Present Dogs, Absent Witches:
Illustration and Interpretation of “El coloquio de los perros”

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Throughout early modern Europe, imagery permeated many fields of discourse. In order to communicate religious and political messages, spiritual and secular authorities made recourse to various types of visual displays, such as statuary and engravings, to appeal to the populace at large. In Spain, as José Antonio Maravall explains: “Utilizando los medios plásticos, la cultura del siglo XVII puede llevar a cabo, con la mayor adecuación, sus fines de propaganda” (501). Emblem literature in Latin and vernacular languages adeptly merged text and image. At the same time, widely promulgated printed matter, such as the pliegos sueltos on the Iberian peninsula and the image volante in France, also commingled texts and images. A public whose taste for images had been carefully cultivated by these religious, political and literary circumstances naturally turned to images to elucidate other types of written texts.

In the context of early modern Iberia, a number of studies analyze the function of illustrations in particular imprints. According to Isidro J. Rivera’s research on fifteenth-century editions of the Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, the joining of text and woodcuts in early editions visually reinforces significant moments in the written text for the reader. Later in the era, as Sherry M. Velasco elaborates, engravings combine with typographical elements to play a vital role in the representation of female
sanctity in religious literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Amid this penchant to incorporate visual elements into printed texts, illustrations of the *Novelas ejemplares* and *el Quijote* “son en cambio muy tardías” as Víctor M. Mínguez’s research has found (255). By the time the eighteenth-century public approached an illustrated edition of the *Novelas ejemplares*, a lengthy interpretative tradition existed surrounding illustrations. This paper will consider the role the illustration tradition plays in the interpretation of “El coloquio de los perros.”

Of eighty editions of the *Novelas ejemplares* I examined at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and the Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas, fourteen editions print selected *Novelas ejemplares* and did not include “El coloquio de los perros.” An additional forty-six imprints do not illustrate “El coloquio de los perros.” Although the content of the *Novelas ejemplares* remains rather flexible in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions, the majority of these imprints maintain the traditional position of “El coloquio de los perros” at the end of the collection. This placement explains the relatively small number of illustrations. After using expensive images early in the collection to attract readers to the texts, a number of printers did not illustrate the final novella.

Of the twenty illustrated imprints of “El coloquio de los perros” listed in the Appendix, I found only one text prior to the twentieth century that makes any visual reference to witchcraft. This image from 1866, however, represents witches flying to a sabbath, not Cañizares herself (Appendix, number 17). Rather than represent the witch, sixteen versions of the *Novelas ejemplares* in French and Spanish produced between 1731 and 1917 (Appendix, numbers 1-16) depict the dogs, Cipión and Berganza. Six of these editions, two in French and four in Spanish, (Appendix, numbers 1-7) use a version of an engraving by Jacob Folkema, a Dutch engraver. With the important exception of the 1788 Defer de Maisonneuve edition which we will examine in detail, thirteen exemplars depict Cipión and Berganza in

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1 For example, the 1739 the Hague and 1744 Lucerne imprints include “El curioso impertinente” between “El celoso extremeño” and “La ilustre fregona.” In both editions, this novella is decorated with an engraving of the moment in which Camila threatens to stab herself. Some French translations, though not those listed in the Appendix, also include the “Histoire Memorable de Dias espagnol, et de Quixaire princesse des moluques, tirée des memoires des Indes, et composée par le sieur de Bellan.”
a hospital milieu. This portrayal of Cipión and Berganza among patients serves a two-fold purpose. First, the visual positioning of the canine speakers as the imaginary products of Campuzano’s feverish mind diminishes the social critique of Berganza and Cipión’s narrative. Secondly, the visual representation of the dogs, as opposed to the witch Cañizares, leads the reader to implicitly question her version of events in the narrative.

In contrast to the seamless union of image and text that occurred in illuminated manuscripts and incunabula, the advent of chalcographic engraving altered this dynamic. Because the same machinery could not produce both text with movable type and engravings on copper or brass plates, engravings had to be produced separately and later positioned in the printed work (Gállego Gállego 134, Mínguez 261). As a result of this process, one side of the page on which the image appears is blank. The Folkema prints, which are blank on one side of the folio, appear opposite the first page of text of each novella. Since each novela ejemplar begins the text immediately following the title, these images necessarily interrupt the flow of the plot line. Even to the most casual peruser of these illustrated books, the image was not an integrated part of the written work but visibly separate from it and, in the case of the plates studied here, signed by the artist.

One only need consider the debate among cervantistas concerning the degree to which the novelas ejemplares question or uphold the social order to realize that eighteenth-century readers likely sought additional guidance to process these polyvalent texts. Given the cultural milieu, it is to be expected that the reader turned to the image for assistance. As Roger Chartier asserts: “The image was often a proposal or a protocol for reading, suggesting to the reader a correct comprehension and a proper meaning for the text” (“Introduction” 5).

According to I. H. van Eeghen’s research, Jacob Folkema’s engravings first illustrated a French translation of the novelas ejemplares that was printed in Amsterdam in 1713 (2: 155). As Henri-Jean Martin makes clear (especially 66-68), a number of factors, including the high quality of Dutch printing and engraving, Protestant immigration to the Low Countries from France after the Edict of Nantes and freedom from the arduous privilege process required in France, made the Low Countries a center for printing in French.
Folkema’s engraving (Figure 1) depicts a recognizable hospital scene.

