margaret E. Boyle

Like many of Tirso de Molina's (1579–1648) other comedies where intrigue is derived from debates concerning the control and protection of women, his play *Marta la piadosa* (Marta the Pious; c. 1614–1615) features the namesake heroine who cunningly exploits and subverts the topic of gendered piety in order to fulfill her own romantic desires. The swift action and rich complication of plot results in often playful and sometimes sharp questioning of social order, alongside frequent mixing of the sacred with the profane, including Marta's plotting against familial obligations to her father and sister in favor of advancing her own illicit love interests. The play also offers extended and artful meditations on illness and healing as hoax and plot device. Tirso's three-act thus asks its audience to engage with the rightful place for women's piety at a moment in time when the real-life figures of the *beata* and *magdalena* provoked additional layers of social and political anxiety concerning the authority of women and the possibility and places of conversion broadly defined, from sinner to saintly, sick to healthy.

Likely because of these extreme contradictions in moral tone, the problem of genre and any overarching lesson proposed by this play have long troubled critics.¹ This essay will situate this Madrid-based play within the context of its contemporary social institutions, certainly familiar to the playwright as well as audiences engaging with early performances of this play. In particular, the essay will consider Madrid's most popular Magdalen house and former hospital, *La Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* (1587), as a way of foregrounding the topic of conversion and institutional care within the world of the play.² Putting the institutional history of the magdalen house into direct conversation with Tirso's play will open up a critical space to examine the implied practices and relationships proscribed between gender performance and institutional care.³

**Confined Women:
The Walls of Female Space in Early Modern Spain**
Hispanic Issues On Line 25 (2020)

Marta convinces her lover Don Felipe to feign palsy in order to make the case that he requires individualized care within her family home. The play thus dramatizes the home transforming into hospital, with one amorous nurse tending to just one ailing patient. The acting of charity and healing serve as ploy for an illicit love affair.⁴ Marta persuasively begs her father to support her plan early in the play: “Padre y señor, ¿ve ese pobre? / Pues no sé qué compassion / las telas de corazón / no mueve para que cobre / remedio: si un hospital el cielo hacer me permite, / déjeme que me ejercite / en ése, y cure su mal” (1866–73) (Father, do you see this poor soul? / I see him, and compassion parts / the very membranes of my heart, / and calls on me to help him. / Yes, if only heaven allowed / me to found a hospital, / I could nurse him back to health). Marta’s plea blends the rhetoric of poverty and illness, just as she confuses the language of religious compassion and physical caregiving with amorous affection. Although with reservation, Marta is allowed to continue with her outlandish plan. In one scene shortly afterward, Tirso goes so far as to stage an interrupted romantic encounter between Marta and Don Felipe, with Marta quickly and cleverly attributing their posturing (an embrace) to mere necessity (Don Felipe’s weakness).

Midway through the second act of the play, various characters begin to speculate about the sincerity of Marta’s piety. Don Juan for example is most direct in his criticism and speaks to her piety as ruse: “Aunque se vista de seda / la mona, mona se queda; / así esa buena persona / es mona de hipocresías, / y se quedará por tal / y vos por un animal, / si creéis sus monerías” (1703–1709) (You can dress a monkey / up in silk, but it’s still a monkey, / and so that doer of good deeds / monkeys with hypocrisy: / she’s monkeying around with / us don’t you see, Diego? / Don’t let her make a monkey / out of you, my friend).⁵ In one of the most direct criticisms offered about Marta’s charitable activity as superficial and perilous deception, Don Juan’s comment is also compelling for the way it degrades women as both animalistic and deceitful, and in need of containment and control. Even more, it points to the danger Marta as noblewoman and daughter embodies, echoing the moral logic of sixteenth-century Counter-Reformation projects resulting in the creation of various custodial institutions designed to house and rehabilitate women.⁶

Throughout the early modern period, the prevalence of accusations and legible penalization of women in relation to their moral and sexual character (*irreverencia, moral, sexual, fautoria, impureza, excesos, bigamia, adulterio*) was second only to accusations and penalizations in relation to the practice of, or association with, a prohibited religion (*islamismo, judaísmo, irreligiosidad*). Women were more frequently accused of religious violations since they were entrusted with rituals and practices as part of their domestic education so they would be able to instruct their children to preserve family traditions

and reputation. Women could practice these rituals without any knowledge of their religious meaning (lighting two candles on Friday evening, for example), yet were still accused of associating with a prohibited religion (the Jewish observance of Sabbath). Women were also punished for crimes of excessive spirituality or supernatural qualities (*conducta sospechosa, hechicería, superstición, visionaria*), as well as infanticide, abandonment, theft, and murder (*infanticidio, secuestro, robo, los castigos por fugas*).⁷ It was common for those who were not closely allied with a family unit, that is, under the care of a father, brother, or husband, to be particularly suspect, although association with male care did not ensure any kind of guaranteed protection.

The Counter-Reformation in Spain was mobilized and implemented in no small part by means of a new legal code, the *Nueva Recopilación de las leyes de estos reynos* (New Compilation of the Laws of the Kingdoms), supplemented by the publication of numerous *edictos* and *pragmáticas* (royal decrees) designed to cleanse and order urban spaces. These new laws and decrees mainly targeted ethnic and religious minorities, the poor, and women. In her study on the discourse of poverty and its relief through social reform in early modern Spain, Anne Cruz cites sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain's economic crisis and such interrelated factors as the lack of employment, heavy taxation, devaluation of money, and rise in prices as chiefly responsible for the rise in these kinds of reform projects. She explains, the "economic crisis . . . had been dealt with principally as a moral problem, and its accepted solution, charity, was religiously inspired" (*Discourses* 40). In other words, the troubles produced by the economic crisis were redressed and dealt with as moral concerns. By instilling clear moral values and ridding city streets of profane topics such as sex, illness, and crime, state and local officials aimed to project a new and confident sense of cleanliness and social order, a task frequently complemented by the activity of local custodial institutions.

Frequently modeled on monastic discipline, the common, overarching goal of these institutions was the creation of a single-sex environment designed to address the particular physical, spiritual, moral, or economic deficiencies perceived to be experienced by women. These institutions were numerous: from widows' asylums and refuges for battered wives to magdalen houses for prostitutes, orphanages, hospitals, and jails. Although new legal codes, royal decrees, and a proliferation of conduct literature tried to produce a more consistent morality, practices of rehabilitation for women were markedly inconsistent. Instead, early modern Spanish policies and politics suggest a varied, sometimes flexible, and often contradictory moral arrangement. The early modern Spanish subject was constructed through a variety of competing discourses, which both enforced and critiqued expected social behavior. These tensions and contradictions—between charity, healing, and

education and control, punishment, and exclusion—produced what George Mariscal calls the “contradictory subjects” of early modern Spain.⁸ Practices of rehabilitation for women were often inconsistent, given these competing values and expectations.

This climate of contradiction is palpable throughout the duration of *Marta la piadosa*, particularly around repeated conversations concerning the form and function of hospitals. When, for example in Act II, Marta tells her father Don Gomez that she has spent the day caring for the ill and poor at the *hospital general*, she is reminded once and again to recognize the perilousness of these spaces. Don Gomez says: “Aunque yo, Marta, os consienta / que en eso os ejercitiés, / ha de ser como no deis / a vuestros deudos afrenta. / Una mujer como vos / no ha de andar por hospitales / curando asquerosos males / y haciendo camas” (1474–80) (Though I allow you to do such things, / Marta, I hope you won’t end up / dishonoring our family. / A girl like you shouldn’t be wandering / through hospital wards, changing / sheets, trying to cure who knows what kind of disgusting ailments”). Although the audience is in on Tirso’s secret that Marta in fact has no real interest in hospitals or charitable work, rather using these activities and places as an excuse to gain her own freedom, her father points to a secondary layer of contradiction around these spaces, signaling contemporary fears around contamination, containment, respectability, and responsibility. Likewise, in a 2009 article describing the institutional history of Madrid’s *hospital general*, Teresa Huguet-Termes refers to it as a product of institutional consolidation producing a “thousand-headed dragon” (74), hefty in size and clumsy in form.⁹ It is thus possible to speculate that Tirso’s direct naming of Madrid’s relatively new and certainly complex institution within the framework of his play offers evidence of the real and widespread social anxieties surrounding the institution.