Figure 1 Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Novelas exemplares. Haya: A costa de J. Neaulme, 1739. 2: 257. (All citations duplicate the edition’s orthography and rendering of place names. Please see Appendix, numbers 1-2 for full bibliographical information.)
The worn mat upon which the two canines sit emphasizes the dire economic straights in which Cipión, Berganza and the inmates of the hospital find themselves. Yet, the gesticulative code of the “speaking” dog mixes human and canine. This seated dog may offer a paw to his master outside of the frame of the image, but he seems to gesticulate as a human being would to punctuate a conversation. As the dog addresses his companion, however, his mouth does not form words like a person, but his tongue lolls from his mouth in a decidedly doggy fashion. Faced with this polyvalent extended paw, the reader may interpret this sign as a vestige of the dog’s lost humanity or dismiss it as a product of a hospital patient’s imagination.

Attempting to process this gesture, the reader likely reflected upon other visual intertexts and found few parallels for this motion. In studying animal statuary in the grotto of the Villa Medici at Castello, Claudia Lazzaro observes: “[…] the most familiar animals, the domestic and native ones, are generally the most naturalistic” (“Animals” 201). The initial sentence of Sebastián de Covarrubias’ definition of perro in Tesoro de la lengua suggests that this tendency toward realistic depictions of well-known animals was also evident in Spain: “PERRO. Animal conocido y familiar, símbolo de fidelidad y de reconocimiento a los mendrugs de pan que le echa su amo” (864). In this context, one expects illustrations of Cipión and Berganza to depict the canines as realistically as possible.

As Michael Nerlich notes, Cipión and Berganza engage with another visual intertext, namely the treatment of dogs in the emblem tradition, in their narrative. In fact, as Nerlich points out, “El coloquio”’s canines question the representation of their species as the embodiment of fidelity in emblem literature (275). After this reminder, the reader familiar with

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2 As Antonio Gállego Gállego (217) and Juan Carrete Parrondo (211 and 222) specify, the designer of an image for an engraving plate typically signed indicating invenit (inv.) and the individual who made a given print signed sculpsit (sculp.). Therefore, Jacob Folkema designed and printed this engraving. While Folkema’s images are paginated, the numbers coincide with the page of text opposite the image.

3 I thank Marcia Stephenson for her talk at the University of Kansas that brought Lazzaro’s work to my attention. For a consideration of the significance of animal statues in the broader context of the Renaissance garden, see Lazzaro’s The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy.
Spanish texts will likely recall the iconographical image of a dog from Covarrubias’ immensely popular emblem book, *Emblemas morales*. In the emblem entitled “Post Fata Manet Fides,” Nerlich’s study reproduces this image on page 315, a dog lies atop his master’s tomb. Unlike the gesturing dog in Folkema’s engraving, this canine possesses no potentially human traits; he lies on top of a tombstone with his paws splayed out in front of his body.

Still puzzled by this gesture in the Folkema engraving, the viewer likely turned to the other eleven engravings in this edition of the *Novelas ejemplares* for assistance. As Rachel Schmidt explains: “The reader of the illustrations, while reading the text or thumbing through the pages, experiences the images within a sequence that forms a narrative, chronological order. The flow of images therein creates for the reader a second narrative embedded within the textual narrative.” (11) Several of the other engravings picture domestic animals, namely dogs and cats, in a more typical fashion. For example, a small dog, his back to the reader, runs in front of the reunion scene between Isabela and Ricaredo in the plate that illustrates “La española inglesa.” When Carrizales interrupts Leonora and Loaysa in bed, a large cat sits in the foreground of the image and observes these domestic goings-on. As the Glass Licentiate parades through the streets in his straw carrier, a dog barks at the commotion in the street.

After seeing these animals relate to their human masters, the proximity of domestic animals to people in these scenes make it clear that Cipión and Berganza have the opportunity to observe the misdeeds they recount. Yet, the depiction of the furry interlocutors without their human masters distinguishes them from pets. Whereas one reader, seeing the two independent dogs about the hospital, may interpret this freedom as a sign of the dogs’ human origins, another may read the lack of typical devotion as an indication that Cipión and Berganza’s chat is a figment of Campuzano’s fevered psyche.

Additionally, references to material culture also differentiate Cipión and Berganza from the subjects of the other prints in the collection. In the other engravings by Folkema, desirable objects, such as the pile of clothing cast aside by Campuzano and Estefanía on their way to bed (Figure 3), mediate the visual relationship between the reader and the characters.
Figure 2 Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Novelas ejemplares. Haya: A costa de J. Neaulme, 1739. 1: 267. (Please see Appendix, numbers 1-2 for full bibliographical information.)
Figure 3 Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Novelas exemplares*. Haya: A costa de J. Neaulme, 1739. 2: 238. (Please see Appendix, numbers 1-2 for full bibliographical information.)
While many illustrations, such as the one shown above, picture objects that play a vital role in the plot lines of the novellas, others add items that relate to the text, like the parcels and luggage in the foreground of the port scene that illustrates “El amante liberal.”

Figure 4 Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Novelas ejemplares*. Haya: A costa de J. Neaulme, 1739. 1: 90. (Please see Appendix, numbers 1-2 for full bibliographical information.)

4 Carroll B. Johnson’s *Cervantes and the Material World* and Barbara Fuch’s *Passing for Spain* analyze the narrative implications of this merchandise in detail.

5 Carrete Parrondo cites one example of a signature on an engraving that employs *delineavit* (221). I suspect that the abbreviation *del.* that precedes Folkema’s name represents this Latin verb and indicates that he drew the initial drawing in addition to making the print.
In either case, the viewer, attracted to the goods, is drawn more deeply into the reading of the image and therefore of the narrative. There are no such objects in the case of Cipión and Berganza. Although one reader may decide that Cipión and Berganza’s lack of material possessions marginalizes the pair so thoroughly that their narrative may be disregarded, another may interpret their lack of belongings as a reason to more thoroughly believe their recounting, since they have nothing to protect by upholding the social order.

Such illustrated collections proved expensive to produce. As Antonio Gállego Gállego explains, to mitigate the expense printers throughout the continent reused woodcuts in different editions including both “[…] aquéllos [tacos] de significado neutro (orlas, viñetas, letras iniciales…) como, en no menor medida, los de un determinado sentido figurativo que no choque frontalmente con el significado del texto al que sirven” (71). These tendencies continued with engraving plates. The unsigned image that accompanies M. Etienne Lucas’ 1731 printing of “El coloquio de los perros” (Appendix, number 16) possesses the relationship to the text one would expect from a stock image either taken from another imprint or made with an eye toward reuse. In the foreground, one dog sits on his haunches with his head raised and mouth open as if howling or barking. The other dog lies next to him. A wall, adorned with newel posts, conceals several steps that connect to an extremely detailed architectural scene devoid of human figures. In point of fact, the level of detail evident in the vaulted ceilings and columns lends this plate the air of an architectural drawing. Perhaps it is this lack of elements from the novella that led one reader to pen “Scipion” and “Berganza” on the dogs in an attempt to more explicitly relate the image and the text.

The engravings by Folkema prove to be a better source of imagery. In addition to the Pineda edition (the Hague, 1739) published at the expense of J. Neaulme, Marc-Michel Bousquet either employs the same plates or produces an almost exact copy of the plates which are used in three imprints (two in French and one in Spanish.) Since Marc-Michel Bousquet

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6 As the reader will note, these images are striking similar but not precisely identical. Since engraving plates degraded with use, I suspect that this process may explain the blurring of certain details in the Aveline image. When an image of the Folkema engraving is placed on top of a copy
collaborated extensively with a number of printers in Amsterdam and the Hague (Corsini 96, 101), these connections likely supplied the Folkema plates. Later in the century, the printer Salvador Faulí used the same engravings in two editions. As Figure 5 indicates, F. A. Aveline made the engravings in the Bousquet imprints.

![Illustration of “El coloquio”](image)

**Figure 5** Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. *Nouvelles exemplaires de Michel de Cervantes Saavedra, auteur de Don Quichotte. Traduction et edition nouvelle*. Lausanne: Marc-Mic Bousquet, 1744. 2:257 [sic]. (Please see Appendix, number 4 for full bibliographical information.)

of the Aveline image, they are identical in size and placement of the objects within the plate. Such a degree of coincidence leads me to suspect that F. A. Aveline retouched areas, such as the mat in the foreground, of the Folkema plate that were deteriorating. At the same time, it is also possible that Aveline produced a replica of the Folkema plate.
As is evident in Figure 5, the number that marks the plate does not correspond to its position in the 1744 Lucerne impression, but rather to the page’s place in the 1739 the Hague imprint. This is not the only sign of a hasty edition. In Figure 5, Jacob Folkema’s name is incorrectly abbreviated as T. Folkema. Also, this print is rather dark; either Aveline added too much ink or the plates themselves were wearing out and therefore holding an excessive amount of ink.

In addition to the thrifty reprinting of the same engraving plates (or copying an existing plate rather than commission a new one), a similar interest in economy is evident in the format of the texts that employ a version of Jacob Folkema’s image. According to Jaime Moll’s research, after the first edition of the Novelas ejemplares, subsequent imprints “con la intención de abaratar el precio del libro, se redujo el cuerpo de la letra […]” (42) and these texts follow this trend. The page size is also reduced. The 1739 the Hague imprint measures 15.9 cm x 9.9 cm and the 1744 Lucerne edition by Marc-Michel Bousquet measures 13.5 cm x approximately 8 cm. (Since the bindings of these 1744 volumes are extremely tight, it is difficult to obtain an accurate width measurement.) These imprints are not large, deluxe editions, but small, portable illustrated books.7

Such easily transportable volumes would be particularly attractive to the new urban reading public that had developed in the seventeenth century.8 In this environment, an individual who did not own a particular work had greater access to it, as Roger Chartier indicates: “Between the 1660s and the 1780s institutions and practices that facilitated the reading of books not owned personally blossomed all over France” (Cultural 202). Moreover, in this densely populated setting, group oral reading flourished.