Also built during Tirso’s lifetime, the *Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia* was one of the best-known magdalen houses in Madrid; by 1601, it was popularly referred to as *Las Recogidas de Madrid*.¹⁰ Don Manuel Recio authored its institutional manual in 1777 in Madrid. Titled *Compendio histórico, y manifiesto instructivo del origen, y fundación de la Real Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia, vulgo las Recogidas de Madrid*, the work had a double function, as both the first recorded institutional history and as a guidebook for the current institution, to date providing the most comprehensive details about the day-to-day operations of the magdalen house as well as its origins.¹¹ Prior to operating as a magdalen house, the space first housed the well-known *Hospital de Peregrinos*, which offered lodging and meals to pilgrims and other travelers. The hospital was founded by a Franciscan tertiary, Madrid’s *Orden tercera de San Francisco*, in partnership with the confraternity of *Nuestra Señora de la Gracia* in 1555. The hospital’s location was made

possible by the gift of Doña Ana Rodríguez, who donated her property for the purpose of opening the hospital. Doña Ana's role is important to emphasize because it offers an example of charitable works framed as a gendered practice. She is referred to by the nineteenth-century historian Antonio Capmany y Montopaulau for example as "una virtuosa viuda" (326) (a virtuous widow).

At the start of Act III, Tirso creates ample space for dramatizing these kinds of charitable activities. Marta's suitor talks explicitly about the sizeable donation he will make toward the founding of a new hospital as a gesture of his affection, the comedy of his offer only compounded by the fact that the audience is continually reminded of Marta's inflated and false commitment to these kinds of institutions. She replies with a matching display of hyperbole, conflating the competing rhetoric of charity and pleasure, fame and humility: "Vendrá a ser, / con tan cristianos motivos, / infinitos mi placer. Con doce mil que yo tengo / de dote, si a juntar vengo / vuestros ocho mil, que son / todos viene, a Salomón / nuevo edificio provengo. / ¡Grande hospital!" (2007–14) (My pleasure will be infinite / My dowry of twelve thousand will, / with your eight, make twenty thousand. / The building I foresee will rival / Solomon's temple in size / and scope. What a hospital I intend to fashion!). Here the play surprises with a gendered inversion of charitable activity, with a male suitor seeking to impress Marta through charity. The reference to Solomon's temple, or the First Temple of ancient Jerusalem only further exaggerates the emphasis on money over religiosity with likely anti-Semitic connotations.

In 1580, the *Hospital de Peregrinos* was restructured and incorporated the sponsorship of a second confraternity, *La Cofradía de la Vera-Cruz*, in order to cater to the growing needs of a larger population. In 1601, the hospital was redesigned for a third time, and this time focused exclusively on women. Most of the female residents originated from their protection under the order of *Las religiosas agustinas de la Magdalena*. According to Jerónimo de la Quintana, they entered into the house on their own volition although the nuns may have been ordered to move.¹² Recio writes that in its iteration as magdalen house, the primary function was to serve women who had been labeled as "públicas pecadoras" (public sinners) and would only release them under two conditions: either as "Religiosa" (Religious) or "Casada" (Married) (196). He explains this:

Como el santo instituto de la casa era dirigido a recoger en ella aquellas mujeres, que habían vivido licenciosamente, y que tocadas de la poderosa mano de Dios, se retiraban allí a hacer seria penitencia de los excesos a que las había conducido su libertad; se las dieron reglas, y estatutos muy prudentes, y apropiadas a este intento, atendiendo también en ellas a las fuerzas, salud, y complexión de las tales mujeres. (6)

(As the holy mission of the house was designed to *recoger* these women, who had lived licentiously, and who, touched by the powerful hand of God, retired to this house to do penitence for the excesses to which their freedoms had led them, they were given rules and very prudent statutes, and ones appropriate for this purpose, attending also to the health, strength, and build of these women.)

The use of *recoger* in this fragment emphasizes the conflicting institutional mission as a space of both punitive containment and spiritual retreat. Since women could only be released from the magdalen house as religious or married women, the house invested significantly in the inhabitants in order to facilitate this requirement. In addition to offering a religious and domestic education, many of these institutions provided women with the advantage of a dowry upon marriage. In this way, Recio depicts *recogimiento* as an advantageous practice for women, both financially and socially: “uno de los laudables Estatutos de la Hermandad era el recoger, mantener, y sustentar mugeres, que su fragilidad las hubiese hecho incurrir en culpa, dirigiendo a unas para voluntario perpetuo recogimiento, y a otras para conducir las a sus patrias con sus padres, o parientes” (114) (one of the laudable Statutes of this Hermandad was to *recoger*, maintain, and support women, whose fragility had led them to fault, directing some to voluntary and perpetual *recogimiento*, and others to their homes with their parents or other relatives). As he cites their naturally weak moral character, Recio positions women at the center of sexual and spiritual interchange where women are saved from their own natural defects through placement under the guardianship of either church or family.

At the start of the seventeenth century, these *arrepentidas* (repentant women) occupied only a fraction of the complex and were closely supervised by two or three nuns. By the end of the century, the casa served close to forty women. Women who were able were required to donate one hundred ducats in order to enter the house; others were taken in without cost. The case to fund magdalen houses was easily made as a charitable enterprise, designed to protect women from their naturally defective status and preserve the health of the larger community. Under the Royal Patronage of 1618, the Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia was protected under the name of Don Francisco de Contreras, a member of the council of Castile, the supernumerary representative of the Confraternity of the Soledad, and general supervisor of the hospitals (Recio 5). Contreras’s protection is noteworthy because, according to Varey and Davis’s records, institutions under his patronage were funded, at least in part, by revenue generated from public theatres and their celebrated actresses (*Los corrales 1574–1615* 22, 38, 154,

159). In this way it is possible to explicitly link the financial welfare of the magdalen house with the stability of its contemporary public theaters.

What gives these institutions added significance is the complex, interdependent relationship they shared with public theaters.¹³ Although moralists chastised popular playwrights for their public display of sinful behaviors on stage, revenue generated from these same popular *comedias* was taxed and used to fund and sustain custodial institutions designed to serve the ailing and the wayward. Perhaps Georgina Dopico Black puts it best when she describes the celebrated actress of public theatre as the “unrepentant *puta* whose profits . . . benefit repentant ones” (6). Thus, women in early modern Spain stood at the center of a complex spiritual and sexual economy where the wages of sin were used to pay for the rehabilitation or the containment of women or both. It is important to make clear that theater was the newest player in this long-standing spiritual and sexual economy. Across southern Europe, funds generated for custodial institutions such as the magdalen house were traditionally collected through the taxation of such “sinful” arenas as liquor vendors, civic brothels, or fines for homosexuality.

During this long period, public theaters were also consolidated and professionalized. By the end of the sixteenth century, the general supervisor of the hospitals across the kingdom also controlled the *corrales* (public theaters). Although scholars of the period tend to focus on the decline of the Spanish empire and its concern with social control, paradoxically, these two centuries represent a time that Lisa Vollendorf has called the “foundational period for women’s intellectual and educational history” (3). Custodial institutions and their practices of rehabilitation reflected a paradox: on the one hand, strict control and punishment were central to many institutions; on the other hand, these same institutions at times provided better opportunities, greater protection, and enhanced education for both secular and religious women.

An overview of daily life within the Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia further affirms the keen awareness of appearance as a powerful tool for rehabilitation. On a daily basis, women were to be dressed in “honest” colors and closed-toed shoes “sin curiosidad, ni tacones” (Recio 196) (without fanciful things, nor high heels). Private spaces were clearly defined and closely monitored. Women, for example, were not permitted to share beds and were punished for attempting to sleep together, sing, dance, or gossip. As was typical of the austere magdalen house, daily routines revolved around strict regimens of work and prayer. Clear hierarchies of power were established, with at least nine people in supervisory positions. Women were publicly disciplined according to the degree of their transgressions. For example, to compensate for a moderate transgression, a woman would have to

eat on the floor instead of at the table on Fridays over two months and kiss everyone's feet before and after each meal. Provisions were also in place to prevent residents from forming friendships (which could cause jealousy or spark concerns about same-sex relations). Anyone found guilty of these relationships was punished with "disciplina de rueda" (Recio 25) (cudgeling).