Another difference in representational strategies of the illustration of “El coloquio de los perros” may be due in part to the effects of the dialogic format of the novella. In general, the prints by Folkema represent the denouement of the text. Therefore, the illustrations of “La gitanilla,” for

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7 I thank my colleague Isidro J. Rivera for pointing out the size of these texts.
8 Nieves Romero-Díaz discusses the emergence of this group of textual consumers in detail in Nueva nobleza, nueva novela: reescribiendo la cultura urbana del barroco.
example, generally depict the moment at which Preciosa bares the birthmark on her breast and thus reveals that she is not a *gitana*. Images of “El amante liberal” (Figure 4) and “La española inglesa” respectively portray Ricardo’s reunion with Leonisa and Ricaredo’s return to Sevilla to wed Isabela. Engravings of “La ilustre fregona” represent the inn scene in which Costaza’s family ties are discovered. Likewise, images of “La fuerza de la sangre” illustrate the familial scene in which Rodolfo recognizes Leocadia and their son. “La señora Cornelia”’s prints show the moment in which the priest presents the Duke of Ferrara with his son. Images of “Las dos doncellas” represent this text’s unique version of the family reunion: the familial fight scene that concludes the novella. Carrizales’ discovery of Leonora, his wife, asleep with Loaysa often adorns “El celoso extremeño.”

As we have seen, the graphics that accompany “El casamiento engañoso” usually portray the instant when Doña Clementa, Don Lope, and their servants surprise the squatters Estefanía and Campuzano in the bedroom (Figure 3).

Whereas these images create suspense by making the reader wonder about the identities of the characters depicted, and draw the reader who has just begun the text more deeply into the plot, however, this is not the case with the illustration of Cipión and Berganza. Folkema’s print represents the title of the work and the first line of dialogue. Yet, the canine’s potentially anthropomorphic gesture may serve a similar function. The reader wonders why this animal gesticulates in such a human fashion and continues to consume the text to discover why this is the case. At the same time, the canine image prevents the reader from identifying too readily with the narrators. As Francisco J. Sánchez affirms “[…] la visualización de una escenografía […] vaya identificando al ‘orador’ con el personaje” (24-25). To avoid too thoroughly engaging with the tale in listening to an oral reading of “El coloquio de los perros” or imagining Cipión and Berganza’s conversation as one reads their dialogue to oneself, the illustration reminds the hearer or reader that the interlocutors are animals.

Another illustration from the same time period represents the hospital dogs as typical canines. In the 1730 plate by Esteve from a copy by Rossi based on an original by Paret, two dogs meet by a wall (Appendix,
number 13). A broom stands propped against a low wall. The handle of another implement is also visible, but the frame of a dog seated on the ground with his back to the viewer blocks the actual tool from view. To this animal’s left, another dog stands facing his seated companion. In an antechamber through which a large hospital chamber is visible, an alms box hangs on the wall. Immediately outside the entrance to the sick room, two friars stand together. Through the towering doorway, one can discern that the patient closest to the entryway is sitting up in bed. The precise details of the engraving, however, only emphasize the illusory quality of Campuzano’s narrative. Both animals’ mouths are closed.

In the eighteenth century, engraving gained considerable status in Spain; this trade “[…] pasó a ser una disciplina académica junto a la pintura, la escultura y la arquitectura” (Portús and Vega 41). As one would expect, the new prestige of the field inspired many lavishly illustrated books. In contrast to the texts that employ the Folkema imprints, these works are luxury editions, printed on quality paper in larger formats. Although such editions of *El Quijote* break with the representational traditions established by earlier illustrated Dutch imprints, eighteenth-century Spanish representations of “El coloquio de los perros” continue to depict Cipión and Berganza amidst hospital patients.

A 1783 engraving by Barranco for the Sancha edition depicts Cipión and Berganza in the foreground (Appendix, number 8). The two dogs, both with closed jaws, lie together on the frayed remnants of a mat. Behind them sits a wooden tub. On the small wall that separates this vignette from the infirmary scene, the reader reads “Ospital de Esgeva.” In contrast to the other illustrations we have discussed so far, the residents are not visible in the distance; they are very close to the dogs. Rather than suggest that Campuzano may have overheard a conversation in this context,

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9  The invenit signature is very difficult to read; the originator of the image may be Parot. Harry Sieber’s edition of the *Novelas ejemplares* reproduces this image (2: 298).

10  For example, Rachel Schmidt characterizes the engravings by Gaspar Bouttats for the 1662 Brussels imprint of *El Quijote* as “burlesque” (31) in contrast to the classicizing goals of illustrated Spanish editions.

11  Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce’s edition reproduces this image (3: 240). Antonio Sancha was one of the most prolific publishers of illustrated volumes. Between 1771 and 1790, Sancha produced 110 illustrated imprints containing approximately 1,000 distinct images (Carrete Parrondo 605).
however, the physical condition of the men strongly implies that their desperate situation makes them unreliable observers. On the left side of the illustration, a haggard looking patient sits up in his bed and looks at the dogs. A trickle of liquid, perhaps saliva perhaps vomit, trickles from the man’s mouth into a vessel he holds in his lap. On the other side of the chamber, another patient faces the reader and observes the dogs; his hands grip the mattress in tense anticipation of a medical procedure. An attendant stands behind this patient and lifts the infirm man’s garments to expose the patient’s buttocks. The attendant’s left hand reaches for the instrument his colleague hands him. Behind this man, in a second rank of beds, the face of a third patient looks at his companions and the dogs. Since all the patients are turned toward the canines, any one of them may be Campuzano.