As the charges of the Casa de Santa María Magdalena made their debut as repentant women, they were dressed in new robes, escorted into the church, received by the confessor and immediately led to prayer at the main altar of the sanctuary. Since these details correspond so closely to the monastic rite of reception, the ceremony suggests that the former prostitute was passing from one state of fallen secular life into a religious one:

Se la entrega una efigie de Cristo crucificado, y con ella en los brazos se la conduce por la puerta que desde la Iglesia entra a la clausura de la Casa, en donde está la Comunidad formada, con sus velos, o antifaces, velas encendidas, cruz, y ciriales para recibirla; y cantando el *Te Deum*, la llevan en procesión al Coro bajo; y dichas las demás oraciones, y bendiciones, que se acostumbra en semejantes casos, la desnudan allí del vestido seglar de gala, y se la viste el hábito, con otras ceremonias de mucha devoción, y ternura. (Recio 193)

(She is given an effigy of the crucified Christ, and with it in her arms she is led to the door in the church that opens into the cloister of the house, where the Community is assembled with their veils or masks, lit candles, cross, and candle holders to receive her; and singing the *Te Deum*, she is led in procession to the lower choir; and saying other prayers and blessings, as is customary in these cases, she is undressed from her lay robes and is dressed in the habit, with other very devoted and tender ceremonies.)

The re-dressing of the former prostitute is strongly suggestive of the vesting of a nun in the order of reception as novices into a religious order. By giving an effigy of the crucified Christ to the initiate, the ceremony powerfully signifies the replacing of the sinful sexual body of male patrons with that of the suffering body of Christ. It is likewise suggestive that the effigy is described as being "in her arms," a kind of affectionate embrace. When the former prostitute is "undressed from her lay robes," which strongly evokes what she has

been doing in a carnal context, and then re-dressed in the “habit,” the ceremony again visually indicates a spiritual transformation and reception into a new life. As the former prostitute formally takes her position as a repentant woman, rehabilitative rituals are mediated by a relationship to audience and performance. The magdalen house relied on displays of rehabilitation—both public and private—in order to promote changed behavior within its own walls as well as to project an image of successful rehabilitation to its outside audience and patrons.

When Marta is given her title of *Piadosa* in the middle of the final act of the play, the audience is continually reminded of the slipperiness of the heroine’s position and the multiple meanings of the term. Her “divine” connotations echo in to the realms of both the godly and worldly, marking Marta once and again as emblematic and dangerous shape-shifter. Moreover, her claims for piety via institutional care comically amplify until the play’s conclusion, almost as if to signal that the stage cannot contain any more of the space she occupies. Marta knows well the theatrical elements of the performance she enacts and exploits these elements throughout the play, attending to audience, perception, language-use, and appearance. Like the redemptive promise projected by the contemporary magdalen house discussed above, Tirso presses on the theatrics of conversion as both place and process. Nearing the play’s conclusion, Marta proclaims with pride: “Hombres y mujeres / que a la corte cada día / vienen pobres, sin tener / adonde hospedarse pueden, / mis huéspedes pueden, / mis huéspedes han de ser, / pues ellos mi hacienda heredan / y yo, aunque sin merecer / tal bien, seré tan dichosa, que gente mi hacienda entera” (2032–39) (Every day homeless / men and women come to Madrid: / these humble ones shall be my guests, / they shall inherit my estate, / and I, though unworthy, would be blessed / could I devote my entire life / to this calling). Her proclamation aims to solidify her position and reputation, although, of course, the audience continues to act as accomplice, her assertion serving as a wink to those already in the know about her real motives.