The engraving signed “Gravé par Adam” in the 1816 Imprenta de Sánchez edition renders the reliability of the patients even more suspect (Appendix, number 10). In contrast to the Aveline version of the Folkema plate, there is no question that this is a distinct engraving. Several details, like the appearance of the dogs and the number of lamps that hang from the ceiling are different. In the bed on the left side of the room, a torrent of vomit now flows from the haggard man’s mouth. The two patients closest to the dogs are still in dire physical condition and the man in the bed on the right side of the image still awaits a medical procedure. In the foreground, the dogs still lie together in front of a tub and the sign that reads “Ospital de Esgeva.” One wonders whether this sign in these two plates refers to the Hospital de Esgueva of Valladolid. While the change of venue seems unnecessary, since the Hospital de la Resurrección was not demolished until 1890, perhaps the name of this charitable institution would be more recognizable than the military Hospital de la Resurrección to a nineteenth-century audience.12 The change of location may ensure that the observers of the dogs comprehend their marginalization from society by illness and poverty.

Amidst reprintings of seventeenth-century short fiction in nineteenth-century Spain, illustrations of “El coloquio” continue to depict

12 Materials by Ramón Ruiz Amado about the Archdiocese of Valladolid distinguish between the two institutions in this manner (see Works Cited).
dogs. In the engraving that accompanies the 1803 edition published by the widow of J. Ibarra, the printer of an illustrated version of *el Quijote* in 1771, the engraver, who signs J. Ximeno, makes another print of two dogs seated in front of a wall that separates them from a sickroom scene (Appendix, number 9). Behind the dogs, three patients sit in their beds while two additional individuals stand with them. The level of detail, such as the minutely drawn canopies above the patients’ beds, make this print an exquisite work of art. Yet, the dogs’ ears are not appropriate; both have human ears. As in the case of the dog’s ambiguous gesture in the Folkema engravings, these ears may be either a vestige of Cipión and Berganza’s lost humanity or the delusions of a syphilitic hospital patient.

In D. Valdivieso’s lithograph included in both the 1854 Oliveres and 1857 Fortanet imprints of the *Novelas ejemplares*, Cipión and Berganza sit on their haunches on a surface that looks like grass flattened after being trampled (Appendix, numbers 11-12). The mouths of both animals are closed. One canine has his paw raised in the air, like a dog who offers his paw for a person to shake. His companion wears a collar. In front of the gesturing animal, an empty metal food dish lies askew. In contrast to the other versions of Berganza and Cipión, these accoutrements mark the pair as pets. Since consumer of this image likely had seen pets before and they generally do not speak, these tokens further discredit Campuzano’s narrative.

Through a stone arch in the upper left corner of the lithograph, patients are tucked snugly in their beds. Behind the canines, a blank wall rises to the top of the illustration. This unadorned setting emphasizes the enormous stature of the furry protagonists. The dogs measure approximately 12cm x 5cm; they dwarf the three visible patients in beds who together measure 3cm x 3cm. Although this depiction surely accentuates the dogs, at the same time the sheer size of the beasts makes the viewer question the plausibility of the depicted scenario. Such disproportionately gigantic canines only seem possible in the somnambulant realm.

In 1788, the engraving made by L. S. Berthel from C. L. De Brais’s original for the Defer de Maisonneuve edition breaks with several tradi-

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13 This signature is difficult to read. It may be De Braib.
tions we have observed thus far. This edition prints “El casamiento en-
gañoso” and “El coloquio de los perros” together as a single novella and
rather than depict the dogs at the hospital, this illustration shows a home.
In further contrast to the editions that use a version of the Folkema plate,
this is a larger and more adorned imprint. Since these novellas originally
were published separately and later arranged into two volumes, the en-
gravings that illustrate the novellas were positioned differently.14 The im-
age is a cover page, presumably to aid the reader in quickly distinguishing
between the various novellas.

Figure 6 Image courtesy of Special Collections, Spencer Research Library,
University of Kansas Libraries. Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra Nouvelles espag-
noles de Michel de Cervantes. Traduction nouvelle avec des notes, ornée de douze belle
figures par M. Lefebvre de Villebrune. Paris: Defer de Maisonneuve, 1788. Plate
II. (Please see Appendix, numbers 14-15 for full bibliographical information.)

14 Since this engraving is dated 1777, it seems likely that it was used in a previous edition.
Gone are all the vestiges of illness and poverty of the sickroom. The reader beholds a room that likely resembles his or her own. The chamber is well-decorated with statuary, a carved bed frame, a carved door, a paned window and wall decorations. Instead of sickly hospital inmates, the reader observes a night-shirted man, who appears to be in good health, sitting up against his pillow and raising a finger as if to enter into the dogs’ conversation. Like the Folkema image, however, this engraving hints at the potential human origins of the canines. In this case, one of the pair sits on the floor with his back propped against bed frame and his front paws resting at his side as if he were a human being sitting on the floor. His canine companion stands on all fours beside him.

In the first note to this double novella, the editor, presumably M. Lefebvre de Villebrune, laments that: “Le début de cette Nouvelle a quelque chose de si grossier dans l’original, que j’avois dessein d’en retrancher les deux ou trois premières pages” (3), but since this dialogue explains the situation at the Hospital de la Resurrección, he cannot eliminate this conversation. Since the editor adds his own poetry to Campuzano’s description of his marriage to Estefanía, the lieutenant of this version is a much more romantic and sympathetic character. The continuation of the note reduces Campuzano’s syphilis to a narrative device that facilitates his observation of the dogs of Mahudes at the hospital: “Il n’est pas doureux que Cervantès eu faisant sortir son héros de l’Hôtel de la Résurrection, n’ait eu dessein de censurer les déréglements excessifs de son temps. La maladie érotique, dont presque toute la terre a ressenti les effets depuis près de trois cens ans, saisit, du temps de Cervantès, les plus cruels ravages […]” (3).

The first note to Cipión and Berganza’s conversation outlines the manner in which the reader should process the text. Lest the reader misinterpret the goal of this “discours satirique de deux chiens” (3), the editor urges the reader to consider the pedagogical implications of the narrative.

En général rien de si difficile que d’écrire pour instruire. L’amour propre est presque toujours blessé d’un avis donné d’un ton de maître: “We look upon the man who gives it us, as offering an affront to

15 All citations from this edition maintain the original orthography.
our understanding and treating us like children or idiots, etc.” dit le Spectateur No 512 amp. c. t. 7. Cervantès a bien senti cette difficulté: il a donc pris comme les Fabulistes, le parti de faire parler deux animaux. Par ce moyen il s’est niais à couvert de tout reproche (37).

If we return to the illustration, its value in this educative program becomes clear. This dream is not the product of a syphilitic delusion, but rather a vision had by an individual like the reader. Based on Campuzano’s somnambulant experience, the reader is urged to take away a lesson.

The content of this message is affected by the position of “El coloquio” in the 1788 collection. In this imprint of the Novelas ejemplares, “El coloquio de los perros” does not close the collection. Instead, the editor has changed the position of “Rinconete y Cortadillo,” retitled it “Les filoux,” added it at the end of the double novella and appended a note to suggest its role in an ideological interpretation of the final two novellas in the series. At the beginning of “Les filoux,” the editor notes:

[…] il nous représente en quel état étoient les mœurs sous la verge de la tyrannie, le fléau du fanatisme, dans un Royaume ou il n’y a avoit de loix que les passions des subalternes qui abusoient de l’autorité du Prince. De-là cette licence dont nous avons déjà vu une critique si sévère dans les Nouvelles précédentes. Cervantès avoit laissé cette Nouvelle—ci imparfaite, pour la finir dans son Dialogue de deux chiens. (3)

With the tensions that would lead to the French Revolution percolating in French society, a portion of the instructive value of Cervantes’s novellas became political.

The characterization of “El coloquio des los perros” as satirical that emerges in this French imprint was not a new charge in 1788. As Juan Diego Vila observes, the socially critical content of the Novelas surged to the forefront shortly after their publication when the pseudonymous Avellaneda labeled them as satire (15). Given that “El coloquio”’s social critique implicates all spheres of society, from the butcher to the wealthy merchant, readers of every social class would find a negative portrayal of
their group in the text. The image of the dogs at the hospital consoles the disturbed textual consumer by reminding the reader that the ill lieutenant may have imagined the narrative.

At the same time, this depiction of Berganza and his canine companion Cipión breaks with the tendency to illustrate the denouement of the other novellas. Numerous critics—among them Ruth El Saffar (Cervantes 39, Novel 63-64), María Antonia Garcés (293), Alban K. Forcione (41), Maurice Molho (243), Francisco J. Sánchez (150) and Pamela Waley (206)—have argued that Berganza's encounter with the witch Cañizares is the center of the novella. Cañizares' position in the narrative is only one facet of the witch's allure. As El Saffar indicates, the encounter with Cañizares is the lengthiest of the novella, and the only one in which someone other than Berganza speaks in the first person (Novel 64). Moreover, as Waley (211) and El Saffar (Cervantes 39) point out, Berganza anticipates his encounter with Cañizares, alluding to her on several occasions as he narrates other details of his life. From a structural point of view, Berganza's haste to arrive at the encounter with the witch is comprehensible. The information Cañizares provides is of crucial importance; it may clarify the mystery of why the two dogs can speak. Due to its importance in the narrative, one expects this episode to be represented visually. Yet, prior to the twentieth century these illustrated editions do not represent the encounter between Berganza and Cañizares.

One only need study the quantities of sueltos engravings and woodcuts that portray gruesome figures, such as beasts with multiple heads and sea

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16 The role of the members of the Society of Jesus in this narration of a society run amuck has been discussed by both Ruth El Saffar and Alban K. Forcione. While El Saffar finds unsavory elements in the presentation of the Jesuit school in Seville due to the dogs' professed desire to disparage and the Jesuits' overt grasping at power (Cervantes 46-50), Forcione believes that the narrative praises the order amidst a presentation of social world otherwise lacking in positive models (147-52). Although the exile of the dog from the school based on "reasons of state" does seem excessive, Berganza, however, does not resent the Jesuits' relationship with the powerful; he seems to enjoy his schooling and takes exception to his exclusion from this world.

In the final analysis, given that there can be any question as to how to interpret the episode, "El coloquio" offers a relatively subtle, neutral presentation of a religious order that often was either vilified or lauded in equally overt terms. This deviation from either praise or critique that was becoming commonplace in the presentation of the Society of Jesus occurs in a text that, as Tobias Foster Gittes asserts, parodies, inverts and otherwise plays with a number of tropes in religious discourse.
monsters, to determine that early modern Europe had a demonstrated interest in the visually monstrous. Forcione finds just such an interest at work in “El coloquio de los perros” (8). In order to properly represent this aesthetic of unattractiveness, and given the expectation created by the other novella’s images, one anticipates viewing Cañizares, the scandalous heart of the novella’s monstrosity.17