This muddling of Marta’s character as saint-sinner is made even more obvious in the closing of the play, when Marta’s father bestows her with the following title: “Marta la Piadosa” (2042) (Marta the Divine), a moment emblematic of her supposed conversion and personal victory. In an aside to the audience immediately afterward, Marta proclaims, “¡Ay Dios! ¡Qué engañada está!” (2045) (God help me / how deceived they are!). Here Marta’s language is important because of the way it gratifies the audience on multiple levels: 1) at face value, the dramatic clarity of Marta’s continued success and transformation, the dramatic pleasure of celebration via resolution; 2) Marta’s confession that the transformation is all for show provides some catharsis to the audience, validating the furious and widespread anxiety about the places

and practices of conversion common to Madrid's audiences and proving that things are often not what they seem. Finally, Marta's closing comments about the location of her new hospital further confirms the multivalent reading above. She declares: "Hacia la entrada del Prado / me parece que estará / bien el sitio" (2046–47) (I think the best location for / the hospital would be near / the entrance to the Prado promenade). The precise reference to this Madrid locale is another in-joke for her audience, who are familiar with the place for its connotation of wealth, fashion, and status. Marta further bolsters her position as spectacular, inverting a world obsessed with rehabilitation predicated on containment into her own end, confirming her view to see and be seen.

NOTES

1. See Jonathan Thacker for an overview of the critical reception of *Marta la piadosa*, with extended discussion of the function of comedy and its possible implications.
2. Magdalen houses (also known as *casa de recogidas* in Spain) are convents that opened their doors to repentant prostitutes. They operated on the transformative potential of the figure of Mary Magdalene with the goal of converting prostitutes to either religious or married life and gained popularity during the Counter-Reformation across southern Europe.
3. Using this comparative framework, I also heed Margaret Greer's reading of Spain's professional theater as "at best a trick mirror that both represents and distorts, showing as often the myths of a society's self-image as its realities" (394).
4. Of course, the trope of love as cure for illness was a familiar trope to other *comedias* from this period, most famously staged in by the character of the woman doctor Jerónima in Tirso de Molina's *El amor medico*.
5. All English translations of the play come from Harley Erdman's 2012 bilingual edition.
6. A custodial or social welfare institution is a generic term that refers to institutions designed to remediate persons often considered to be either sickly or defective members of society. For an introduction to the topic of custodial institutions for women, see Sherill Cohen's *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500*, which focuses primarily on Italy. In my book, *Unruly Women: Performance, Penitence and Punishment in Early Modern Spain*, I focus in more length on the institutional history of some of these institutions in Madrid within the context of public theater. Part one of the book in particular discusses Magdalena de San Jerónimo's *galera* and the magdalen house *La Casa de Santa María Magdalena de la Penitencia*.
7. These accusations are described in detail by María Isabel Pérez de Colosía Rodríguez (59) and María Luisa Mejjide Pardo (151–66).

8. See, in particular, chapters one and two for an introduction to this topic within early modern Spanish literary history. Amanda Wunder's 2017 study on the fashion and regulation of the *guardainfante* (hoopskirt) within seventeenth-century Spain provides a fascinating analogue to this discussion of contradiction. Although the garment was formally banned in 1629 to all women except for prostitutes, with hundreds of hoopskirts hung ominously from Madrid's *Cárcel de Corte* (Court Jail) as reminder of the ban, the "Crown promoted and encouraged the fashion, which was worn by the king's own wives and daughters" (134).
9. Because of the deficiencies perceived in the massive *Hospital general* model, Hugué-Termes describes the creation of numerous other custodial institutions opening in quick succession including: Expósitos (1572), Arrepentidas (1587), San Roque or General (1587), Buena Dicha (1594), San Antonio Abad (1597), Italianos (1598), San Antonio de los Portugueses (1606), San Andrés de los Flamencos (1606), los Desamparados (1610), San Luis de los Franceses (1615), and Montserrat (1616).
10. Any discussion of this magdalen house is indebted to María Dolores Pérez Baltasar's 1984 book as a comprehensive introduction to the role and function of Madrid's early modern Magdalen houses.
11. Recio was the *Oficial* of the General Accounting of the Royal Granery (*Oficial de la Contaduría general de Pósitos del Reyno*) and at the time of writing the manual, he was the archivist of *La Real Hermandad de María Santísima de la Esperanza*, the eighteenth-century administrators of the magdalen house.
12. Pérez Baltasar originally cites Quintana's *Grandezas de Madrid* (Capit. LXXXVII). It is somewhat difficult to explain why nuns left their convent to move into the magdalen house, although we might speculate that the move was motivated by lack of economic resources or shifting institutional or religious purposes.
13. There is abundant primary material on this topic rich for future scholarly analysis. As a starting point, Varey and Davis's multi-volume catalogues provide significant documentation evidencing the connections between Madrid's public theatres and hospitals. Cotarelo y Mori's monumental *Bibliografía* is another treasure-trove for scholars, providing significant financial information concerning productions of early *comedias*, as well as details concerning contemporary moralist treatises and debates relevant to theatrical productions. Rachel Ball's 2017 book makes good use of much of this material, as she traces links between commercial theater and charitable institutions in multiple cities in Spain and the Spanish Atlantic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