While the case of Francisco de Goya’s 1799 Caprichos may explain some hesitation to depict witchcraft, it cannot entirely justify the absence of images of Cañizares. A few days after the sale of prints from this engraving series were advertised, they were no longer offered for sale, apparently due to pressure from the Inquisition (Williams 37). This action, occurring under a veil of secrecy that shrouded the motives for the complaint, likely inspired some fear. Since one illustrated Spanish edition (Appendix, number 9) was published in 1803, the year that Goya submitted his materials relating to the Caprichos to royal authorities (Williams 37), this historical circumstance may well explain the lack of witchcraft imagery in the edition published by Ibarra’s widow. Such a reaction, however, was not a typical response to depictions of witchcraft. In point of fact, “At the end of the century witchcraft was a fashionable topic; among the ilustrados it was something of an obsession […]” (Williams 92). In all likelihood, Goya’s visual satire of contemporary society likely explains this vehement response on the part of authorities (Helman 91). It therefore seems possible that Spanish editions would have been permitted to portray Cañizares.

Even in a strictly observant Counter-Reformation context, there would be several justifications for depicting Cañizares. In Alicia Parodi’s reading of the Novelas ejemplares as an allegory for humanity’s relationship to the divine, Parodi alludes to a potentially exemplary meaning for Cervantes’ vivid description of the witch. She notes that even though the Council of Trent banned religious images that bordered on the sensual, “Pero quizá hubiera permitido el ‘retablo’ de la bruja y el perro como expiación de sus pecados, al modo de los santos penitentes como san Jerónimo

17 As Ana María Laguna notes, the “Flemish aesthetics” (23) that permeate the dual novella provide ample descriptions of physical unattractiveness (27); however, the illustrators who do not depict Cañizares distance themselves from this narrative strategy.
Aside from this potential penitential value, Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, in observing Goya’s visual representations of witchcraft both in the Caprichos series and in other works, finds “[…] efectos morales sorprendentes: rechazamos a las brujas porque nos repelen” (255). Considering the rather lengthy description of Cañizares’ body in the narrative, her image likely would horrify the viewer enough to motivate him or her to abhor magical practices.

Outside of the Spanish peninsula, visual representations of witchcraft were frequent. As Charles Zika’s recent collection of essays argues, such imagery helped develop popular conceptions about the black arts in early modern Europe (10 and 13). Visual and editorial standards were especially permissive in the Netherlands. Although Paul Hoftijzer indicates that some measure of official supervision affected the printing industry in Amsterdam, “[…] the various decrees against illicit and seditious books were often ignored by both printers and authorities alike” (253). In point of fact, enterprising Dutch printers used the Index of Prohibited Books as a convenient list of works to print (Martin 67). Given this permissive context, at least one illustrator did depict a semi-clothed witch. In 1626, Jan van de Velde engraved a plate entitled La Sorcière that depicts a witch, albeit a young and attractive one, with her breasts exposed in the act of conjuring (Riggs 203, catalogue number 90).18 Although the six editions published outside of the peninsula had a rich visual tradition of representations of witchcraft upon which to draw, they nonetheless portrayed dogs.

Thus, the avoidance of imagery of Cañizares cannot be explained by a dislike of the monstrous or by hesitation about the portrayal of witchcraft in general. Rather, visual acknowledgment of Cañizares’ centrality to the narrative could endorse a number of questionable points of view. As Mercedes Alcalá Galán signals, the narrative leaves open the origins of the dogs’ ability to speak, their speech may, as Cañizares asserts, result from magical origins (773); however, as Roberto González Echevarría emphasizes, this is one of a number of possible explanations that “are not mutu-

18 Daniel Franken and J. Ph. van der Kellen mention another version of this plate that places this same witch in a political context, namely the surrender of the Bastille: “[…] on voit la Bastille avec des soldats sur les tours portant un drapeau blanc” (68-69).
ally exclusive” (60).

Cañizares’ opinion about the talking dogs is the least controversial of her beliefs. As Mary S. Gossy signals, Cañizares breaks with the pattern of female behavior in the first part of the novella. Before Cañizares, all females “are intimately and explicitly attached to men and controlled by them either sexually or financially (or both)” (77). As a woman on her own without male control, Cañizares represents an implicit threat to the social order. Her predilection for magical practices only renders her more dangerous. Cañizares is conversant in all the subtleties of her craft, as El Saffar notes, such as the distinction between sorcery and witchcraft and learned opinions concerning the function of the witches’ unguents (Cervantes 64).

In her narrative, Cañizares explains that she and her friend Montiela served the powerful sorceress Camacha, a resident of Montilla prosecuted by the Inquisition for witchcraft in 1570. Camacha, the head of the coven, “tuvo fama que convertía los hombre en animales” (2: 337). Camacha’s deathbed confession to Montiela alludes to possible social upheaval surrounding the talking dogs. Montiela’s once human offspring would return to their human form after they witnessed an inversion of traditional social positions (2: 338). Therefore, these speaking animals may foreshadow the first throws of a revolution.

After hearing this possible explanation for his ability to speak, Berganza demolishes the vision of magic that Cañizares has created: “¿Cómo entiende y habla tanto de Dios y obra tanto del diablo? ¿Cómo peca tan de malicia no escusándose con ignorancia?” (2: 344). Berganza concedes Cipión’s point and admits: “y de lo que has dicho vengo a pensar y creer en todo lo que ha sta aquí hemos pasado y lo que estamos pasando es sueño, y que somos perros” (2: 347). By emphasizing Cipión and Berganza as dogs, the illustration tradition foregrounds their conclusions, stressing their condemnation of Cañizares over her presentation of events.