WORKS CITED

- Ball, Rachel. *Treating the Public: Charitable Theater and Civic Health in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. Louisiana State University Press, 2017.

- Boyle, Margaret. *Unruly Women: Performance, Penitence and Punishment in Early Modern Spain*. University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Cohen, Sherrill. *The Evolution of Women's Asylums Since 1500*. Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Cotarelo y Mori, Emilio. *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*. Madrid: Est. de la "Rev. de archivos, bibliotecas y museos," 1904.
- Cruz, Anne J. *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain*. University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Dopico Black, Georgina. "Public bodies, Private Parts: The Virgins and Magdalens of Magdalena de San Gerónimo." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2001. 81–96.
- Greer, Margaret. "A Tale of Three Cities: The Place of Theatre in Early Modern Madrid, Paris and London." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 2000. 391–419.
- Huguet-Termes, Teresa. "Madrid Hospitals and Welfare in the Context of the Hapsburg Empire." *Medical History. Supplement*, vol. 29, 2009. 64–85.
- Mariscal, George. *Contradictory Subjects: Quevedo, Cervantes, and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Culture*. Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Meijide Pardo, María Luisa. *La mujer de la orilla: Visión histórica de la mendiga y prostituta en las cárceles galeras de hace dos siglos*. Edicions de Castro, 1996.
- Molina, Tirso de. *Marta la piadosa / Marta the Divine*. Translated by Harley Erdman, Liverpool University Press, 2012.
- Pérez Baltasar, María Dolores. *Mujeres marginadas: Las casas de recogidas en Madrid*. Gráficas Lormo, 1984.
- Pérez de Colosía Rodríguez, María Isabel. "La mujer y el Santo Oficio de Granada durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI." *Ordenamiento jurídico y realidad social de las mujeres: Siglos XVI a XX*, edited by María Carmen García-Nieto, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1986. 55–70.
- Recio, Manuel. *Compendio histórico, y manifiesto instructivo del origen, y fundación de la Real Casa de Santa Maria Magdalena de la Penitencia, vulgo las Recogidas de Madrid, declarándose también sus rentas, y efectos, los patronatos, y memorias fundadas en su Iglesia, los Señores Protectores*. Biblioteca Nacional Madrid, Sig. R/39310 fols. 196. n.d.
- Thacker, Jonathan W. "Comedy's Social Compromise: Tirso's *Marta la piadosa* and the Refashioning of Role." *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, vol. 47, no. 2, 1995. 267–289.
- Varey, J. E., and Charles J. Davis. *Los arriendos de los corrales de comedias de Madrid: 1587–1719: Estudio y documentos. Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España*. Tamesis, 1987.
- _____. *Los corrales de comedias y los hospitales de Madrid: 1547–1615: Estudios y documentos. Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España*. Tamesis, 1997.
- _____. *Los corrales de comedias y los hospitales de Madrid: 1615–1849: Estudios y documentos. Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España*. Tamesis, 1997.

- Vollendorf, Lisa. *The Lives of Women: A New History of Inquisitional Spain*. Vanderbilt University Press, 2005.
- Wunder, Amanda. "Women's Fashion and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Spain: The Rise and Fall of the *Guardainfante*." *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 68, 2015. 133–86.

Boyle, Margaret E. "Confined Conversion: Critiquing Institutional Care for Women in Seventeenth-Century Madrid." *Confined Women: The Walls of Female Space in Early Modern Spain*. Eds. Brian M. Phillips and Emily Colbert Cairns. *Hispanic Issues On Line 25* (2020): 59–71.