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19 Raúl Porras Barrenechea and Álvaro Huerga address the details of the case of Leonor Rodríguez, the historical la Camacha. For the trial documents concerning Rodríguez and the other accused from Montilla, see Rafael Gracia Boix.

20 All citations refer to Harry Sieber’s edition.
While the visual foregrounding of Cipión and Berganza gives greater weight to their position, the manner in which most of these illustrations represent the dogs -- in the hospital among patients -- rather than actually working as the light bearing dogs of Mahudes, is highly significant. As Marcel Bataillon observes, in contrast to other animal narrators, Cipión and Berganza “No son animales de fábula dotados del habla para enseñar moralidades generales, sino los históricos perros del hospital de Valladolid” (231). While Anthony Cárdenas (20-21) and Forcione (155) develop the parallel between the canines that carry lamps for Mahudes and a legend about St. Dominic, whose mother dreamt of birthing a dog carrying a torch, this parallel is not represented visually any edition I found prior to the twentieth century. As Cárdenas outlines in the course of his article, Berganza, like a Dominican, acts as an Inquisitor in his encounter with Cañizares (25-28); however, the dog realizes that as a mere canine, he cannot reform the world (29). In addition to noting the similarity to the visual icon of St. Dominic, Forcione develops further similarities between the light carrying canines and iconography concerning both Diogenes and Christ (155-70). Rather than emphasize these serious correspondences that make the dogs’ indictment of their masters more potent, the hospital setting reduces the canine pair to figments of Campuzano’s imagination. Visual depictions of patients’ illnesses -- the sick men confined to bed in the Folkema engraving (Figures 1, 5 and Appendix, numbers 1-7), the vomiting patient in the 1816 Sánchez imprint (Appendix, number 10), the haggard face of another hospital inmate in 1783 Sancha engraving (Appendix, number 8), and the patient in both the 1783 and 1816 engravings who anticipates an unpleasant medical procedure -- only reinforce the dubious origins of these visions. Therefore, the canine narrative of a society rife with corruption and moral turpitude springs from the same infirm source, and is greatly undermined.

This illustration tradition inarguably reflects European tastes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The foreign imprints in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid were either imported for a peninsular readership, or were purchased by the library at a later date because of their artistic interest. Moreover, a number of the texts in the collection of the Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas were purchased in Europe.
in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even if this representational tendency is a subset of a wider tradition, it nonetheless has exerted significant impact on the literary criticism of the novella. Indeed, Carroll B. Johnson lamented the amount of interest in the ancillary question of the talking dogs, at the expense of what he affirmed to be the more important element, the content of the dogs’ indictment of society (“Of Witches” 23). More than a decade after Johnson made these comments, the issue of Cipión and Berganza’s ability to speak continues to intrigue us. (For example, Paul Carranza’s 2003 article explores the relationship between “El coloquio de los perros” and Aesopic animal texts.) Moreover, as Tobias Foster Gittes observes, we frequently find Berganza’s narrative more credible than Cañizares’ version of events (356). To my mind, this fascination with talking dogs and their narrative is not a critical fad or misplaced credibility, but the logical outcome of the illustration tradition we have just examined. The dog illustration is designed to distract attention from Cañizares’ narrative. Furthermore, the depiction of the canine pair in the hospital as figments of Campuzano’s diseased imagination undermines the social critique of their narrative. In this manner, these images of Berganza and Cipión continue to uphold their function in maintaining the social order.

21 A preliminary version of this paper was read at the 2003 Renaissance Society of America conference in Toronto. I gratefully acknowledge the questions and comments from the audience in the development of this version of the paper. Also, I thank the staff of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid for their assistance; research there was supported by the University of Kansas General Research Fund allocation #2301852-570. At the University of Kansas, I thank the staff of the Spencer Research Library, especially Richard W. Clement, for their help and for permission to reproduce the engravings that illustrate this article. Finally, I thank the readers for Cervantes and Daniel Eisenberg for their helpful comments.
Appendix
List of Illustrated Editions of “El coloquio de los perros”  

Dogs in the foreground of a hospital milieu  


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22 In transcribing these titles, I have included the complete title as listed on the title page of the volume and maintained the original orthography because this is the manner in which the texts are most frequently listed in electronic databases.  

23 The asterik (*) indicates that the edition uses a version of the engraving by Jacob Folkema.  

24 Since Pedro Pineda dedicates the text to the Countess of Westmorland, this edition is often called the Pineda edition.  

25 While the engravings of “El coloquio de los perros” in numbers 8 and 10 do not reuse the same plate and are signed by different artists, the inclusion of similar details strongly implies either mutual influence or a common source.  

26 Palau (3: 450) indicates that the 1816 date is correct.
Illustration of “El coloquio”


Dogs beside one bed


Two dogs against architectural backdrop; no human figures present


Representations of a witch


Works Cited


27 Numbers 11 and 12 use the same lithograph by D. Valdivieso.

28 The text specifies on the title page that its illustrations originated in 1730.


Franken, Daniel and Johan Ph. van der Kellen. L’œuvre de Jean van de’Velde, graveur hol-
Illustration of “El coloquio”


Maravall, José Antonio. La cultura del Barroco. 7a edición. Barcelona, Ariel 1998.


